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PAPAL NEGOTIATIONS WITH MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

NOVEMBER 1901

PAPAL NEGOTIATIONS

WITH

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

DURING HER REIGN IN SCOTLAND

1561-1567

Edited, from the original documents in the
Vatican Archives and elsewhere, by
JOHN HUNGERFORD POLLEN, S.J.

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CONTENTS

PAGE

INTRODUCTION, ... xvii

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION—

I. Paul IV. and the interruption of communication with Scotland, ... xviii

Alleged secret treaties between Catholic Powers, xxxviii

II. Pius IV. and the loss of Scotland, . . . xliii

III. Communications with Scotland restored, . . xlviii

IV. Reports upon de Gouda's Mission, . . liv

V. The Council of Trent, ... lxi

VI. The Dispensation for Darnley . . . lxxii

I. The request for a dispensation, . . . lxxiii

II. Rumours of a dispensation. Mary's marriage, . lxxix

III. The first-hand evidence for the date of the dispensation, ... lxxxii

IV. The MS. of the dispensation and its date, . lxxxvii

V. How did Mary manage without a dispensation? . xci

VI. Bishop's Chisholm's second commission, . xcviii

VII. The Papal Subsidy c

VIII. Laureo's Nunciature, ... cvii

IX. The Murder of Darnley, ... cxix

X. The Return of the Nuncio, . . . cxxii

THE ARCHIVES, MANUSCRIPTS, AND METHODS OF EDITING, . cxxxiv

PAPAL NEGOTIATIONS

SECTION I

Introductory, 1557-1559.

1. Paul IV. to Mary Queen of Scots. Rome, 15 Oct. 1557, ... 1

2. Same to Card. Trivulzio. Rome, 27 Oct. 1557, . 4

PAGE

8. Card. Trivulzio to Card. A. Carafa. Morette, 12 March 1558, ... 9
4. Nuncio in France to Same. Poissy, 28 Nov. 1558, . 10
5. Same to Same. Paris, 4 Jan. 1559, . . . 11
6. Henry II. of France to Paul IV. Paris, 29 June 1559, 13
French Ambassador at Rome to Card. of Lorraine. Rome, 17 Aug. 1559, ... 20
7. Nuncio in France to Card. Carafa. Paris, 13 Aug. 1559, 25

SECTION II

Pius IV. and the Loss of Scotland, 1560

8. James Thornton to Mary of Guise. Rome, 16 Jan. 1560, 27
9. Pius IV. to Pellevé, Bishop of Amiens. Rome, 25 Jan. 1560, ... 31
10. James Thornton to Mary of Guise. Rome, 29 Feb. 1560, 39
11. Summaries of Despatches from the Nuncio at Madrid. Madrid, 7 April to 6 Aug. 1560, . . . 43
12. Instructions for Nuncio to France (Gualtieri). Paris, 15 May 1560, ... 45
13. French Ambassador at Rome to Francis II. Rome, 27 May 1560, ... 46
14. Pius IV., Speech in Consistory. Rome, 17 Oct. 1560, . 47
15. Briefs of Pius IV. to Mary as Queen of France, 1559-1560, 48

SECTION III

The Restoration of Communications with Scotland, 1560-1562

16. Instructions for Filippo Gherio, Nuncio to Spain. Rome, Dec. 1560, ... 50
17. Prospero, Count Arco, to Emperor Ferdinand. Rome, 11 Jan. 1561, ... 52
18. Pius IV. to Mary Queen of Scots. Rome, 6 March 1561, 53
19. Summons of Scottish Bishops to Trent. Rome, 6 March 1561, ... 55

PAGE

20. Pope Pius IV. to Mary Queen of Scots. Rome, 1 July 1561, ... 56
21. Draft Instructions for Card. d'Este, Legate for France, 58
22. Summaries of Letters from Nuncio in Paris. St. Cloud, 21-30 Aug. 1561, ... 61
23. Correspondence of Mons. Commendone with Card. Borromeo. Lubeck and Brussels, 5 Sept.-30 Dec. 1561, ... 63
24. Pius IV. to Queen Mary. Rome, 3 Dec. 1561, . 72
25. Father Salmeron to Fa. de Gouda. Rome, 16 Dec. 1561, 75
26. Same to Father Mercurian. Rome, 16 Dec. 1561, . 78
27. Card. d'Este's Correspondence in 1562 relating to Scotland, ... 81
28. Mons. Commendone to Card. Borromeo. Ligny, 1 Jan. 1562, ... 84
29. Pius IV. to Queen Mary. Rome, 12 Jan. 1562, . . 88
30. Mons. Commendone to Card. Borromeo. Ehrenbreitstein, 21 Jan. 1562, ... 91
31. Pius IV. to Queen Elizabeth and Queen Mary. Rome, 15 March 1562, ... 93
32. News of Scotland, ... 94
33. Father Salmeron to Father de Gouda. Rome, 2 May 1562, ... 100
34. Same to Father Mercurian. Rome, 2 May 1562, . 101
35. Father de Gouda to Father Salmeron. Louvain, 6 June 1562, ... 103
36. Pius IV. to Father Mercurian, and Father Francis Borgia to Same. Rome, 4 and 8 June 1562, . . 106
37. Mons. Parpaglia to Card. Borromeo. Paris, 24 July 1562, 110

SECTION IV

Reports on de Gouda's Mission, 1562-1563

38. Father de Gouda to Father Laynez. Mayence, 30 Sept. 1562, ... 113
39. Thomas Randolph to Sir William Cecil. Stirling, etc., 1562, ... 140

PAGE

40. Memoir on the Missions of Father de Gouda in 1562, and of Father Hay in 1566, by Father William Crichton. Carpentras, 6 May 1613, . . 144
41. Father de Gouda to Father Laynez. Mayence, 2 Oct. 1562, ... 149
42. Same to Same. Louvain, 6 Dec. 1562, . . 152
43. Card. Borromeo to Card. of Lorraine. Rome, 30 Dec. 1562, ... 156
44. Father Polanco to Fa. de Gouda. Trent, 21 Jan. 1563, 158

SECTION V

The Council of Trent and Lapse of Intercourse with Scotland, 1563-1565

45. Queen Mary to Card. of Lorraine. 30 Jan. 1563, . 162
Same to Pius IV. Edinburgh, 31 Jan. 1563, . . 162
46. Three Versions of the Chatellar Incident. 1563, . 164
47. Queen Mary to Council of Trent, and the Conciliar Answer. St. Andrews, etc., 18 March-10 May 1563, 167
48. Proposed Recognition of Queen Mary's Claim to the English Throne. Trent, [June] 1563, . . 173
49. Instructions to Mons. Visconti. Rome, 31 Oct. 1563, . 176
50. The Nuncio at Vienna, to Card. Borromeo. Vienna, 4 Feb.-6 July 1564, ... 179
51. Pius IV. Briefs to Queen Mary and others. Rome, 13 June 1564, ... 181
52. Pius IV. to Queen Mary. Rome, 1 May 1565, . . 188
[Card. Borromeo] to the Abp. of St. Andrews. Rome, 3 July 1565, ... 190

SECTION VI

The Dispensation for Darnley, 1565

53. Advices on the Darnley Match. Paris, Rome, etc., 11 June-16 Oct. 1565, ... 191
54. Cardinal of Como to Nuncio in France. Rome, 23 July 1565, ... 200

PAGE
55. Mission of the Bishop of Dunblane, . . . 201
Queen Mary to Queen Elizabeth. Perth, 28 June 1565, ... 201
Bishop of Dunblane to Pius IV., . . . 203
56. Pius IV., Speech in Consistory. Rome, 1 Sept. 1565, . 210
57. Card. Pacheco to Philip II. Rome, 2 Sept. 1565, . 211
Philip II. to Card. Pacheco. Wood of Segovia, 16 Oct. 1565, 213
58. Card. of Como to Card. Santa Croce. Rome, 25 Sept. 1565, ... 215
59. Dispensation for the Marriage with Darnley, . . 216
60. Five Briefs accompanying Dispensation. Rome, 25 to 27 Sept. 1565, ... 220
61. Pius IV., Speech in Consistory. Rome, 12 Oct. 1565, . 227
62. News about Scotland by Card. Santa Croce, . . 229

SECTION VII

The Papal Subsidy, 1566

63. The Bishop of Dunblane's Second Mission to Rome, . 232
Pius V. to Queen Mary. Rome, 10 Jan. 1566, . . 232
64. The Bishop of Dunblane's Negotiations in Rome, . 234
65. Discourse of a Scottish to a Spanish Ambassador, . 240
66. Classification of the Scottish Nobility in 1566, . . 253
67. A Letter to Father Everard [Mercurian], . . 257
68. Queen Mary to Pius V. Edinburgh, 17 July 1566, . 261

SECTION VIII

The Nunciature of Vincenzo Laureo, Bishop of Mondovi, 1566-1567

69. The Preliminaries, ... 263
70. Card. of Alessandria to the Bishop of Mondovi. Rome, 5 Aug. 1566, ... 265
71. Bishop of Mondovi to the Card. of Alessandria. Paris, 21 Aug. 1566, ... 266
72. Same to Same. Paris, 9 September 1566, . . 278

PAGE

73. Card. of Alessandria to Bp. of Mondovi. Rome, 16 Sept. 1566, ... 284
74. Same to Same. Rome, 30 Sept. 1566, ... 285
75. Bishop of Mondovi to the Card. of Alessandria. Paris, 7 Oct. 1566, ... 288
76. Same to Same. Paris, 21 Oct. 1566, ... 292
77. Card. of Alessandria to Bp. of Mondovi. Rome, 28 Oct. 1566, ... 304
78. Bishop of Mondovi to the Card. of Alessandria. Paris, 4 Nov. 1566, ... 305
79. Same to Same. Paris, 5 Nov. 1566, ... 309
80. Same to Same (*in Cipher*). Paris, 12 Nov. 1566, . 310
81. Bishop of Dunblane to Card. Moroni. Rouen, 16 Nov. 1566, ... 315
82. Bishop of Mondovi to the Card. of Alessandria. Paris, 18 Nov. 1566, ... 318
83. Same to Same. Paris, 3 Dec. 1566, ... 320
84. Queen Mary to Card. Moroni. Edin., 9 Oct. 1566, . 324
Instructions for Stephen Wilson, ... 326
85. Card. of Alessandria to the Bp. of Mondovi. Rome, 9 Dec. 1566, ... 329
86. Bishop of Mondovi to Card. of Alessandria. Paris, 15 Dec. 1566, ... 331
87. Same to Same. Paris, 26 Dec. 1566, ... 333
88. Same to Same. Paris, 30 Dec. 1566, ... 335
89. Same to Same. Paris, 4 Jan. 1567, ... 336
90. Card. of Alessandria to Bp. of Mondovi. Rome, 6 Jan. 1567, ... 337
91. Same to Same. Rome, 11 Jan. 1567, ... 338
92. Same to Same. Rome, 20 Jan. 1567, ... 339
93. Bishop of Mondovi to Card. of Alessandria. Paris, 24 Jan. 1567, ... 340
94. Card. of Alessandria to Bp. of Mondovi. Rome, 25 Jan. 1567, ... 342
Pius v. to Queen Mary. Rome, 22 Jan. 1567, . . . 343
95. Card. of Alessandria to Bp. of Mondovi. Rome, 3 Feb. 1567, ... 345

PAGE

96. Bishop of Mondovi to Card. of Alessandria. Paris, 13 Feb. 1567, ... 346
97. Card. of Alessandria to Bp. of Mondovi. Rome, 17 Feb. 1567, ... 347

SECTION IX

The Murder of Darnley, 1567

98. Bishop of Mondovi to Card. of Alessandria. Paris, 22 Feb. 1567, ... 349
99. Same to Same. Paris, 23 Feb. 1567, . . . 352
100. Same to Same. Paris, 27 Feb. 1567, . . . 355
101. Same to Same. Paris, 8 March 1567, . . 359
102. Same to Same. Paris, 12 March 1567, . . 361
103. Same to Same. Paris, 16 March 1567, . . 366

SECTION X

The Nuncio's Return, 1567

104. Card. of Alessandria to the Bp. of Mondovi. Rome, 17 March 1567, ... 372
105. Bishop of Mondovi to Card. of Alessandria. Paris, 26 March 1567, ... 373
106. Same to Same. Paris, 8 April 1567, . . . 378
107. Same to Same. Lyons, 23 April 1567, . . 382
108. Same to Same. Turin, 13 May 1567, . . 383
109. Same to Same. Mondovi, 18 June 1567, . . 386
110. Same to Same. Mondovi, 1 July 1567, . . 392
111. Father Edmund Hay to Bp. of Mondovi. Paris, 5 June 1567, ... 394
112. Card. of Alessandria to Bp. of Mondovi. Rome, 2 July 1567, ... 396
113. Bishop of Mondovi to Card. of Alessandria. Mondovi, 15 July 1567, ... 397
114. Card. of Alessandria to Bp. of Mondovi. Rome, 30 July 1567, ... 400
115. Bishop of Mondovi to Card. of Alessandria. Mondovi, 5 Aug. 1567, ... 401

PAGE

116. Card. of Alessandria to Bp. of Mondovi. Rome, 18 Aug. 1567, ... 402
117. Appendix—Accounts of the Bishop of Mondovi's Mission by contemporaries: John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, George Thomson, and Rogerio Tritonio, 403-408

APPENDIX I

French Documents

1. Letter Book of Giovanni Ferreri. Paris, 1547-1561, . 413
2. Card. of Lorraine to Mary of Guise. Paris, 18 Aug. 1556, 419
3. Same to Same. Paris, 2 Oct. 1556, . . . 422
4. Mary of Guise to Card. of Lorraine. Edinb., 13 Jan. 1557, 423
5. Queen Mary to the Duke of Savoy. Fontainebleau, 25 April 1559, ... 431
6. Same to the Lord James. Paris, 23 July 1559, . 432
7. The Lord James to Queen Mary. Dumbarton, 12 Aug. 1559, 433
8. Queen Mary to Mary of Guise. Paris, 7 March 1560, . 434
9. Same to the Duke of Guise. Edin. [5 Jan. 1562], . 435
10. Bishop Pellevé to Queen Mary. Paris, 21 April 1562, 445
11. Nuncio in France to Cardinal Borromeo. Paris, 27 June 1563, ... 449
12. Queen Mary to the Duchess of Aerschot. Perth, 26 April 1564, ... 449
13. Same to Charles IX. of France. Edinb., 26 Oct. 1565, . 450
14. The French Ambassador at Rome to Charles IX. Rome, 15 April 1566, ... 451
15. Same to Catherine de Medicis. Rome, 29 April 1566, 452
16. Same to Charles IX. Rome, 10 June 1566, . . 453
17. Same to Catherine de Medicis. Rome, 10 June 1566, . 454
18. The Duke of Savoy to Queen Mary. Turin, . . 454

APPENDIX II

Spanish Documents

A. Three 'Opinions' of the Duke of Alva, 1560-1561, . 456
1. On the Spanish Intervention, ... 456

PAGE

2. The Duke of Alva's Opinion on the Union of England and Scotland, ... 460
3. The Duke of Alva's Opinion about the Archduke Match, 461

B. Documents relating to Scotland at the Archives Nationales, Paris, 1565-1567.

4-57. Despatches of Don Frances de Alava, Spanish Ambassador in France, to King Philip II., with Minutes of the King's Answers and some Enclosures. (*Catalogue with Extracts.*) 18 Jan. 1565 to 12 Sept. 1567, 463-478

APPENDIX III

Ecclesiastical Documents

A. Correspondence of the Generals of the Society of Jesus on Scottish Affairs, 1562 to 1567.

Nos. 1 to 53. Letters of the Generals Laynez and Borgia, and of the Secretary Palanco, to Fathers Hay, Crichton, and others, with Answers. (*Catalogue with Extracts.*) 12 Nov. 1562 to 21 Jan. 1569, . 479

B. Miscellaneous.

54. Report by Fathers Broet and Salmeron to Card. Marcello Cervini, 1542, ... 508
55. The 'Responsa' of William Seton, . . . 510
56. Processus Ecclesiae Brechinensis. Rome, Sept. 1565, . 512
57. The Bishop of Dunblane's Petition for Faculties, . 516

Note on Queen Mary's confessor, Roche Mamerot, . 517

APPENDIX IV

Three Petitions from Queen Mary and Cardinal Sermoneta to Paul IV. for the Visitation and Taxation of the Scottish Clergy. October 1555, etc., ... 522

Additional Note on the Original Manuscript of the Letter from Queen Mary to the Duke of Guise, . 531

Index, ... 537

INTRODUCTION

THE following hitherto unprinted papers[1] comprise, as far as the editor is aware, all the extant correspondence of papal nuncios and agents, who were in communication with Queen Mary during that part of her reign which she spent in Scotland, that is from 1561 to 1567. This correspondence has a well-defined beginning and end. Before the queen returned in 1561 there had been a complete cessation of communication between Rome and Scotland, and there was another complete break in their intercourse after she resigned her crown in 1567. The actual separation of Scotland from Rome (1559-1560) does not, therefore, strictly speaking, belong to the main subject of our investigation. Nevertheless some account of that great event is indispensable, seeing that the distinctive character of our period was determined by it. By way of introduction, therefore, I have put together the few documents relating to that separation, which I have met with in the Vatican Archives. In appendices I have added from other sources some important letters relating to Queen Mary, and to the policy of Spain in her regard, as well as to the Scottish clergy, and to the commencement of the Scottish Jesuit mission.

[1] The exceptions are Nos. 14, 17, 38, 39, 103. As will be seen, the insertion of these documents was imperatively required to maintain the sequence of the correspondence, and in each case (except Nos. 14 and 17) better texts or new collations have been obtained. A few important documents, hitherto untranslated, have been inserted in English. The principles which have guided me in printing some documents in their integrity and others in part are explained below p. cxl. The total number of documents published for the first time is two hundred and fifty-nine, ten of these are letters of Queen Mary Stuart.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

Section I. Pope Paul iv. and the interruption of communications with Scotland

The separation of Scotland from Rome, 1559-1560, had been preceded by a long period during which communication had become casual and infrequent. Even under the happiest circumstances it was hard to maintain a regular intercourse, for Rome was much less accessible to Scotland then, than New Zealand is now. In the first half of the sixteenth century the prolonged wars of France, Spain, and Germany, the schism of England, and her persistent attacks upon the Scottish nation and the Scottish Church, had rendered any sort of correspondence extremely difficult.

It is true that papal approbation of appointments to church dignities and benefices was still regularly sought (pp. 27, 39), but the superintendence of morals, of doctrine, and of the election of prelates had been almost altogether neglected. Yet it was just then that the periodic wars, and still more the increase of comfort and luxury, and the growth of criticism, which accompanied the Renaissance, made the supervision of religious discipline especially necessary. At the same time even the spokesmen of the crown, who would not wish to exaggerate the need of papal interference, declared that 'there was no possible hope of a remedy except it were applied by his Holiness' (p. 529).

Thus while on the one hand there was a well-recognised need of reform, on the other all efforts to carry it out ended in disappointment. And this was all the more vexatious because every now and then good and energetic men arose who seemed to be upon the point of doing all that was necessary. Never did these hopeful prospects seem brighter than

when the death of Julius III.[1] was followed by the accession (9 April 1555) of Pope Marcellus II. Marcello Cervini, called Cardinal Santa Croce, was the friend of Pole, an advocate of reform, a man whose interest in our island is attested even by the casual references to him which occur in this volume (pp. 413, 508).[2] Unfortunately he reigned but three weeks, and was succeeded by Paul IV., Gian Pietro Carafa, one of the most disappointing of all the Popes (p. xxxvii).

He is the first Pope whose negotiations we shall have to follow, and the earliest documents addressed to him are petitions signed by Queen Mary (pp. 522-524) asking leave to impose an annual tax of two-tenths upon the clergy 'who hold the largest and least wasted part of the riches of our kingdom,' in order to repair the ravages caused by the late wars. At the same time his Holiness is requested to 'consider several reports and ciphers concerning the management and reform of our clergy' (p. 525).

The leave to 'levy money on our clergy by way of grant and free gift' (p. 523) was not readily agreed to.[3] Next year, however, permission was granted to impose one-quarter of the tax which had been asked for, and that not during the whole of the queen's life, but for one year only. The leave was subsequently renewed, but not without demur (p. 22).

The 'reports and ciphers concerning the management and reform of our clergy' have disappeared, but their substance is no doubt contained in the important letter addressed to the Pope by Cardinal Sermoneta (p. 528). After setting forth anew the reasons for increasing the taxation on the clergy,

[1] When Mary says (p. 522) that she had made certain requests to 'Jules second,' she must mean 'Jules tiers.' The latter died early in 1555, the former in 1513.

[2] A search among the Carte Cervine at Florence (Archivio di Stato) might bring to light further interesting matter about his relations with Scotland.

[3] A precedent for the Pope consulting the Scottish clergy themselves in such cases is given in Theiner, *Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum*, p. 597. The queen dowager was not at all so bent upon rebuilding the ruined fortresses as was pretended (see p. 429, § 8).

the cardinal proceeds (§§ 4, 5) to describe the necessity of instituting a thorough reform of the convents throughout the kingdom, because of the grievous scandals rife in them. To remedy these and other abuses, such as the alienation of church goods, and to prevent clerics from occupying themselves in commerce, a special visitation of Scotland is needed, and five Scottish bishops—Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, Hepburn, Durie, Chisholm, and Reid, Bishops of Moray, Galloway, Dunblane, and Orkney respectively—are named as 'most acceptable' to the queen regent, and 'most capable' of discharging the office of visitor. The substance of this petition was granted some two years later, and the bull (p. 4) in which the appointment of a visitor was sanctioned repeats many of the allegations made in this letter, but with certain modifications to which we shall return.

Mary Stuart, at this time, was a girl of thirteen, and her health, though not unusually feeble, caused her relatives much anxiety because of the great issues which depended upon her life. Their concern is reflected in the charming letter by Ferreri (pp. 413-414) commending 'modest' William Bog for the post of physician in ordinary to the little queen when she was six years old. 'He is so learned that he will bear comparison with any Frenchman, and is by far the best in diagnosing Scottish temperaments' (p. 414). Though 'all the Scots at court ardently wish him to get the post,' it would nevertheless seem to have been eventually granted to one of the 'many French who desired this office,' for William Bog's name does not appear later (as far as I have seen) in the lists of Mary's household.

Ferreri's letter was written in 1548. In the autumn of 1556 she was seriously indisposed, and the story of her ailment, which seems to have escaped the minute researches of Baron A. de Ruble and of Father Stevenson,[1] is told with much

[1] A. de Ruble, *La Première Jeunesse de Marie Stuart*, 1891, in which see p. 93; Joseph Stevenson, *Marie Stuart, a Narrative of the First Eighteen Years of her Life*, 1886. But see Dr. Hay Fleming's *Mary Queen of Scots*, pp. 27-28.

fulness in the letters now printed from Mary of Guise's register (pp. 419-430).

On the one hand we see the Cardinal of Lorraine and the royal family of France nursing her in her sickness, with a care and tenderness that explains the deep attachment which Mary cherished for them in later years.[1] On the other hand we note the unrest among her Scottish subjects, whose interests would be profoundly affected by the dynastic changes which must follow if she died. 'My daughter's illness has put many things in doubt,' wrote the queen regent. 'Men's minds are in suspense . . . They are still uncertain under which lord they shall fall' (p. 429). Mary was not yet betrothed, and the cynics said that the dauphin did not love her.[2]

Mixed up with details of nursery life, these letters contain allusions to events in European politics of the highest moment. 'The arrival of the legate' casually mentioned by the Cardinal of Lorraine was destined to have far-reaching and disastrous results. He was the Pope's nephew, the mischief-making Carlo Carafa, come to stir up the war of which we shall hear so much in the sequel (p. 420 *note*). Here we touch upon the great blot in the reign of Paul IV. He was indeed a man in whom there was much to respect. He was strong, austere, and a lover of reforms, which he carried out with success in small matters. But he lacked that wide sympathy, that superiority to national prejudice, without which no Pope can avoid giving offence to one or other of the many peoples over whom he exercises jurisdiction. Ere long he was in open conflict with the Spaniards, and with exaggerated nepotism, a common fault of that age, was allowing his firebrand

[1] Henry said of her, 'S'est le plus parfayt enfant que je vys jamès.'—G. Guiffrey, *Diane de Poytiers*, 1866, p. 46.

[2] Renard, who, however, is distinctly hostile, wrote at this time:—'J'entend que la reine d'Escosse est fort malade à Fontainebleau d'une fiebvre continue, et qu'elle *n'est sans dangier*. Le Daulphin ne seroit fort marry si elle mouroit, ne luy portant affection quelconque.'—Weiss, *Papiers d'état du Cardinal Granvelle*, iv. 661. But see de Ruble, *ut supra*.

nephew to recommence the war, which had only just been terminated by the truce of Vaucelles. The consequence was the outbreak of hostilities in 1557, 'ceste guerre du Pappe,' so bitterly regretted by the good regent of Scotland (p. 424).

Mary of Guise's letter to her brother (Appendix I. No. 4) whether we regard its matter or its manner, is one of no little interest and importance. She prays her correspondent to 'forgive her heart's affection, which makes her so outspoken' (§ 6); and in truth her heart reveals itself to us most fully and unaffectedly. We see the play of the virtues which brought this strong and kindly God-fearing woman so much success. We also note the weaknesses which explain her failures. The dominant note throughout is concern for others, for her daughter, for her brothers, for her people. For her daughter she 'cannot absolutely quiet her anxiety,' though she knows of her recovery. For her brothers, she fears the risks of war, and still more the dangers from bad organisation and treacherous allies 'and the poisons they often use.' These, she says, make her 'more disturbed than ever I was when the war was raging in this country' (§ 1). For her subjects she has a mother's affection. They are to her, 'a young nation,' and God has assigned to her the duty 'to bring them to a state of perfection' (§ 5). But the good queen has the failings of many other over-anxious mothers, who irritate their grown-up sons by trying to rule them as if they were still children.

Mary of Guise was French to the finger-tips, and there would seem to be a touch of the French passion for '*règlements*' in her craving 'to establish good order and ever to administer even justice' (§ 2). 'This people,' she complains, 'are always happy to find some complication that may impede justice. One cannot talk of, or demand, this justice without their instantly saying that one wants to change their laws' (§ 5). 'They say that [my] laws are laws of the French, and that their old laws are good, which for the most part are the

greatest injustices in the world; not in themselves, but from the way in which they are administered. This is the cause of all our discord' (§ 10).

So, doubtless, she believed; but in truth she also displays French partialities, which are plainly indefensible. She is not only out of touch with her subjects because of their preference for Scottish traditions, she dreads their clannishness and their unruly strength. She does not dare to entrust the fortresses of Scotland to their keeping (§ 8), she prefers to send her Scottish soldiers to France, and relies almost entirely on 'the few French who are with Monsieur d'Oiseul' (§ 11).

Here we see the source of her danger. Wise after the event, we need not be concerned for that which causes her most anxiety. We know that she will succeed in arranging the match, on which her heart is set, and that her daughter will reign over France. But there are other dangers looming before her, which are all the graver in that they are unperceived and unappreciated. What of the growth of Protestantism, what of the need of church reform? She says not one word about either, not because she ignored or despised them, but because her concern for them was eclipsed by her solicitude for the French alliance. Here was the true danger. The zest for religious reform and revolution was spreading, and would after three short years avail itself of the unpopularity of the French policy, in order to ruin both herself and all that she held most dear.

The next nine months of the year 1557 passed quietly in Scotland, but they were marked with events of great importance abroad. The Duke of Guise, who was starting to help the Pope in January, succeeded in slowly pushing back the Spaniards under the Duke of Alva, until the defeat of the French at St. Quentin, on August 10, 1557, necessitated a complete change in the conduct of the war. The French were recalled from Italy, the Pope was compelled to make peace with Spain (September 12), and the queen regent of Scot-

land, averse though she was to war, was carried away by her French sympathies, and attempted to make a diversion in favour of France by an attack upon England, which resulted in a most mortifying check to her gallicising policy (October, November 1557). But her brothers, the Guises, ere long recovered with interest the military prestige which France had lost in their absence. After the capture of Calais, Thionville, and many other notable feats of arms, the French, in spite of the exhaustion of their country, were able at Cateau Cambresis to treat with their adversaries for peace upon equal terms (October 1558).

In the negotiations which now ensued we must direct special attention to the part taken by papal diplomatists. For though that part was in reality a very slight one, it has been believed that they were uniting the Catholic powers in a secret league in order to extirpate Protestantism.[1]

The Pope, as we have seen, had retired from the French alliance in September 1557, and made a separate peace with Spain. In the December following he sent Cardinal Trivulzio as legate to Paris, with instructions to labour for the pacification of Europe. But, as might have been imagined, Henry II., vexed with the Pope for deserting him, at first paid no heed at all to the legate's proposals. So far indeed was Trivulzio's mission ignored that we might have had nothing, or next to nothing, to say about it, if he had not been entrusted with certain commissions regarding Scotland. Of these the most important were faculties to grant the dispensation for marriage between Mary and the Dauphin Francis, and this he did by an instrument dated the nones of April 1558.[2]

He was also given the brief which prolonged for another

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[1] See note at the end of this section.

[2] This document, with others relating to the same subject now in the Archives Nationales at Paris, was printed by A. Teulet for the Abbotsford Club, *Inventaire chronologique des documents relatifs à l'histoire d'Écosse*, Edinburgh, 1839, pp. 99 to 105.

year the permission to levy the tax of one twentieth on church property in Scotland in order to repair the strong places within the realm (p. 1). We have already alluded to this grant, while noticing Mary's petitions of October and December 1555.

The next instrument drawn up for the legate gives leave for the appointment of an apostolic visitor for the whole of Scotland. This corresponds with the letter of Cardinal Sermoneta, in which the scandals calling for correction were stated (p. 525). They are here described in more moderate terms, as is but natural, for the visitation is not to begin by condemning, but by inquiring. On the other hand the scope of the inquiry is much increased. The petitioners had confined their complaints to the abuses rife in convents of nuns, while little was said against the clergy, except that they neglected the care of church property and occupied themselves in secular business. The visitor's powers are to extend to every sort of organised religious society approved by the Church, the highest not excluded.

It is noteworthy that in the long list of abuses and corruptions in the Church of Scotland which this brief contains, the danger of heresy is noticed once only, and that parenthetically. In the petition for a visitor, as in Mary of Guise's long letter (p. 423), it had not been mentioned at all. The attention of those who drafted the brief is almost entirely taken up in guarding against evasions of the visitor's powers, such as those might attempt who enjoyed considerable privileges of exemption from ordinary jurisdiction. The enumeration of these exemptions brings vividly before us the difficulty of reforming the members of ancient corporations, who have abused rights which were originally granted in order to place good works on a stable footing.

On his arrival at Paris, December 30, 1557, Cardinal Trivulzio began to seek for information concerning distant Scotland, but for reasons already indicated he learnt but

little. On March 12, 1558, he writes (p. 9) that he has been told to await the coming of certain envoys from that country, who 'were expected in two or three days.' These, doubtless, were the commissioners for Mary's marriage with Francis, but an unfortunate break in the cardinal's correspondence at this point prevents our learning what information he then gathered. Later we hear from him and from the resident nuncio a detail or two about Queen Mary's life in Paris. How, for instance, she took part in the thanksgiving procession to la Sainte Chapelle and Notre Dame after the capture of Calais. But upon the whole the correspondence both of legate and nuncio contains little to our purpose, a negative, however, that is not without some importance.

Nothing more is heard of the visitor for the Scottish Church. Very little is said about the death of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth's accession (pp. 10-12), or the assumption of the English arms by Mary Stuart. It seems clear that the papal diplomatists were never consulted at all about the last matter (pp. 11, 12).[1] During the negotiations for the treaty of Cateau Cambresis, the legate was excluded by Henry from the discussions. It was only when everything was settled, that he was granted an audience, and even then no allusions were made to Scottish affairs.[2] He urged the king to repress the heresies,

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[1] On the alleged refusal of Paul IV. to recognise Elizabeth as Queen of England, see Professor F. W. Maitland in the *English Historical Review*, for April 1900 (xv. 324), and an article by the present writer in *The Month*, for October 1900, where the grant of the throne to Mary is investigated. Suffice it here to say, that the earliest account of such a grant is found in a political manifesto of Sir William Cecil, who does not profess to have any better authority than common report (*Foreign Calendar*, 1558-1559, No. 1300, with which compare No. 1302, and Teulet, *Relations*, ii. 24). On the other hand the reader will see from the documents of this volume that Queen Elizabeth is regarded during this period, and up to her excommunication in 1571, as the unquestioned Queen of England. Papal diplomatists and Catholic exiles, those who knew the facts best, and those who were least likely to spare the English queen, never give any hint that they have heard of her being excommunicated or deprived.

[2] The meeting is fully described, Vatican Archives, *Lettere di Principi*, xi. 428, Trivulzio to Carafa, 1 April 1559.

which had grown apace in France during the wars, and Henry announced his determination to do so. Not long after this the legate started back for Rome, but a sudden illness attacked him on the journey, and he died at St. Mathurin, 25-26 June 1559.[1]

The remaining letters of the Bishop of Fermo, the nuncio resident at Paris from April 1559 onwards, contain nothing about the great events which ensued in Scotland. He reports the wound of Henry in the tournament of June 29th, which he was at first assured was not dangerous. After the king's death he announces the accession of Francis, who will probably rule through the King of Navarre. He says nothing about England, or about Mary Stuart or the rise to power of the Guises. The correspondence is incomplete, and so no certain conclusions can be drawn from it. But there is a strong presumption that the reaction against the papal alliance continued until the close of the Pontificate.

It is now time to return to Scotland, to which Monsieur de Béthencourt had been despatched early in April 1559, to arrange the signing of peace between England and Scotland. He passed Berwick on the 13th and after eight weeks' negotiation, the treaty was duly signed at Upsetlington on the 31st of May. But at this very moment the Lords of the Congregation, *flante finitimæ Angliæ vento* (p. 47), rose in rebellion against the queen regent. Knox returned, and the Reformation secured ere long the most rapid and complete success which it achieved in Europe.

Béthencourt was the first messenger sent back to France to

[1] Further information about Trivulzio's legation will be found both in the Manuscript quoted below, pp. 9, 10, etc., and in A. Pieper, *Die päpstlichen Legaten . . . in Frankreich*, Münster, 1897, pp. 100, 101. It is also possible that other documents may be preserved in the Bibliotheca Trivulziana at Milan, which I have not had the opportunity of searching. I have, however, consulted the published catalogue, which does not throw any light upon the subject. I take this opportunity of correcting the title of Letter No. 7, pp. 25, 26. It is of course written by the ordinary nuncio at Paris, and not by Cardinal Trivulzio, who was already dead.

urge the sending of reinforcements. He perhaps started the very day that peace with England was signed, for he reached Paris on June 11th and on the 13th Throckmorton writes to Cecil that his 'intelligence is kept secret, a sign that things go not well with them there.'[1] The letters he bore are not forthcoming, but their substance may be surmised from the long reports which were drawn up then, or very soon after, for the Pope's information. Of these three are preserved. One signed by Francis and Mary is printed by Ribier.[2] Another despatched over the name of Henry II. is here printed for the first time. A third drawn up for the queen regent has been published by Dr. P. Hume Brown.[3] It sets forth what seems to be her official account of the rise and progress of the Reformation down to her retreat to Dunbar (June 1559). It is so characteristic of the ruler by whom, or for whom, it was composed that it may be worth while translating the more important passages.

'This new doctrine, which they call evangelical, was secretly propagated, and through the negligence of prelates the queen dowager was left in ignorance of it. At last she was informed that in one of the towns of this realm a preacher had arisen who taught the people publicly according to the use of the Church of Geneva. . . . The said lady immediately assembled the clergy to reform their way of life and to repress the said doctrine and convened the estates in order to obtain from them counsel and aid. . . . But the greater number of the temporal lords, assembling apart from the Council, proposed certain articles to her . . . for the partial establishment of the new religion. These the lady refused, and ordered both them and the spiritual lords to institute a prompt and exact reform by means of a provincial council. This was in fact held, but instead of good results, scandal ensued. It

[1] *Foreign Calendar*, 1558-1559, No. 833, 9; Teulet, *Relations*, i. 319, 327.

[2] G. Ribier, *Lettres et Mémoires pour François II.*, etc., Paris, 1666, ii. 808. A French minute signed by Francis only and dated July 3. The Italian translation in the Vatican Archives, Castel S. Angelo, Arm. xiv. caps. iii. No. 8, is signed by Mary as well as by Francis, and bears date July 4.

[3] *John Knox*, ii. Appendix E., pp. 300-302. This is an official unsigned paper, but eminently intended to represent the views of the regent.

occasioned commotions, and the people made their preachers give sermons in public. . . .

'When the queen regent assembled her little army, several of the greater earls and lords openly resisted. A congregation was established under their authority, which from that hour set itself with armed hand to break down images, altars, tabernacles, and churches, to prohibit the mass, and alter ceremonies. It has destroyed the Charterhouse, the Abbey of Scone, six convents of Franciscans, as many of Dominicans, without so much as sparing the fruit trees in the gardens.

'They are now endeavouring to destroy the rest and to force the said queen to establish their religion. . . . This she will not do, but has retired to a fortress, not having power enough to suppress the congregation, which is supported by the nobles, the towns, and the greater part of the populace. The spiritual lords have dispersed, whether through fear or treachery this lady knoweth not. . . .

'There is danger that the Roman Church may never be restored without a very great deal of bloodshed. . . . But if the Pope will send a subsidy in money, and delegate some able and capable persons to fight against and extirpate the false doctrines, there is hope that the Church may soon be restored to her ancient liberty.'

Such is the history of the rise of Scottish Protestantism as told by the queen regent. Her excuses for its spread, '*au desceu de la dicte dame*,' are really quite consistent with her previous policy of *laisser aller* in its regard. King Henry's account of the matter (p. 13, etc.) is equally characteristic of his responsibility for that policy. He knows that the Pope will blame his tolerance of heresy at his court (p. 45), and perhaps his alliances with English and German Protestants during his wars with Spain and Austria, and to escape being blamed himself, he vehemently denounces the negligence of others.

He says he has 'long foreseen this incredible disaster,' 'many and divers times' has he begged the Pope to provide a remedy. But 'whatever remonstrances and instances we have laid before your Holiness, thus far no provision whatsoever has been made, the very negotiations have been left to languish' (p. 18). In fact, however, as we have seen, if the Pope did little and acted

slowly, the action of the French court was liable to still severer censure. Their zeal for taxation was certainly more in evidence than their love of reform. They had shown little foresight in their warnings of future peril. Instead of encouraging Trivulzio to use his powers as a reformer, he had been neglected and kept in the background. Henry appears to be quite unconscious of the close connection which existed between the Scottish aversion to French predominance in the State and their rejection of Catholicism as the State religion. But he sees the condition of the country in the very blackest colours. 'Prelates and churchmen go from bad to worse' and 'most of them follow the new sects, as do almost all the greater lords and gentlemen.' 'The greater part of the people is entirely infected and, as it were, lost.' The iconoclasm at Perth, Scone, and elsewhere is alluded to with horror, 'cruel savages could scarcely do worse.' Henry is now resolved, in spite of the exhaustion of France, to send a large force to Scotland in order 'to chastise and punish' this 'wretched pest of ruffians.' Then the Pope must intervene, appointing as his legate Nicholas de Pellevé, Bishop of Amiens, who will reform the Church, tax its revenues, and 'use the spiritual sword' when needful. 'But above all things promptitude is above measure requisite and necessary.' For 'a Parliament [in Scotland] is proclaimed for the 20th of August next,' and Pellevé ought to be at hand 'when the matter of religion is treated.'

This remarkable document tends to show that the mind and policy of King Henry towards the Scottish Reformation agreed exactly with his treatment of the French Protestants as described in the contemporary letters of Ferreri (p. 417). We remain, however, without information upon a further point, which certainly has its importance, though it does not directly concern us. We do not know who the statesman was on whose advice Henry acted at this crisis, or whether he himself directed his own policy on this occasion as on so many

others. Castelnau and Melville throw upon the Guises the sole responsibility for the 'no compromise' policy, which Henry made a show of adopting at this period. But the recollections of both writers are at fault in so many details where we should have expected them to know the facts, that we can hardly consider their authority as decisive in a matter on which they were not likely to be so well informed.[1]

But whatever the truth about this question of ministerial responsibility may be, it concerns French diplomacy rather than papal negotiation. It is indeed important for us to ascertain what the French policy towards Scotland was and why it failed, for that failure had much to do with the cessation of papal influence there. In the course of our investigations it will, I think, appear that the whole system of government was too deeply in fault to have been remedied by any change of ministers, and that it was not so much the Guises as the king himself who was responsible for the inconsistency and insincerity, which were its worst features.

In what follows, therefore, when I use the names of Henry and Francis, I mean the French government. The policy initiated under Henry was pursued without change after his death, which occurred in the midst of these negotiations. He was wounded June 29, and died July 10. After that the predominance of the Guises was complete, but it had not always been so.

The policy of the French towards Scotland can be conveniently studied in the records of the diplomatic missions to that country of Melville, Béthencourt, and Pellevé. A broad view of these documents will, I think, modify the ideas usually

[1] Sir James Melville, *Memoirs* (Bannatyne Club, 1827), p. 78, for instance, describes his mission (May 1559) as one of the consequences of the Marquis D'Elbœuf's misfortunes at sea (December 1559 to January 1560); Castelnau, *Mémoires* (Ed. Jebb, ii. 446) makes Pellevé's mission (September 1559) the *cause* of the Scottish rebellion in May. Abstracting, however, from details, both writers are doubtless right in their main contention. It was due in great measure to their own faults that the French lost their hold on Scotland.

formed on this subject. Their policy was not, what it has been said to be, a thorough-going advocacy of French and Roman Catholic interests. It was rather an endeavour to cloak a policy of compromise with the appearance of being 'thorough.' But this was an attempt to combine incompatibles. It betrayed the weakness of the French cause, and aroused suspicions against it on every side—in the Pope as in the lords of the congregation, in the Spaniards as in the English—and this combination of Europe against her brought the power of France in Scotland to speedy and irretrievable ruin.

Of Melville's mission we possess a full and lively account, written by himself. We must not, of course, pay too much heed to his chronology. Memory may play any man false over dates, while the rest of his story retains its value. There is no reason to doubt the accuracy of his version of the message which he was to convey to the Scottish rebels. Its principal points are the following:

'The King is mindit to wair [spend] and hazard his crown, and all that he has, rather or your Quen want hir rycht now, seing that sche is maried upon his sone; and purposis to raise and send ane army in Scotland for that effect.'

Thus far Henry's message to the Protestant leaders does not differ greatly from his letter to the Pope, but the words that follow are of very different import:

'Quhilk [expedition] he [the king] wald fayn eschew, gif it wer possible [and] . . . will stay or send according to your [Melville's] trew report. . . . Gif it be only religion that moues them, we mon commit Scotismens saules unto God, for we have anough ado to reull the consciences of our awen contre men. It is the obedience dew unto ther lawfull Quen with ther bodyes that the King desyres.'[1]

When we remember that this message was sent surrep-

[1] *Memoirs*, pp. 78, 80.

titiously, by a messenger of dubious loyalty,[1] to men who were the inflexible enemies of his faith, we can hardly believe Henry's professions, that he was waging the war of religion with deep religious earnestness. Our doubts are not diminished when we find him sending fresh temporising messages to Scotland through Béthencourt at the very moment he was loudest in his protestations to the Pope.

The authentic records of Béthencourt's mission are numerous, and leave no doubt about its object. His instructions are printed in full by Paris,[2] and other documents concerning it will be found in the valuable codex in the *Ministère des Affaires Étrangères*, from which I have quoted two letters (pp. 432, 433).

Béthencourt's instructions correspond in substance less with Henry's letter to the Pope, though written simultaneously with it, than with the message given to Melville. Béthencourt was to desire the queen regent to make peace '*doulcement et par moyens, s'il est possible.*' The scantiness of the help which was offered strongly confirms the unwarlike character of his mission. He carried a bill of credit for 20,000 livres (less than £2000), and a promise that, if reinforcements were really needed, then upon the next application for them, some should be sent. The regent was further desired to win over the Scottish nobility, and conciliatory letters were written to them, the names in some cases being left blank in order that

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[1] Throckmorton writes to Cecil, 27 July 1559, 'I have not founde any in myne opinion so mete to be used and enterteined . . . as James Melvin.'—Forbes, *Transactions*, i. 180; *Foreign Calendar*, 1558-1559, No. 1080. His father, Sir John Melville of Raith, had been executed for treasonable correspondence with England in 1548. Before Melville started, Throckmorton had written in his commendation on May 18 (*Calendar, ibid.*, No. 703). But he probably did not leave France till later, as he only passed London on May 30, and reached the queen regent June 13.—Teulet, *Relations*, i. 318. The news of the sacking of churches in Scotland (May 11 to 18), which, he says, was one of the reasons of his missions, could not have reached Paris before the 20th.

[2] L. Paris, *Négociations sous François II.*, p. 12.

they might be filled up as required.[1] The tone throughout is as temporising as that found in the instructions given to Melville, though the terms are less cynical.[2]

In truth temporising had long been a characteristic of the French policy in Scotland.[3] 'I am forced to keep up many pretences,' wrote the queen regent, even in the days of her power, 'I pass over discords as gently as I can, preventing things from getting worse, and waiting for a better time' (p. 480).

But circumstances alter cases, and the old policy now looked different to all observers, because circumstances had completely changed. Everybody knew that the time for temporising was over.[4] To temporise now would only be understood to be a cloak for more serious secret machinations. In point of fact the three powers who were affected understood the French diplomatic messages in senses which were

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[1] Il auroit à grand plaisir, que doulcement et par moyens, s'il estoit possible, on les peut réduire, s'aydant à ceste fin des lettres qui sont présentement envoyées . . . dont une partie sont en blanc, pour les faire bailler et employer par ladicte dame, ainsi que avecques son bon conseil elle cognoistra qu'il sera à propos.—L. Paris, *Négociations*, p. 16.

[2] Throckmorton reported to Cecil upon Béthencourt's mission as follows, 'Butomcourt . . . had in charge to will the Quene Douagier of Scotland to conforme her self to the Scotts procedings in religion, and to dissemble with them. . . . They mind to stay the sending of men thither . . . I pray youe the Scotts may be advertised of this dissimulacion.'—Forbes, *Transactions in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (1740), i. 183; *Foreign Calendar*, 1558-1559, No. 1094.

[3] English writers of all schools join in condemning Henry in this matter. 'It seems that, in the estimation of this prince, every breach of treaty, every departure from honesty, might be justified on the plea of expediency.'—J. Lingard, *History of England* (1888), v. 507.

'Untroubled by scruples, religious or political, Henry cared only to make the most of the situation, and of two parties and two policies . . . he was indifferent which he employed, provided he could gain a march upon an adversary.'—J. A. Froude, *History of England* (1870), vi. 137.

[4] De l'Aubespine, French ambassador to Philip II. of Spain, one of the ablest of French diplomatists wrote:—'Touchant l'Escosse . . . yl est, sous vostre meilleure correction, besoign d'y remédier incontinent . . . et y a danger qu'en temporisant trop en telles choses, l'on ne s'en repente.'—L. Paris, *Négociations sous François II.*, pp. 8, 11.

contrary to that in which they were meant to be received. The Spanish diplomatists did not believe that the French were very deeply interested in Scotland, but thought that their object was 'to set foot in England.' This country was then an important ally, whose unpreparedness for war caused the Spaniards many misgivings. The Duke of Alva thought it, 'a weak state without armies, . . . soldiers or leaders, and poor,' while 'neither its queen nor any of her council understand the danger in which they are' (pp. 458, 460). Philip, therefore, resolved to thwart the French plans whenever he had the opportunity of so doing.

The English (who were neither so blind nor so weak as the Spaniards imagined) viewed all that the French did in the most hostile light possible,[1] and made use of misrepresentations to arouse, as far as possible, the animosity of the Scots. The Scots had little need of these incitements. They were nothing if not in earnest. They fastened at once on the words of bravery, which the French thought necessary to insert into their messages of peace in order to salve their wounded honour, and accepted them as a declaration of war. To words of conciliation and offers of pardon, they turned an absolutely deaf ear (p. 433).[2]

We have finally to notice the failure of French policy even in Rome. Béthencourt had been instructed to give notice that Pellevé would come as papal legate, and that the brief

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[1] Throckmorton's letter of 8 August 1559 contains a summary of Béthencourt's instructions, which misrepresents them in almost every clause. He says, for instance, that the primary purpose of the blank letters was in order 'to make donations and gifts of the lands and goods of those who have offended her to those who have served her' (*Foreign Calendar*, 1558-1559, No. 1149), whereas in fact they were to be employed in soothing the troubles of Scotland '*doulcement*.'

[2] See also Knox to Cecil, 6 August 1559, where Mary's letter, which accompanied that from Francis of the same tenour, is described as 'menacing,' and Béthencourt after delivering it is said to have bragged that the French king would spend his crown, unless the Scots submitted.—*Foreign Calendar*, 1558-1559, Nos. 1134, 1200. See also p. 432 *infra*.

which should confer upon him that office was expected '*dedans peu de jours*' (L. Paris, *Négociations*, p. 15). But the French were reckoning without their host. It is true that Paul IV. had received Henry's letter with pleasure, and promised 'to do, and do quickly, all that the king required' (p. 21). But ere long, Babou de la Bourdaiserie, Bishop of Angoulême, the French ambassador at his court, found everything was at a standstill, the Pope having got it into his head that Pellevé's orthodoxy was doubtful. The letter (p. 20) which describes what followed is full of life and interest. The Frenchman had his audience, and tried, but in vain, to bring the aged Pontiff round to his way of thinking. The ambassador held, like many men of his day, that it was the first of all duties to win the favour of princes, 'going so far as to say that one must sometimes dissimulate with royalty,' even when heterodox, 'and make them believe that they are better than they really are, in order to manage them better' (p. 24). The Pope's ideals were those of a bygone age, when the young nations of Europe had looked to the papacy for paternal guidance and correction, and his words are sometimes worthy of his high position. 'Great folk must be punished without respect of persons' (p. 24) was an assertion of principle to which the Frenchman could not listen with patience. For the rest, it must be owned that upon the whole 'the good man,' as the ambassador sardonically calls him, makes a bad impression.

The appointment of Pellevé, so far as we can see, would presumably have done good, and the Pope's refusal savours more of obstinacy and suspicion than of firmness and delicate principle. It tended, as the ambassador said with a touch of pardonable exaggeration, 'to drive us all to despair,' and to bring 'disaster upon the Holy See' (p. 21). That was not the moment to say that Scotland was 'no concern of the late King Henry,' and the Pope ended by refusing to make the appointment, ostensibly because the new sovereigns, Francis

and Mary, had not written to ask for it, a plea which, as his secretaries would have told him, was not in fact true.

To complete the irony of the situation, Paul IV., at the moment when he refused the zealous, but perhaps gallicanising, Pellevé, provided for the church of the Orkneys in the person of Adam Bothwell, canon of Glasgow,[1] the man who was afterwards to preside at that illicit ceremony which was to link Mary's name with that of James Hepburne, Earl of Bothwell.

A few days later the Pope sickened and died, saying remorsefully to Father Laynez, who stood by his deathbed, 'From the time of St. Peter, there has not been a pontificate so unfortunate as mine. How I regret the past! Pray for me.' In truth, but for that war, which his own nephews had helped to kindle, which threw in turn England and every country in Europe into opposition to the papacy, which crippled the finances of the Catholic powers, and which sowed broadcast the seeds of discontent with the existing order of things, the close of his pontificate might have been different indeed.[2]

Just before the Pope passed away (18 August 1559) a transient gleam of better fortune lit up the last days of the Scottish Church. The regent re-occupied Leith and Edinburgh (23 July 1559), the despatch of reinforcements was hurried on, and Pellevé sailed with them. He went with the name but without the faculties of legate, and we remark that the nuncio in France (p. 26), while sending news of the departure of La Brosse with the soldiers, passes him over in silence.

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[1] 2 August 1559, Maziere Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, i. 152.

[2] 'O Pater' (aiebat) 'Laynez, quam valde caro et sanguis decepit me; induxerunt me propinqui mei in præterita belli incommoda, ex quibus oborta sunt peccata plurima in Ecclesia Dei! A tempore D. Petri non exstitit Pontificatus in Ecclesia hoc infelicior. Eius quod actum est valde me poenitet. Orate pro me.'—Oliver Manare, *Commentarius de rebus Soc. Jesu*, Florentiae, 1886, p. 125.

But the advantage won by the regent was of short duration. Next spring would show that the French in 'banishing almost entirely the fear of some disaster' (p. 26) were but making its advent all the more certain. When it came, French valour would prevent the French flag from sinking in dishonour, though unable any longer to keep it floating in triumph.

Alleged Secret Treaties between Catholic Powers.

The received histories of this period contain more or less numerous allusions to the formation of secret treaties between Catholic Powers, generally called Papal Leagues, and it is only natural to ask whether our records of Papal Negotiations are complete, seeing that they contain no references to any such league or treaty. But the alleged reason for doubt will not stand examination. At no time during Mary's reign in Scotland was there any secret league or treaty made by the Catholic powers of Europe, in order to uphold Catholicism and to suppress Protestantism. There was not even a 'quasi-treaty,' or a 'mutual understanding' to this effect. On the other hand, there was a decided 'community of sentiment' amongst Catholics on this subject, and it would appear that this 'community of sentiment' has been mistaken for a Papal League.

The proof that there was no religious treaty of the description above-mentioned is overwhelmingly strong. A 'mutual understanding,' and much more a treaty, pre-supposes discussion, and discussion between many nations connotes many despatches. Now, diplomatic despatches of this period are preserved in all the archives of Europe, and the correspondence relative to affairs of importance, such as treaties, is voluminous. When therefore we find *nothing* about such a treaty in the archives of *any* of the powers said to have been parties to it, the conclusion that no such treaty ever existed becomes incontrovertible. It is possible that an unusual lacuna in

the archives of one state might account for no documents being found in that particular country on that subject. But that no diplomatic documents relative to the supposed transaction should exist in the archives of any of the alleged contracting parties, though their correspondence appears to be otherwise fairly complete, would be a coincidence too extraordinary to credit.

But though the Catholic countries were never bound together by a religious league or treaty, they were connected by something, which answered in some degree to a league, and that something seems to have been sympathy, and practical unity of feeling upon many points of politics. That international sympathy of this sort may play the part of a league and be mistaken for one is demonstrable from what happened among Protestants. We know, on the one hand, that there never was any general league of Protestants against Catholics. It is one of the objections brought by certain modern historians against Queen Elizabeth that she would never entertain the idea,[1] even though she used sometimes to give help to the Protestants of Scotland, France, and the Netherlands, in secret, without much formality about pledges and a definite *quid pro quo*.[2] And yet the Catholics of that day fully believed that there was a great Protestant league. The mutual helpfulness of Protestants, they thought, proved its existence, and they even ascribed to it the chief crimes which individual Protestants attempted or achieved against Catholics of high position (p. 167).

As the idea of a great Protestant league arose among

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[1] See *English Historical Review*, April, 1900, p. 349.

[2] It is true that Elizabeth sometimes *drove bargains*. She made Coligny give her Havre in return for subsidies of men and money. But (1) my point is that there was no *general* league. Elizabeth never got the Protestants *as a body* to bargain with her. Moreover (2) Elizabeth's *bargains* were of that *hard* type, which connote selfishness and diversity of interests, and so far as they do this, they are inconsistent with the idea of a league, which supposes generosity or community of interest.

Catholics, so, *mutatis mutandis*, did the idea of a great papal league arise among Protestants. Protestants saw signs of hostility manifested by divers nations with all the uniformity which a league between them could have dictated. They knew that Catholics declared that such leagues were both praiseworthy and even necessary. The reports of speeches by the Abbé Mina [? Minard] (p. 465), by the Cardinal of Lorraine (p. 88, § 3), and by Queen Catherine de Medicis (p. 376, § 3) are excellent illustrations of expressions likely to excite Protestant fears.

A further proof that language of this sort did produce rumours of leagues may be gathered from the caution as to its use, which was inculcated by prudent rulers like the Emperor Ferdinand I. (p. 174).[1] The Catholics as such, within France, Spain, and Italy were certainly quite prepared to join a great religious league. There was no obstacle but their political and racial jealousies. On the other hand, these were so great, that any one who will read the papers printed in Appendix II. will see that throughout this period France and Spain were rather upon the verge of war one with another, than at the point of entering into a close league which would require much sacrifice and self-restraint.

The parallel between Philip and Elizabeth in this respect is

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[1] Commendone, in the same correspondence from which we quote in No. 23, etc., while talking of a papal league against the Turks, says of the emperor (13 January 1561), 'His Majesty's great concern is not to arouse the apprehensions of the Princes of Germany, who are suspicious of war being prepared against themselves.'—*Miscellanea di Storia Patria*, vi. 39. For another instance of Ferdinand's caution see E. Reimann, *Die Sendung des Nuncius Commendone*, in *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*, etc., vii. 262 (Göttingen, 1867). The Emperor Maximilian deprecated the harm done by rumours of this nature (19 September 1567), quaintly calling the notion, 'Das ausgesprengten giftigen figment ainer bäpstlichen pündnuss' ('the exploded poisonous fiction of a papal league').—Hopfen, *Maximilian II und der Kompromiss-Katholicismus* (München, 1895), p. 252. On the same subject see *Venetian Calendar*, 1558-1580, 11 September 1567, p. 404. The Cardinal of Lorraine warned the Council of Trent not to excite rumours that they desired 'arma, societates et fœdera.'—J. J. Guillemin, *Le Cardinal de Lorraine*, 1847, p. 381.

somewhat striking. She has been blamed for not having put herself at the head of a Protestant league. The Pope blamed Philip for not putting himself at the head of a Catholic league (p. 236). There could be no league without him, yet he, like Elizabeth, held back, though sympathising with the idea, and actually subsidising enterprises of small importance (pp. 212-215). He was too dignified to haggle, as she did, about terms, but still his grants are not so much subsidies, given to an ally whose cause is his own, as presents from one autocrat to another.[1]

Europe being thus chronically predisposed to give credit to league-rumours, events were morally sure to happen sooner or later, which would seem to justify the circulation of such reports in formal terms. As a matter of fact, events of this character occurred twice during the period under review. In the year 1559, the Catholic powers, after having long been divided by war, began, as a preliminary to peace, to meet in prolonged conferences. This circumstance, which in itself seemed ominous to the Protestants, was followed by the forcible repression of heretics in France (p. 417). Can we wonder that the Protestants connected these things together, and declared that a league had been formed for their destruction?[2]

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[1] In those days of absolutism this sort of thing was common. Monarchs gave away countries as dowries and as legacies. They talked of sending each other armies and navies, as though that were a matter of ordinary civility. It is almost amusing to find Mary, in the first days of her tutelage, offering France the support of all her forces if there were need of them (p. 441). She was of course only using the language of compliment; but a modern princess would have expressed herself very differently. This fashion of speech may have contributed its share to raising rumours of foreign leagues.

[2] The following modern authors accept this league as historically proved: P. F. Tytler, *History of Scotland* (1837), vi. 110, and J. L. Motley, *The Rise of the Dutch Republic* (1875), i. 180. The former relies chiefly on Melville's *Memoirs*, the latter on the *Apologie de Monsieur d'Orange* (Leyden, 1583,) p. 53. E. Ricotti, *Storia della Monarchia Piemontese* (Florence, 1861), ii. 201, and J. Stevenson, *Foreign Calendar* 1561-1562 (1866), Introduction, p. xii, both speak doubtfully, and would place the league in 1560. M. Philippson, who accepts other league rumours very easily, appears to pass this league over unnoticed.

The second combination of circumstances likely to give rise to rumours of leagues was in the winter of 1565-1566. There had been the meeting of Catholic sovereigns at Bayonne in July 1565 (p. 195 note), and the correspondence of Mary with the Pope and with Spain (pp. 200 etc., 471 etc.). After each of these events rumours became current, that Queen Mary had joined a papal league.[1] Taking times and circumstances into consideration this cannot astonish us, even though our documents enable us to prove in this case that no such league was concluded.

It is not necessary to follow this obscure subject further. There were rumours to the same effect in January 1561 and on 29 July 1562 (*Foreign Calendar* 1562, No. 387, § 1), October 1563 (Le Laboureur, *Additions aux Mémoires de Castelnau*, ii. 326), September 1564 (*Foreign Calendar* 1564-1565, No. 642), etc., besides many others of less importance. The matter is also complicated by the efforts which have been made to prove that the massacre of St. Bartholomew was long premeditated (E. Marcks, *Die Zusammenkunft von Bayonne*, Strassburg, 1889, p. 321). But the student of Queen Mary's reign in Scotland need only concern himself with the alleged leagues of 1559 and 1566, the possible genesis of which has now been indicated.

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[1] 'They of the religion think that there has been at this meeting at Bayonne some complot betwixt the Pope, the King of Spain, and the Scottish Queen by their ambassadors, and some say also the Papists of England. It is constantly told of the Scottishmen here that the French have promised aid both of money and victuals to the Scottish Queen, if she will attempt to overturn the new religion in her country.'—Smith to Cecil, Bayonne, July 1565; *Foreign Calendar*, 1564-1565, No. 1280. See also p. 194, *infra*.

For the league rumours of February 1566, see p. 233 *h*, *infra*.

M. Philippson believes that the negotiations of Mary, Philip, and the Pope at this period (printed here in full, *infra*, pp. 191 *et seq.*) constituted 'une véritable ligue,' *Règne de Marie Stuart*, iii. 86. He bases his opinion partly upon Melville's erroneous statement about the subsidy (p. 224, note 1), and Philip's letter of October 16 (p. 213). But, as I have elsewhere explained (*The Month*, March 1901), this author constantly confuses informal sympathy with formal leagues.

To sum up. Whether there were any papal leagues or not during this period, we ought to be prepared to find rumours and reports of them. There were such rumours, though it has not yet been determined satisfactorily how they arose. The universal absence of diplomatic documents concerning them proves that they do not correspond with any real negotiation between European powers, and our collection of documents is not liable to the charge of incompleteness in that it contains nothing about these alleged treaties.

Section II. Pope Pius iv. and the loss of Scotland.

The last section closed with good hopes for the ancient Church of Scotland; this opens with letters written without any misgivings whatsoever as to its permanence. Their dramatic interest is furnished by their date. For as Thornton wrote, 23 January 1560, the English fleet was occupying the Forth, and the ancient Scottish Church was falling to rise no more. The victory of the Congregation was ensured when England took its side. The Scottish bishops then retired to Edinburgh Castle, Pellevé to Leith, and Knox's party was supreme over the rest of the kingdom.

One of the first acts of Pope Pius iv., who had been elected on December 25, 1559, was to grant the faculties constituting Pellevé legate for Scotland.[1] The contrast between this promptitude and the unwise delays of his predecessor indicates the commencement of a better state of things. A new generation of men was entering upon the scene, willing and capable of prosecuting the long-expected counter-reformation. Ere long we shall see the new Pope recommence and bring to a happy termination the often interrupted Council of Trent.

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[1] The application of Francis ii., 16 January 1560, is printed in Ribier, ii. 841, but the grant, 26 January, must have been made before its arrival. The post between Paris and Rome took seventeen to twenty-four days. See p. 264, vi.

Nor will the reforming influences at work within the Catholic communion cease with the close of the Council. On the contrary, they will develop and coalesce into a force which will check the long series of victories won by the Reformation. The old religion will not be everywhere victorious, but it will everywhere challenge the new. It will win back some of the lost ground, and will acquit itself creditably, even when unsuccessful. For all that, the failure of Pellevé's mission was already an accomplished fact. The ample bull of faculties (pp. 31-39) indicates only what might have been, what he might have done, if he had had a free hand. What he actually did help the Queen Regent of Scotland to do, is soon told by Ferreri: 'She has restored the monks at Edinburgh, who had previously been cast out. The altars, which had been overthrown, are again raised, and upon them sacrifices are offered according to Christian rite and ancient usage, which are better attended than ever' (p. 418). Bishop Leslie adds that he solemnly proclaimed 'freedom of conscience' for all religions in Edinburgh, and that the learned French theologians who accompanied him, by their sermons and disputations, confirmed those who doubted, and re-animated those who stood firm.[1]

Buchanan, writing a little earlier, gives, *more suo*, a very different account. He says that the bishop gave orders to slaughter those hostile to Rome, as well as those unfriendly to France.[2] Even if he should be right, the fact would only appeal to the historian of papal negotiations indirectly. Pellevé never acted as papal legate, and it may be doubted whether he received his legatine faculties at all. The contemporary documents, however, which allude to his conduct as a French representative and diplomatist, support Bishop

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[1] *De rebus Gestis Scotorum*, Jebb's *Scriptores* (1725), i. 216.

[2] G. Buchanan, *Rerum Scoticarum Historiæ*, lib. xvi. *ad fin.* Castelnau's erroneous account of this mission (see p. xxxi. *ante*) may be partly due to Buchanan, whose history was published in 1582.

Leslie's rather than Buchanan's view of his conduct. His first instructions, September 1559, do not seem to be forthcoming. In October his letters are said by Sadler to have been 'gentle.' In November Francis and Mary order him to 'compone disturbances' by means of a 'national assembly'; and in April 1560 he is commissioned anew 'to bring back their rebellious subjects, by all gentle means and amnesty for the past.' [1]

But after all we are not much concerned with what Pellevé did as French diplomatist. Our business rather is to inquire into the course of papal negotiations, and to see whether Pius may not have succeeded in supporting the French cause in other ways. But imperfect as are the Vatican records for this period, they are sufficient to force upon us the conclusion that for the moment the Pope looked on as a mere spectator. We should at least have expected him to beg Philip to intervene in favour of the French. But the summaries of the despatches show (pp. 44, 45) that the papal agents, though well informed about the progress of the Spanish intervention, took no part in it. The mediation of Philip was desired by Francis and Mary because they hoped thereby to obtain the loan of ships with which to relieve Leith. Elizabeth too was courting his aid, because so long as France did not assist the beleaguered garrison, and Spain stood her friend (p. 459), she could not fail to win eventually. Philip did not appreciate the position or know what to do. In the previous autumn he

[1] Bain, *Scottish Calendar*, i. Nos. 549, 570, 706. There is a good deal of information concerning Pellevé to be found in the despatches of Gilles de Noailles, French ambassador in London at this period. There is an interesting volume of his papers in the Ministère des Affaires Étrangères at Paris, *Correspondance Officielle, Angleterre*, vol. xx. At folio 277 of that volume there is an account of his entry into Edinburgh, dated 10 November 1559, and in the same series, vol. xxi., folio 139, a long letter from the Spanish ambassador, London, 12 August 1560, in which he describes the visit paid him by Pellevé on the return journey from Scotland to France. The Frenchman was naturally angry with Spain because of her friendliness with England, and the Spanish ambassador has to exert all his skill to defend his master's policy.

had sighed for Mary Stuart's death.[1] Now, by half measures, he succeeded in doing just what was necessary to ensure Elizabeth's final victory. His delays left her a free hand, and the advice of his most trusted counsellors kept her alive to the supreme necessity of a strong navy.[2] The intervention of Spain, says Bekker, was certainly 'one of the primary causes of the diplomatic and military disasters of France, which were sealed by the Treaty of Edinburgh on 6 July 1560.'[3] But the Pope not only did not help France, he even instructed his agents not to commit themselves to any policy which might lead to the Holy See being 'constrained to grant an expensive subsidy.' And the reason of this, forsooth, is that Scotland 'is not yet declared schismatic' (p. 46), whereas in fact the victory of the Reformation was already complete. At various times hereafter we shall find Rome ill-informed on Scottish matters, but never, I think, so wide of the mark as in this statement.

As to the claims of Queen Mary to the English crown, Pope Pius IV. appears to have been as apathetic as we have seen him in regard to French predominance in Scotland. It is true that he was evidently reserving to himself a right to speak upon the subject. His language (pp. 46, 51, 60), though vague, implies that in the last resort he would proceed to extremities against Elizabeth. On the other hand, whenever the subject is mentioned, he makes it clear that he has not yet taken any extreme measure, and that for the moment he does not wish to do so. In this policy he persevered

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[1] 'Si la reyna moça se muriesse, que diz que anda muy mala, nos quitaria de hartos embarazos, y el derecho que pretenden a Inglaterra.' ('If the young queen should die—and they say she is very ill—it would save us from many troubles, and the claim to England which they make.')—Philip to Granvelle, 24 August 1559, in Weiss, *Papiers d'État*, v. 643.

[2] Teulet, *Relations*, ii. 82; see also *Foreign Calender*, 1560-1561, No. 109, § 8.

[3] E. Bekker, *Die Spanische Vermittelung*, in the *Giessener Studien*, Giessen, 1887, iv. 62.

throughout his life. His last speeches on the subject (pp. 213, 229) state the conditions under which he is prepared to act against her, exactly as he had stated them at first. We may therefore draw the conclusion, which could be strengthened from other sources, that, whatever his inclinations may have been (see especially pp. 173-176) he never did in point of fact take any active steps in Mary's favour against the English queen.

Evidence corroborative of this will be found in the attempts of the Pope to negotiate directly with the Protestant queen, *e.g.* by the missions of Parpaglia and Martinengo (1560, 1561), with which we have nothing to do here, as they had no direct relation to Scotland. It may, however, be worth noting, as a corrective to inaccurate statements current on this subject, that the Pope does not at this time display anything like the same concern for Mary as he does for her English rival. The letters addressed to Mary during her reign in France are merely complimentary, the most important being that sent with the Golden Rose (pp. 48, 49). 'But she after all was but a woman, and absent' from her country (p. 48). No one foresaw, indeed no one could have foreseen, the part she was to play in the future, and before Pope Pius had decided upon, much less initiated, any policy towards Scotland, Mary's short reign as Queen of France came suddenly to an end by the untimely death of her husband, Francis II. (5 December 1560).

If we ask ourselves the reasons of this apparent apathy of the Pope in her regard, the answer should probably be, because he saw in the first place that little or nothing could be done for Scotland until some solution had been found for the difficulties of England; secondly, because he hoped that through the Council of Trent, which was now being taken in hand seriously, all the evils of Europe would to some extent be remedied; and thirdly, because he was still very much under the influence of Spain, and by consequence out of touch with

France. Whatever professions he made of readiness to enter into the plans of the Cardinal of Lorraine (p. 47), his preference for those of Philip II. was incontestably greater (p. 51).

Section III. Communications with Scotland restored.

So far we have seen little or nothing in the course of papal negotiations which was praiseworthy. But with misfortune came wisdom. The losses of the old Church had now all but reached their maximum, England and Scotland had fallen off, France and Flanders were in a state of incipient revolt. From this moment a distinct improvement is evident throughout its administration. We have heard bitter complaints over the slow pace at which papal reform moved. Now it is the papal agents who blame the delays of others (pp. 61, 71, 88). Their own activity and enterprise are everywhere in evidence.

Whereas Henry II. of France had reproached the Pope with not having done his duty in encouraging virtue and reproving vice, and the Cardinal of Lorraine had thought it necessary to beg the Pope to give his niece 'the great consolation of a brief' (p. 87), neither hint nor remonstrance was now necessary. The briefs of this section overflow with good advice and encouragement (pp. 53, 55, 56, 72, 88, 93). Papal envoys are filled with hopes (p. 68), and Catholics of less distinction indulge in extravagant expectations (p. 98).

The characteristic note of papal negotiations at this period is zeal to re-open communications with those whom the Reformation had sundered from the old Church. Messengers are sent twice to Elizabeth to invite her to the Council, though neither France nor Spain views their mission with pleasure (p. 51). Gian Francesco Commendone, afterwards a cardinal, travels up and down Germany, doing his best to enter into friendly communications with the Protestant princes, and to induce them to come to Trent. Hippolito d'Este, the Cardinal of Ferrara, is sent to Paris in order to conciliate the French,

who were talking of holding a national council by themselves. His instructions were not friendly to Elizabeth (p. 58), nevertheless he tries hard to win her (pp. 81-84).[1]

Before Mary left France, as has already been remarked, her inborn greatness was an unknown quantity. Papal negotiators at any rate show no appreciation of it. It is true that, writing to the Pope, perhaps in answer to the brief of 6 March 1561 (p. 53), she made some 'promises' about religion (p. 74), but of their terms we know nothing, as the letter is lost. Her departure was not spoken of as the expedition of a papal champion 'with a purpose fixed as the stars, to undo the Reformation.' On the contrary, the Guises and the papal nuncio talk of 'concord and union' between her and Elizabeth, as being from henceforward 'a settled thing' (pp. 62, 63). Her letter to the duke, her uncle (pp. 435-444), affords the clearest evidence that she then looked forward to an intimate alliance with the Queen of England, and was

[1] The legate's readiness to commence negotiations is partly, perhaps, due to his desire to arrange matches advantageous for his nephew, the Duke of Ferrara, and for his ally the Duke of Savoy. They wished to marry the Duke of Nemours to Elizabeth, the Duke of Ferrara to Mary. His go-between was Obertino Solaro, Signore di Moretta (called indiscriminately Muretta, Morretta, and Morette, and occasionally entitled 'Conte' di Moretta), a gentleman from the court of the Duke of Savoy, whom we shall meet again later on. In the State Archives at Modena (*Roma, Francia, Lettere di Hippolito Card. d'Este*, 1561, 1562, and *Torino*, 5, *Lettere di Bernieri*, 1561), and Turin (*Lettere di Ministri, Francia*, Mazzo 2), there are many letters from him, which contain several small details about Mary's movements and the marriage transactions. I was unfortunately unable to find the report of what he did in Edinburgh, but after his return to Paris, the cardinal wrote to the Duke of Ferrara to tell him that Elizabeth would probably marry the Earl of Leicester, and might perhaps send representatives to the Council of Trent. 'As for the Queen of Scotland, she will be wholly ruled [as to marriage matters] by her uncles. It would seem that there are some dealings with the son of the King of Spain, but I believe that it is a matter of words with little foundation in fact. She is now entirely occupied in pacifying her kingdom. She found it so abandoned (*tanto perso*) in matters of religion, that it was only with great difficulty that she got permission for herself and her followers to hear Mass in private. Where there is such discord in affairs that are principal, there can be little agreement in the rest.' He therefore advises him to look for a wife elsewhere.—St. Germains, 3 February 1562, Modena, *Lettere di Card. d'Este*.

not weighed down by her responsibilities as a Catholic sovereign.

To the Pope the importance of her position depended upon her constancy. When she had proved this by deed and word, and had 'certified and assured the Holy Father that she is prepared to die rather than abandon her religion' (*Spanish Calendar*, p. 222, and *infra*, p. 87), then there was no mistaking the influence she would be able to exercise on the fortunes of Catholicism. If she were mated to a prince of adequate powers, great consequences for Northern Europe would follow. 'Three kingdoms would be assisted [to retain or recover Catholicism], the disorders and revolutions of Germany would be in great part remedied. . . . It would have very important effects on the affairs of France and Denmark, not to say on others' (p. 69). The alleviation in the lot of the Catholics, which soon ensued in Scotland, roused courtiers like Pellevé (p. 447) and exiles, such as we must suppose the writer of the 'News of Scotland' to have been, to a state of genuine enthusiasm (p. 98).

But even before he knew what was in her, the Pope had perceived the importance of securing for her a Catholic husband. He made up his mind at a remarkably early period that the Archduke Charles of Austria was the most fitting candidate for her hand (p. 59), and he supported his suit (except for one moment of hesitation, p. 178) until Darnley arrived in Scotland. The emperor soon followed up the Pope's suggestion by making appropriate inquiries (pp. 53, 87). But this was done cautiously and very quietly. In public his answer was so cool, that the Pope did not know what to do next (p. 60).

It has been said that this section is characterised by a desire on the part of the Papacy to enter into friendly relations with every one, and to learn the truth about all the world. Especially then shall we expect to find a desire to be in communication with Mary, and to know all about her.

Her position in Scotland, which she ruled but did not as yet govern, was hard for the Romans to understand. The men of the sixteenth century could scarcely imagine a monarch who was less than the absolute master or mistress of the bodies and souls of his or her subjects. The reports about Mary added to the difficulty by contradicting each other in many important particulars. There were optimists like the Bishop of Amiens, the nuncio at Paris, and the news-writer of April 1562 (pp. 72, 94, 447). These men told one story, while others reported that 'everything was disturbed' (p. 101), and that Mary might be 'constrained to a heretical marriage' (p. 71).

Under these circumstances it was natural that the Pope should wish to send Mary a special envoy, in order to discover the truth of the matter, and Commendone's interesting letters about her must have strengthened him in this resolution. By December his Holiness had made up his mind to send her a Jesuit Father, for the Jesuits might have been called the 'handy men' of the Catholic Church at that time, and were frequently sent off on missions which in ordinary circumstances would have been discharged by a prelate of rank.

Pius therefore summoned the Vicar-General of the Society, Alfonso Salmeron (Father Laynez, the General, had been sent to the Conference at Poissy, whence he passed to Trent, without returning to Rome), and required him to provide an envoy for the purpose. The Father Vicar made the usual excuses, that they were really very short-handed, and that their able men were already over-occupied. But the Pope would take no denial, and on reflection, Father Salmeron remembered that he had the very man for the purpose then awaiting orders in Holland. This was Father Nicholas Floris or Florissens. He, however, was not known by that name, but was called after his native town Gouda, and was known as Nicholas Goudanus, which is variously translated as Goudan, Goudain, or de Gouda. He had made a rather brilliant start

in his life as a Jesuit, having done good service at the Diet of Worms in 1557, but after that his health began to fail; and, although he was convalescent, at the moment of which we write he had less than four years of life before him (p. 489). Briefs were issued on 3 December 1561, directing him to proceed to Scotland, and these were sent to him on the 16th by Father Salmeron, in a letter enclosed to the Jesuit Provincial and future General, Father Everard Mercurian, from which the above particulars are taken (pp. 72-81).

On the 1st of January Commendone reported a long interview at Ancerville, near St. Dizier, with the Cardinal of Lorraine, Mary's uncle, in which he learned all the most authentic news that had yet been received about her since her departure from France, together with the plans, the hopes and the fears, which her family entertained for her future (p. 87). Continuing his journey, Commendone met Father Mercurian at Ehrenbreitstein on January 21, 1562, and heard with delight the news of de Gouda's mission. 'Really,' he wrote back to Rome, 'no better way could have been found of communicating with that queen or of assisting that realm than by making use of one of these fathers' (p. 92). He added the suggestion that a second order should be at once sent to Mercurian to accompany de Gouda on his journey. His reasons were complimentary to both parties. De Gouda is so very wrapt up in his prayers (è persona tutto spirituale), that although he will faithfully discharge all that obedience lays upon him, he will not have eyes for many things in Scotland which the Pope would expect to be informed about. Mercurian, however, as more active and exercised in posts of authority, will take broader views, and his reports will not fail to contain all the information desired (*ibid*).

Commendone's advice was not acted upon in Rome at that time; indeed its first result seems to have been very different from what he had intended, for it appears to have drawn down a smart reprimand on good Father Mercurian. How it

all came about cannot now be followed in detail, as some links in the correspondence are missing. But we are surely right in believing that Commendone, while he wrote to Rome to urge them to send Mercurian in de Gouda's company, would simultaneously have advised Mercurian not to let de Gouda start until he heard again from headquarters. Mercurian did keep de Gouda back, but his letter (now lost) explaining the reasons for waiting by a mishap frequent in those days did not arrive in Rome till May. Salmeron, a great disciplinarian, was extremely put out at the delay in the execution of the Pope's orders, and reproved Mercurian, not for having waited, but for not having 'multiplied' letters to Rome to explain his reasons (pp. 100-102). The correspondence is interesting as showing the vigour with which the early Jesuits maintained discipline even among their higher officials, though in this case that vigour, as it seems to us, was hardly requisite. Father Mercurian, however, took the correction without murmuring, devoted himself to the task of providing de Gouda with the necessary changes of dress, and of finding him suitable travelling companions. He selected a French priest for this purpose, as de Gouda did not talk that language, and for a guide he was so fortunate as to meet a young Scot, who was at that moment returning home to wind up his affairs, before leaving all to enter among the Jesuits. This was Edmund Hay, who was destined to play the leading part both in this mission and in all the subsequent work which the Jesuits did for Scotland until the time of his death in 1591 (pp. 103-106).

On the 10th of June our party put to sea, after some minor adventures recorded by Father Adriani in a letter sent to Rome to notify their departure, a letter which did not arrive in time to stop the Pope's further orders of June 3, sending Mercurian to Scotland in de Gouda's place. Now that we have Commendone's letters, these orders are easily understood, but they have misled Philippson and other writers, who

had access to a small part only of the correspondence on this subject, into thinking that Mercurian really went (pp. 106-110).[1]

Section IV. Reports upon de Gouda's Mission

Father de Gouda landed at Leith, June 18, 1562, and his adventures soon began. The fourth General Assembly of the Reformed Church was just gathering, and as Mary and her courtiers made no great secret of the envoy's arrival, there was soon so serious an outcry, that Edmund Hay thought it wise to make the papal envoy withdraw to the family house at Megginch in Perthshire, near Errol, where his father was 'Baillie' (pp. 113-139, §§ 4, 5).

After waiting there about six weeks Mary sent him word that she would give him audience, and the Hays provided him with a mounted escort, which conducted him safely into Edinburgh, where the queen's almoner admitted him, though unwillingly, into his house. Next day, which Father de Gouda remembered as the vigil of St. James (July 24), was a Friday, and in those early days of Calvinistic fervour, there was a custom, observed by the Protestant courtiers, of attending sermons on Wednesday and Friday as well as on Sunday. This was the moment Mary chose for the interview. De Gouda was secretly introduced, made the queen a little speech, and read her the Pope's letter. Mary said that, though she could follow Latin, she could not easily converse in that language, so Edmund Hay, and Father Rivat, de Gouda's French companion, who were waiting outside, were called in, and Hay became the interpreter, Mary talking to him in Scottish (§ 6).

There were three main topics of conversation: the answer to be made to the Pope's brief (§ 7), the delivery of the other

[1] M. Philippson, *Règne de Marie Stuart* (1891), ii. 40.

briefs to the bishops (§ 8), and the means for preserving Catholicism in Scotland (§ 9). Mary's answer to the brief turned chiefly on her helplessness, which the Pope had not fully appreciated. As to the delivery of the briefs, it would certainly be impossible for de Gouda to do so in person. Mary even refused to give him a safe-conduct, assuring him that his only security lay in keeping quiet within doors. Any official letter in his favour would bring him into danger of a violent death, which she would neither be able to avert or to avenge. De Gouda, omitting the little exhortation on perseverance which he had prepared to address to her, had just begun to open the question of the means to be taken for the preservation of the faith, and to urge the foundation of some Catholic college, when the time for the sermon to end approached, and Mary, saying that the moment might hereafter come for the proposed measure, though it was not practicable just then, had to dismiss them hurriedly (§ 10).

Father de Gouda was very favourably impressed with this interview. Mary's goodness and defencelessness struck him deeply, and not without reason. That he does not exaggerate in what he says on this point (§ 21) is evident from Randolph's letters (p. 140). Mary renewed before de Gouda her oft-repeated resolution, rather to die than forsake her faith, and when he left, he was full of admiration, almost of enthusiasm.

The second command laid upon him was to visit the Catholic bishops and invite them to the Council of Trent, and this part of his task he found more difficult and less satisfactory than the former. Although he reports that they were 'for the greater part Catholics and men of good intentions,' yet he was disappointed with their lack of enterprise. Henry Sinclair, Bishop of Ross, for instance, lived in Edinburgh and was president of the Court of Session, a post of dignity, the holder of which might have been expected to give a papal nuncio some support. Yet Sinclair refused to see him even when Mary invited him to do so. He did not conceal his

vexation at de Gouda being so rash as to send him a letter, and refused to acknowledge its receipt except by verbal excuses (p. 134). The only bishop with whom he secured an interview was the Bishop of Dunkeld, and he succeeded in doing this only by disguising himself as a banker's clerk, and visiting the prelate in his retirement on an island in a lake, and talking at dinner about nothing but money matters (p. 135). De Gouda was so impressed by these precautions, that he says nothing of a short and touching opening of hearts that took place when the servants had retired. William Crichton on the other hand, who was a relative of the bishop and afterwards a Jesuit of some eminence, and then acting as de Gouda's guide, was so impressed by its warmth that he says but little of the disguises by which security for the interview was obtained (p. 148).

When we consider that results such as these were the best that de Gouda could expect to accomplish, we can understand that there was nothing left for him but to return home as well as he could. On the 3rd of September he succeeded, not without difficulty, in escaping from Scotland and in reaching Antwerp on the 13th (p. 139). Edmund Hay crossed over soon after, bringing with him a band of young Catholics, Tyrie, Abercromby, Murdoch, and others, some of whom, after passing through the long Jesuit training, were eventually to return and labour in Scotland (p. 148). But that was not to be for another score of years, and meanwhile, René Benoist, Mary's chaplain, had left her in August, and Ninian Winzet, the last controversialist of the old school, came over with de Gouda's party. Thus for the time the prospects of the unguarded flock of Scottish Catholics and of their defenceless queen looked dark indeed.

But de Gouda does not maintain that Mary's defencelessness was her greatest danger, nor do the documents of this volume prove that it was so. We learn that in the beginning of her reign she had with difficulty saved her bishops from prison for

saying Mass at Easter-time (p. 137). In the last two years of her reign nine thousand and twelve thousand persons respectively received Easter communion in her chapel without exciting notable comment (pp. 496, 521). The change was due partly to her strength in defeating the Anglo-Protestant party in the field. But she would never have gained this victory, nor have been able to make use of it, but for the loyalty of her people. Though they had revolted against her in her absence, she had won their confidence by trusting herself to the guidance of her ministers. It may be true, as Bishop Leslie says, that she gave herself too completely to hunting, dancing, and other amusements. The fault, however, was upon the right side. It tended to reassure her subjects, to show that she had no ulterior intentions against their religion, it left time for the old order of things to reassert its hold upon their affections.

The 'imminent peril' to which the papal envoy does draw attention (p. 136) is the character of the ministers who kept her in leading strings. Some of these men were doubtless honest, except where their bigotry was so strong as to impede the right use of reason. As they would have murdered de Gouda (pp. 143, 148), so they thought it right to banish from Mary's side every counsellor, who did not hold their particular religious tenets. But there were others about her who, though they were not bigots, cannot be considered honest men. Among the courtiers of this class the first place was given by papal diplomatists (as by many modern historians) to the laird of Lethington (p. 278). De Gouda's paragraph of warnings should be read together with Mary's words, 'Whatever difficulty there is about religion, they conform in other things to that which I desire. Above all my brother the prior and Lethington show themselves well affected . . . [Lethington] serves me right well' (p. 444). It is clear then that 'the most crafty of men,' as Laureo called him (p. 391), had already won her confidence.

De Gouda's presentiment of 'imminent peril' should be compared with Laureo's final retrospect when the catastrophe had taken place. 'It was impossible, humanly speaking, to expect good [in Scotland], while he [Lethington] enjoyed the queen's favour' (p. 402).

An example of the way in which Mary was induced to act against her own higher interests may be found at the end of de Gouda's last report. 'As I was going to seal up my letter, Ninian Winzet came in to say that the Earl of Huntly and his second son had been killed by the queen's bastard brother. It was the earl from whom I was expecting a more courageous answer' (p. 156).

Huntly was the Catholic leader of Scotland, not indeed a leader of a very high type, but still the man to whom the Scottish bishops when the crash came had sent the national relics of Scotland for safe keeping.[1] But Mary's ministers persuaded her that his power was a menace, and his intentions hostile, and she gave full support to the breaking up of his power at the battle of Corrichie, and to the drastic legal proceedings which followed.

Upon this affair our documents throw a new and not unimportant side-light. On the one hand Mary wrote soon after it to the Cardinal of Lorraine, begging him to 'make my excuses, if I have failed in any part of my duty towards religion' (p. 163). All those who are acquainted with Mary's skill in the gentle art of self-defence will, I think, agree that this act of contrition, notwithstanding its conditional form, should be taken for a confession of fault. On the other hand another letter was sent off on the very same day to the same person, but of a very different tenour. Unfortunately it has been lost in quite recent times under singularly vexatious circumstances. It was purchased by the British Museum not

[1] J. Robertson, *Inventaires de la Royne Descosse* (Bannatyne Club, 1863), p. xxv.

many years ago, was duly catalogued, and seemed destined to enjoy a happy immortality, when it was accidentally burnt while on the binder's premises, 10 July 1865. All we know of it therefore is the description of its contents[1] given in the Museum catalogue, and the evidence as to its tone furnished by the Cardinal of Lorraine, when he forwarded the original letter to the Austrian court (p. 163).

From the latter we learn that the letter described the fall of the Catholic lords in terms, not of guarded penitence, but of open triumph. 'Thanks be to God, the victory remained with her, and she has had such punishment inflicted on the vanquished, that she now finds herself in peace as she was before' (pp. 163-164). The difference is striking, but easily explained. The first letter was Mary's own composition, the second was written by Lethington in her name. The burnt letter from the Egerton manuscripts was in his handwriting.

Nor is this all. While Mary, her relatives, and the Pope are taught to thank God for her escape from that dangerous rebel Huntly, the Scotch Protestants are taught to think that Huntly's dangerous rebellion was due to the Machiavellian practices of the Pope, of Mary, and of her relatives. This last is the version of the affair put forward by Buchanan, and it is due to him to suppose that what he wrote was substantially what the Scottish Protestants accepted. And from whom were the Scottish Protestants likely to have accepted their version of these occurrences except from Murray, Lethington, and their party?

[1] British Museum *Catalogue of MSS.*, vi. 925, Egerton, No. 1962. '(1) Draft of a letter from Mary Queen of Scots to the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Duke of Guise, relating circumstances of her recent progress to the North of Scotland, the seizure of Lord Huntly's castle of Inverness, etc.; dated "du dernier Janvier, 1562." French. In an autograph of Sir William Maitland of Lethington. Sent "par le Sieur de Clermont." (2) Draft of a letter from Sir W. Maitland of Lethington to Queen Mary, exculpating himself from participation in the murder of Rizzio. This volume was entirely destroyed in a fire on the binder's premises, 10 July 1865.'

If this be so, then we have two versions of the same facts, put forward by the same ministers, which are in scandalous contradiction to one another, and there can be no mistaking 'the imminent peril of the good lady' who was guided by counsellors such as they.

It may not be amiss to quote Buchanan's version of the affair of the Gordons in full, as it appears to contain references to de Gouda's mission from the Pope, which is not alluded to by other Scottish contemporaries, such as Knox, Melville, Lord Herries, or the writer of the *Diurnal*. It is also possible that the story is a conflated one, and that it contains reminiscences of Laureo's mission, which Buchanan does not otherwise explicitly mention. In this case the alleged letter of the Cardinal of Lorraine might be a hostile version of Laureo's *empresa*, of which we shall see more below (p. cxi.).

'Hi [Gusii] cum veteres ecclesiæ Romanæ ritus restitui vellent, nec id vivo Moravio perfici posse arbitrarentur, ad eum quovis modo tollendum omnem ingenii vim intenderunt. Spem perpetrandi sceleris multa eis faciebant: inprimis autem, quod Galli, qui reginam deduxerant, domum reversi, quantæ essent Gordonii opes, quam inquietus animus, quam item operam in missa asserenda pollicitus esset, omnia paullum supra verum augentes, exposuissent, re in aula Gallica multum inter Papanos agitata: hæc eius perficiundæ ratio tandem est inita. Scribunt ad reginam, "Ut Gordonii vecordiam promissis alat: Joanni eius filio spem suarum nuptiarum magis ostentet, quam promittat: ut hac spe occœcatus, quo vellent, impelleretur:" simul nomina eorum edunt, quos una interimi vellent. Ad hæc literæ pontificis Romani et cardinalis eodem incitabant. Nam cum ad immodicum, cui regina assuerat, luxum, opes publicæ non sufficerent, a pontifice Romano pecuniam tanquam ad bellum, adversus eos qui ab ecclesia Romana defecerant, poposcit. Is rescripsit obscurius; sed cardinalis aperte, "pecuniam ad id bellum non defuturam: sed iis demum interfectis, quorum nomina essent edita." Has regina Moravio, cæterisque ad cædem destinatis, literas ostendit, sive quod indicium ad eos aliunde permanasse crederet, sive ut animi sinceri et occulta consilia ab iis non separantis, faceret fidem.' (Georgii Buchanani

Rerum Scoticarum Historia, lib. xvii. § xxxii.; ed. Ruddiman, Leyden, 1725, p. 603. The work is said to have been begun in 1568, and was printed in 1582.)

Section V. The Council of Trent

Scotland was perhaps less concerned in the Council of Trent than any other nation of Europe. Yet she too had her interests in that assembly; and Mary had been urged by France as well as by Rome to send representatives thither. 'Madame,' wrote the courtly Bishop Pellevé, 'the princes of Christendom are wont to send envoys to such an assembly. Even the Queen of England will do so, I think, on her own behalf, and she has let this be understood as from herself: this will give you good reason for doing the like. It is a place where all the great princes and kings wish to preserve privilege of session and precedence. I say this, Madame, even with regard to what is only temporal' (p. 448).

Somehow these words do not sound like the summons to a vigorous religious reform. The strange blending of things temporal and spiritual, the diplomatic reference to Elizabeth, presage confusion and failure as much or more than unanimity and success. In the sequel we shall see that the grand schemes of well-intentioned friends, whose zeal did not always befit the occasion, resulted, not in advancing Mary's fortunes, but in revealing the weakness of her cause.

The significance of Mary's letters of 31 January 1563 (p. 163), in so far as they regard the fall of the Gordons, has been already explained. Here we notice that she now definitively excuses herself from sending to the Council, though she promises to live and die a Catholic. The import of the next batch of documents (pp. 164-167), concerning the Chatellar incident, has likewise been adverted to while treating of the so-called papal leagues (*supra*, p. xxxix).

We do not know the occasion which led to Queen Mary's

letter to the Council of Trent (No. 47), in order to announce her adhesion to its decrees notwithstanding her inability to send envoys. The receipt of this letter evidently made some stir, for the letter-writers of the time advert to it so often that we can reconstruct its history in minute detail, from the time the letter was posted down to its final registration (pp. 167-170, *a* to *h*). We even know the rather meaningless amendments which were moved to the Council's answer by two free-lances among the bishops (p. 169 *e*). The letter was read at the public session of the 10th of May 1563; and then the Cardinal of Lorraine pronounced a long address 'in the style of which he is master,' making in its course a reference to what seems to be a vague but early recognition of Mary's claim to the English throne, or rather her right to the title 'Defender of the Church [*sic*], a dignity otherwise bestowed on the English kings' (p. 169, *b*). The report cannot be quite accurate as it stands, though we may presume that it is not very far wrong. The answer of the Council contains perhaps higher praise of Mary's piety and constancy than was ever bestowed on her by authority before or after (p. 172). Of course the language of compliment must not be pressed, especially when its composer deprecates criticism upon it (p. 168, *d*). The courtier-like prayer that Mary might 'extend the boundaries of her kingdom' will be understood in the sense described above, p. xli. note 1.

The next group of documents is of great importance. The papers relating to the proposed excommunication of Queen Elizabeth, and the recognition of Mary's claim to the English throne, are seen to affect the interests of most of the countries of Europe. Yet, in spite of its importance, the subject seems to have been broached by the Pope in a very casual fashion. He had not only no immediate political object in view, but he did not even perceive the grave consequences which would follow from his action. Pius IV. was a conciliatory, diplomatic pontiff, but it seemed to him quite

natural to do what the councils of old had done before. Arius and Eutyches had been excommunicated at Nicæa and Chalcedon, therefore at Trent the great heresiarchs of the Tridentine age should be declared to be outside the pale of the Church. Elizabeth, being the highest in rank and power amongst those whom the Council considered as heresiarchs, it followed as a matter of course that sentence ought to be pronounced against her. Prudence required that the matter should be considered beforehand, but, as no special directions were issued, we may presume that no special difficulties were foreseen (p. 173, *a*).

When the Pope's orders were received at Trent, they were accepted in much the same ordinary matter of fact way in which they had been issued. The cardinal legates who presided over the Council happened to have a convenient *ballon d'essai* ready to hand, which would enable them to calculate the welcome which the papal project was likely to receive. A proposition had just been received from Louvain concerning the excommunication of the queen. Its authors are not mentioned, but we may presume that the English exiles for religion in that town had a good deal to do with it. A discussion of this plan might be proposed by the legates, and if it proved acceptable, the papal propositions might then be put forward without fear of consequences. On the 11th of June therefore they caused the proposal to be read to a small private commission, at which were present representatives of France, of the emperor, of Poland and of Savoy (p. 174, *b*). The minutes of the proceedings I have not found, but we have the reports of the imperialist representatives to the emperor, and his answer. We have also the answer from King Philip's representative, Cardinal Granvelle, though not the communication made to him.

On June the 11th the negotiation had proceeded in the same matter of fact fashion in which it had been begun. Cardinal Hosius had even sent on to the emperor, together

with the memorial on the excommunication, a short discourse on the advantages which might accrue to Austria from it. Mary might then marry an Austrian archduke, and bring him England as part of her dowry (p. 176).

But when the proposals came before the statesmen upon whom rested the responsibility for the peace of Europe, they were received in a very different manner. The pacific Emperor Ferdinand was not only displeased, but, as the Nuncio Delfino said, more angry than he had ever seen him before. Though not denying the competency of the Council in the matter of the excommunication, he required that the discourse on Mary's claim to the English throne should be absolutely suppressed. A letter, milder in language, but identical in object, was soon after received from Spain. What response was received from France and the minor powers does not appear, nor is it necessary that we should inquire, for the project was now dropped with the same facile unanimity, with which it had at first been taken up. Hosius explained that he had only meant to bring the matter to the emperor's knowledge without in the least advocating its execution, the Pope retracted his first orders, the emperor was pacified, and at the end of the Council heretics were excommunicated in general terms only, without any specification of the individuals on whom the censure was to fall (p. 174, *c-i*).

In this little episode we see the sharp contrast between the two schools of thought which were at work upon the reform and reorganisation of the Church. There was a conservative school taking its ideas from antiquity, and sometimes from remote antiquity; there were others who desired to adapt themselves to the times, and who, in the opinion of the old school at least, 'allow themselves to be carried away by interests of state' (p. 381). We see them interchange ideas, and in the present case the victory remains entirely in the hands of the opportunists.

We now come to a negotiation, the ramifications of which

are more widely extended than has been hitherto imagined. It has already been shown that the Pope recognised from the first, what ought not to have been hard to forecast, that Mary's fate or at least her fortune, would turn upon her marriage. He had also from the first advocated a match with one of the Austrian archdukes. The documents now to be considered will set before us the one occasion on which he swerved from his original plan, and how that change was due in great measure to the craft of Lethington. The lines on which the negotiations proceeded during the year 1563 were these.

In February 1563, the Cardinal of Lorraine, finding himself at Trent within reach of the emperor at Innsbruck, made an excursion thither, and in his capacity of guardian to Mary, reopened negotiations for her marriage with the Archduke Charles. The emperor entered into the plan, if not with enthusiasm, at least with earnestness. Du Croc was soon despatched to convey the news to Scotland, but as he had other business to transact on his way, he did not reach St. Andrews until May the 10th (p. 177, *b*).

Mary was delighted with the unwonted abundance of news from her distant friends. 'For three days,' says Randolph, 'they gave themselves up to nothing else but to reading and hearing tales.' The marriage proposals, however, were not to her liking, for she had set her heart on the more specious alliance with Don Carlos, Prince of Spain, and, at the very moment that the Cardinal of Lorraine was interviewing the emperor, she was adventurously sending forth Lethington to make suit to the Spaniard (p. 177, *c*).

By the middle of March that wonderful diplomatist had fascinated de Quadra, the Spanish ambassador in London, and fairly won him over to his projects. At this moment the first news of the Cardinal of Lorraine's negotiations at Innsbruck reached London, and threw the Scotsman into a state of great indignation. He describes himself as having

written off to the cardinal, 'á toda furia,'[1] to stop further proceedings. Doubtless he set forth his own project with consummate attractiveness and skill, and the cardinal, who had been the first to desire the Spanish match, would, of course, have gladly consented to it even now, if he had thought it safe and practicable. In fact, however, he remained unconvinced, and knew not what to do. The Spanish ambassador with the emperor summarises the position in the words, 'El Cardinal esta muy perplexo' (p. 177, *e*).

Lethington now played his trump card. Knowing that jealousy of France was the most powerful of spurs to prick the Spaniard into action, he went to de Quadra on his return from Paris, and with memorable and splendid audacity told him that the King of France himself was proposing for Mary's hand. The effect of this manœuvre was magical. De Quadra posted off the news to King Philip, and the prudent monarch was aroused to some sort of action. He gave leave to de Quadra to take up the negotiation, at first (June 15) with reserve, afterwards (August 15) with hardly any restriction. Nevertheless the extraordinary secrecy on which he insisted should have warned Mary's friends how little reliance they ought to base upon him. The man who did not speak promptly, firmly and clearly was not likely to act with that great vigour which from the nature of the case was indispensably necessary for success (p. 177, *d*).

In effect Philip's support, by its ambiguity, soon ruined every chance of success for all the foreign matches. His desire of the Don Carlos match lasted as long as he felt the goad with which Lethington had stirred him into action, and no longer. As soon as his fear of the French match calmed down, his objections to the marriage with his son revived. He was asked by the emperor to support the match with the

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[1] *Fuensanta del Valle, &c., Documentos Inéditos*, lxxxix. 105; *Spanish Calendar*, p. 422. The reporter is Guzman de Silva.

archduke, and he consented. But he was still far from espousing this new cause with that singleness of aim which alone could have ensured success, considering the strong opposition to be expected from the Protestants of England and Scotland. For instance, when he ordered his ambassadors to favour the archduke, he added the following directions, 'Let them look to it how they proceed in this matter, which must be so that the French do not lose their dread of the marriage with the Prince [of Spain], so that they do not intervene in the marriage with the archduke, and procure that of the king. In that case only would I return to the negotiation for the prince.'[1]

In these words Philip is laying down a policy which could but lead to failure. He was endeavouring to attain simultaneously two ends which were mutually opposed to one another. To pretend to advocate a match with Spain was quite incompatible with wishing to encourage one with Austria. His policy therefore could only seem wavering and unsettled to Mary's would-be friends, all of whom looked to him for support. They were inevitably confused and disheartened. Queen Catherine de Medicis, who really desired the match with the archduke, 'was more scared than ever she was in her life' (p. 465), lest Mary should marry the Prince of Spain. Philip's want of straightforwardness made her more adverse than before to her daughter-in-law, whose interests might be so contrary to hers. The old emperor, who had never been enthusiastic about the match, was further estranged from it. The Cardinal of Lorraine was 'much in doubt,' and the Pope—to bring a long but necessary digression to a close—swerved in his advocacy of an Austrian alliance for Mary.

Whether there was any other cause for this except the vacillation of the Spanish king does not appear. All that we know is that when the Cardinal of Lorraine arrived in Rome

[1] *Documentos Inéditos*, xxvi. 522.

in September 1563, he found the Pope in favour of the Spanish match. Apparently the cardinal had little difficulty in talking him round again, and showing him that the match with the archduke was preferable. The Pontiff even consented to take an active part in recommending Spain to favour it, though in so doing he did not commit himself very seriously to the scheme (p. 178 *c*). Visconti, who was on the point of starting for Spain to treat about the Council of Trent, was allowed to act as the cardinal's spokesman. At the same time he is instructed to state clearly that these are not affairs pertaining to his Holiness, but matters discussed by the Cardinal of Lorraine with the Pope (p. 179).

It only remains to say that the Pope's assistance, slight and guarded as it was, did no good to the cause it was meant to aid. Visconti's mission resulted in failure. Philip believed that he had made difficulties between France and Spain in the matter of precedence, and would pay no attention to his negotiations (p. 179 note). But if Visconti did no good to the cause, there is no reason to suspect that he did it the least harm. Philip was never in principle averse to the match with the archduke (but see pp. 461, 462); and from this time (1564) its most earnest advocate was Philip's greatest minister Cardinal Granvelle, who repeatedly assured his master that, if he supported the cause 'with great sincerity' (muy da vero), it would succeed, and be for his interests. And Philip, if I read him aright, now wished to act in accordance with Granvelle's advice. But it was too late. The proper moment had been let slip, and it never returned. Lethington's cleverness had succeeded for the moment, but in the end it resulted in the breaking off of that match, which would have brought her a husband, more suitable perhaps for her surroundings than any other who was proposed. The result of keeping the really eligible suitors at a distance was that, in default of a better, Mary finally flung herself upon Darnley; and the ill-assorted pair dragged each other down with a fall, the tragedy

of which has hardly been surpassed in the history of the world.

The year 1563 therefore closed and the year 1564 opened with singularly little done by the Holy See on behalf of Scotland. Indeed, another twelvemonth was to pass before any affair of importance was taken in hand. Meantime we may well turn our attention to a small body of Catholic Scots, who during this period entered the Society of Jesus, and were destined to exert much influence on their co-religionists in later years.

Far the most conspicuous of these men was Edmund Hay, whose career as a Jesuit may be followed closely in the documents printed in Appendix III. After leaving Father de Gouda, who tells us a good deal about his early life (pp. 106, 116, notes), he and his companions, proceeding Romewards, visited Trent, where they were received by the Father General Laynez, and were sent on their way, furnished with letters-patent from the Secretary, Guan Polanco, which would ensure them hospitality at all the houses of the Society by which they might pass. Another note was sent on to the Father Vicar at Rome giving him an account of each of the candidates, and of their respective attainments (p. 479).

After this we hear little of them for two years. They were completing their course of training as Jesuits, and taking their degrees in theology. This process, which nowadays is spread over a considerable number of years, was then accomplished in a much shorter time. By August 1564, Father Hay, now a doctor in theology, had commenced his active career as a Jesuit in the college of Innsbruck, and was already under orders to go to Paris to undertake there a charge of greater importance (p. 480, No. 4). It says much for the attractiveness of his character that these orders could hardly be carried out. He was already such a favourite with the Archduchesses of Austria that they would not let him go. In September, however, the court was off on its summer holiday, and the

Father General at once seized the opportunity to send him off 'a la volta di Francia,' to take charge of the celebrated college of Clermont at Paris (pp. 483, 485). The letters which convey his appointment commend his discretion, goodness, and learning in very ample terms. He is already regarded as the possible superior of the future Scottish mission. He is informed of the movements of his fellow Scots, and is required to send back news of Scotland, and is warned to make sure that his information 'comes from a good source,' as his letters may be handed about, and perhaps be shown to the Pope (*ibid.*). The first of his letters, which is of more than domestic interest, is that which conveys the news of the approaching marriage with Darnley (pp. 191, 486), and from this time the series continues, with but few breaks, down to the end of our period. Upon the whole, there is no secondary character who can be studied to better advantage in these pages than Father Edmund Hay.

The Jesuit with whom we deal most frequently after Father Hay is Father Crichton. His praises are pronounced amply and authoritatively by Father Polanco (pp. 479, 487), and when he became rector of the Jesuit College at Lyons, he is frequently mentioned in the correspondence, for Lyons was an important station on the postal route between Paris and Rome. In his own letters traces may even now be discerned of that over-sanguine temperament, which led him, twenty-five years later, to take a prominent share in those impracticable schemes for bringing back the Catholic party to power, of which the principal was known by the name of the 'Spanish Blanks.'[1]

[1] The following account of the conversion of the future first Marquis of Hamilton by Crichton was overlooked by me at p. 487, *infra*. It is translated from F. Sacchini, *Historia Societatis Jesu*, Pars III. lib. i. 6 (1640), p. 2:

'William Crichton, with the help of others of the Society, brought back from heresy a most illustrious youth of the Scottish family of Hamilton. . . . He was the Duke of Chatelherault's son, and to him the crown of Scotland would have come had the queen chanced to die without leaving heirs. The young man,

We here make acquaintance for the first time with Father Robert Abercromby, the future chaplain to Queen Anne of Denmark (pp. 480, 506), with Father James Gordon, the adviser of the Catholic earls in 1595 (pp. 488, 515), and with Father James Tyrie, whose literary powers were not unknown even in Scotland (pp. 485, 505). We also say good-bye to Father de Gouda, for the message sent him on November 13 1565 was despatched three days after his death (p. 489).

While reading these Jesuit letters, one cannot but be struck by the missionary spirit which breathes in them. In a certain sense, no country in the world was more effectively closed against these Fathers than Scotland, yet they never give up hope of recovering it, they have no doubt that their turn will come, no fear that their labour will be in vain. For the present they endeavour to encourage the old clergy to do what they can (p. 481), they desire to enlist more Scotsmen in their ranks (p. 485), and when they can do nothing else they start a crusade of prayer (pp. 489, 490). We may be sure that a spirit like that will not remain wholly ineffective.

A concluding word about papal negotiations during the end of 1564 and the beginning of 1565 will not delay us long. Practically nothing was attempted or achieved. In 1564

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urged, as often happens, by the desire of sightseeing, had come to Rome, and was wandering in disguise about the city, when William Crichton chanced to meet him, and recognised him, being connected with him by certain ties of blood. With a caution proportioned to the hopes held out by such an accession to the Catholic cause, a hint is conveyed to Cardinal Borromeo, and by the cardinal to the Pope, who left to the Society the management of the whole affair. The young man, with vague suspicions aroused, was about to take flight in disguise, when he was courteously detained as an honoured guest by one of the cardinals. Hereupon Crichton and others of the Society being introduced made such an impression on him by their kindly services and skill in argument, that the young man abjured his errors and made a general confession. Then at length, being brought before the Pope, he was received by his Holiness in most fatherly fashion, and was presented with pious objects of great value; and, finally, deeply indebted (so he at least would have it) to our Society and to the Apostolic See, he departed from the city.'

there was an interchange of compliments, which, though not meaningless (pp. 18, 499), shows incidental signs of having been sent off somewhat at random (p. 185 note). How Wilson came to be in Rome does not appear. No acknowledgment is given of letters brought by him. No commissions to the queen were entrusted to him. Indeed, his northern simplicity seems to have been taken in rather bad part by his Italian hosts (pp. 486, No. 14). The extraordinary slowness of the posts at this time also demands attention. The lapse of ten, possibly of thirteen, months, during one interchange of letters between Edinburgh and Rome, forces this conclusion at least upon us, that intercourse between Mary and the Pope had now all but ceased.

Section VI. The Dispensation for Darnley

The year 1564 had been one of unusual peace in Northern Europe. The year 1565 saw the commencement of various new movements, which were destined to influence deeply the future peace of Christendom. The fortunes of the kingdoms and of the rulers of Spain and France were profoundly affected by the Conference at Bayonne, the relief of Malta, and the victory of Melandez in Florida. But to no country and to no prince was this year more fateful than to Scotland and to Mary Stuart. It brought home a 'long, lady-faced lad,' the harbinger of two years of world-renowned struggles for Scotland, with their sequel of twenty years of sad captivity for Mary.

In drawing up this part of the Introduction it will be necessary to turn more frequently than usual to other sources of information than those furnished by the Roman archives. There is in fact little or nothing to be found there concerning the commencement of the marriage negotiation, and the records of its progress present many difficulties. Not only do friend and foe describe the same event in contradictory

terms, but friendly witnesses themselves are not consistent. Sometimes we shall have to balance first-hand against second-hand evidence. Sometimes, when all evidence fails, we shall have to see whether a knowledge of church law and custom may assist us to arrive at a conclusion.

I. 15 *May to* 22 *July* 1565. *The request for a dispensation*

Ever since the death of Francis II., Darnley had been recognised as a possible, though (at first) only as a very improbable, candidate for Mary's hand. Then as the chances of other suitors began to fail, his prospects grew more and more promising, until by the end of 1564 he was the best compromise-candidate, if I may say so, in the field. No other suitor had as yet been found against whom English and Scottish parties had so few objections. In the course of the negotiations, as we shall see, everything eventually came to turn on his being a Catholic. But, Catholic though he was, of that accommodating class which haunted Elizabeth's court, he entered the field unsupported by any of the Catholic or continental powers, and unknown to the Pope and his diplomatic agents. We do not find in their despatches any information as to his prospects, or any hopes built on his chances of success. It was, on the contrary, suggested that Elizabeth had sent him for other than honourable purposes (pp. 464, No. 10).

On the 17th of February 1565 Darnley was introduced to Mary at Wemyss, and was well received, though there was nothing resembling love at first sight. It was not until the 15th of April that Randolph announced that the possibility of marriage between them was a question of practical politics.[1] On the 18th he adds that the Protestants are

[1] As we shall soon have to balance first-hand against second-hand evidence, we may as well take a warning from this letter as to the sort of variations that are found between the two. On the 15th of April Randolph's strongest phrases were, 'I believe it is more than a bruit that this queen . . . will be content

much disturbed at the prospect of a Catholic king. Then Darnley fell ill, and did not recover until late in May.

During this sickness some engagement took place between the lovers. We have no authentic record of its terms, and the contemporary allusions to it differ considerably. Not only do friend and foe contradict one another, even those who were best informed do not speak consistently. To attend to the latter only: the Pope on the 2nd of September is reported to have spoken of 'the marriage which had been made' (deste matrimonio que se ha hecho); while on the 25th of the same month he speaks in the most formal way 'of the marriage *to be made*' (de matrimonio contrahendo) between them (pp. 212, 221, 224). These expressions, however, may apparently be reconciled *inter se*, and with our statement about the engagement, if we advert to the possibility of the word 'marriage' having been used in a broad sense as an equivalent to 'betrothal.' This would not have been unlikely in those days and under those circumstances. Betrothals were then celebrated with considerable solemnity, both religious and civil. For this reason, and others which need not be discussed here, they resembled marriages more than they do

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to forsake all other suitors, and content herself with him.' On the 18th he added, 'Whatsoever I wrote last, I can [now] boldlier confirm. . . . The godly cry out that they are undone.'—Bain, *Scottish Calendar*, 1564-1567, pp. 142, 144.

In the English official summary of Randolph's letters (Stevenson, *Selections*, p. 136) we find the news in this form: '15 Aprilis, Randolph wryteth that he now fyndeth it playne how the queen is affected to the lord Darnly, even to marry with him.' '18 Aprilis, Randolph wryteth that all good men see the ruin of that countrie by the marriadg with the lord Darnly.'

These letters would have reached Elizabeth about the 24th or 25th of April, and on the 26th de Foix reports that Elizabeth alleges that Randolph has said, 'que la Royne d'Escosse s'est marié avec Milord Darnley, fils du Comte de Lenos, ne restant pour la consommation que les cérémonies de léglise.'—Teulet, *Relations*, ii. 193.

On the same day de Silva reports Lady Margaret Lennox as saying, 'que tiene por hecho este negocio de su hijo y sin duda' (that she holds the affair of her son as settled, and out of doubt).—*Documentos Inéditos*, lxxxix. 110; *Spanish Calendar*, 1558-1567, p. 425.

now, and greater liberty of intercourse was allowed to persons espoused. Even the terms could to some extent be interchanged. In the Sarum rite, for instance, the marriage service itself is called 'Ordo ad faciendum sponsalia'; and in modern English we can still use the word 'espouse' (and its derivatives) both for marriage and for betrothal. The use of the word 'married' for 'espoused' was doubtless less usual.[1] But in colloquial expressions it was quite intelligible, and there is no reason why we should not understand the first statement, attributed above to the Pope, as having been made in this popular sense. It was Mary's alliance with Darnley which Cardinal Pacheco had in mind when he sent on the Pope's words to Philip of Spain, not the precise nature of the matrimonial rites which they had already gone through. These circumstances and changes of usage appear sufficient to explain all that is contradictory in the various reports which have come down to us concerning Mary's betrothal, the date of which may be conjecturally ascribed to the beginning of May.[2]

On the 15th of May Darnley was sufficiently recovered to leave his room, and was created Earl of Ross. This was no doubt intended as a sort of public declaration of their engagement. As to the future accomplishment of it, Throckmorton in his report to Queen Elizabeth of the 21st of May told her that 'he did well perceive it was in her majesty's power to dissolve this matter betwixt her and Darnley (if she liked to use her power).' The Scottish queen, however, 'as she hath

[1] The qualifying phrase in Granvelle's message, 'La royne d'Escosse est marrié *de tout*' (*infra*, p. lxxxi) shows indirectly that without an adjunct the word 'marriage' might have been understood to apply to betrothal.

[2] No accurate record of the date of their engagement seems to be preserved, but it *must* have taken place within a week or two of this time, *i.e.* before 15 May. The anonymous but friendly and well-informed writer of the *Relazione*, printed in Labanoff, vii. p. 67 (written eighteen months after the event, from information apparently derived from Mary's own household), says that they were 'sposati catolicamente da un capellano in camera di David [Riccio]' during the period of Darnley's sickness, and of Lethington's absence in England.

willed me to ascertain your majesty,' will not 'consummate the matter these three months, in which time she will use all means to procure your acceptance.'[1]

It was not the acceptance of Elizabeth only which Mary had to gain during those three months. All her relatives, and the Cardinal of Lorraine more than the rest, expressed disapproval; Cardinal Granvelle was still exerting himself on behalf of the archduke; and the assent of the King of France was doubtful. Above all, what would Philip of Spain say, after his support had been so earnestly requested for other matches?

Mary, however, had already begun to take measures which would help her to meet these various difficulties. As far back as the close of 1564 she had begun to inquire whether she might recede from her previous offers to Philip in regard to Don Carlos and the archduke without the loss of his support (pp. 463, 464, Nos. 5, 7). Philip, however, had so far maintained an obstinate silence (*ibid.* Nos. 6, 8). Perhaps he really feared some marriage which might be prejudicial to his interests; at all events he succeeded in keeping Mary's agents in considerable anxiety.

Great efforts were now made by Lethington in London, and by the Archbishop of Glasgow in France, to obtain from Spain a formal sanction of the match with Darnley, and in due course that consent was given freely and fully through two channels. The Duke of Alva conveyed his master's approval to the Archbishop of Glasgow with all due solemnity about the 26th of June, while a similar message was sent by letter to Guzman de Silva in London. The second message probably reached Mary about July the 5th, while the more formal communication would have arrived about the 20th of the same month.[2]

Castelnau in his *Mémoires* tells us of the assent given by the

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[1] Bain, *Scottish Calendar*, p. 163.

[2] *Infra*, p. 468, No. 17; *Spanish Calendar*, 1558-1567, pp. 432, 457.

French king, but he unfortunately does not tell us when it was given.[1] Nor do we know when the Cardinal of Lorraine began to support it. This is the more regrettable, seeing that our ignorance on this point involves our not knowing the time when the first petition was made to Rome for a dispensation, for this application was made through her uncle. Yet even though he was far from being a man of iron will, we can hardly think that he would have undertaken this until Roulet and Rochefort, the messengers whom he had just sent to dissuade Mary from the match, had returned. They did not pass London on their way north till the 23rd of May, so it must have been well on in June before the cardinal received their report, and sent his courier to Rome to apply for the dispensation. Sir Thomas Smith, the English ambassador in France, wrote home on the 5th of July from a different part of the country, that the cardinal's messenger had started for Rome. He arrived there on the 20th of the same month (pp. 194, *b*; 199, iv.; 200, *a*).

Meanwhile the cardinal's delay must surely have come to Mary's knowledge, and must have troubled her not a little. She had resolved to wait three months, counting from the middle of May. That would have given time for an express messenger to go to Rome and bring back the dispensation.[2] But a delay even of a few weeks would mean, that this all-important preliminary for the solemnisation of the marriage could not be ready in time. This was the more disappointing, in that she had kept back her own messenger to the Pope,

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[1] S. Jebb, *Scriptores de Vita Mariae*, 1725, ii. 464.

[2] The post-times to and from Rome of some of the letters in this collection can be approximately decided. Page 188, seven months (exceptional); p. 234, ten weeks; p. 261, nine weeks; p. 328, ten weeks. On pp. 163, 168, 177, we have records of six weeks, seven weeks, and three months, as the post-times to Trent. It will be frequently noticed that nuncios and others responsible for sending news to Rome do not hesitate to forward information which will be three months old and more by the time that it reaches its destination. We also see that the great difficulty lay in arranging through connections. Edinburgh news *could* reach Paris in ten days, and pass from Paris to Rome in seventeen days (pp. 348 and 264, vi.).

William Chisholm, Bishop of Dunblane, whose introduction to Cardinal Borromeo bears date the 24th of May 1565.[1] She now reverted to her first resolution, and despatched him to Rome at the end of June (p. 201). The date of her letter to Elizabeth, requesting a pass for him, gives us the clue to the secondary motive for the bishop's mission. At the moment she was signing this letter at Perth, on the 28th of June, she was making hasty preparations to escape southwards, before the 'factious Lords' could gather their forces to intercept her at Beath (p. 212, note). Her envoy had therefore two objects to attain. He was to procure her a dispensation, and to request from the Pope a war subsidy against the insurgents.

It will be well at this point to summarise the progress of affairs from May the 20th to July the 20th, the first two of the three months which Mary had agreed to wait before solemnising her marriage. Abroad all opposition had been overcome. Messages had arrived from France and from Spain, approving the marriage as excellently suited to Mary's circumstances. The Cardinal of Lorraine's courier was just arriving in Rome 'to require a dispensation at the Pope's hands' (p. 195), and the Bishop of Dunblane was speeding across Europe (his journey to Rome is the fastest of which we have definite record in our volume) to second the petition. But at home, where the match had at first been (by comparison) most favoured, the agitation against it was daily becoming more serious. Though no open violence had as yet been employed, the chances that it would be altogether avoided were infinitesimally small.[2]

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[1] The autograph is now in the Bibliotheca Ambrosiana at Milan. It will be published ere long, I hope, by the Bollandist, Father Van Ortroy, S.J., in his forthcoming life of St. Charles. Suffice it here to say that the letter contains no direct allusion to the dispensation, but begs the cardinal to credit what the bearer, the Bishop of Dunblane, will report on the state of Scotland.

[2] Compare Father Hay's letter, p. 197, i, with Randolph's letters during July 1565, in Bain's *Scottish Calendar*.

II. *22 July to 29 July. Rumours of a dispensation. Mary's marriage*

At this moment, long before the courier of the cardinal could be attended to, or the bishop reach his destination, Mary took one of those bold, irrevocable steps, by which on more than one occasion she suddenly and violently changed the course of her life. On the 22nd of July the bans of her marriage with Darnley were 'proclamit in the paroche kirk of Sanctgeill, in Halyrud hous, and in the chepall royall,' and on the Sunday following they were wed, though, as will appear in the sequel, no dispensation had yet been granted by Rome.

The circumstances of this fact are still obscure, and two theories concerning them will need discussion. (1) Whether Archbishop Hamilton could have dispensed her as being legate of the Holy See; (2) whether she dispensed with dispensations altogether. But it will be best to postpone this discussion until we have reviewed *all* the documents of this section, for several of later date throw back a not unimportant light upon the matter.

These documents fall into two very distinct classes. (1) The official and first-hand documents, written by those who took part in the affairs they describe (Nos. 54 to 61); and (2) the *Avvisi* or *Newsletters* (Nos. 53 and 62). These latter, like modern newspapers, whose forerunners they were, have an authority, which cannot be summed up in brief. The news they contain is sometimes derived from a too loquacious, but perfectly well-informed minister of state, sometimes from common gossip of no authority whatsoever.

The Roman *Avvisi*, on pp. 199, 200, have certainly been drawn from at least two different sources. When we endeavour to piece the various bulletins together into a consecutive story, we perceive that they go to make up, not one consistent narrative, but two different versions of the same course of events. According to one set of reports—in modern parlance

we might almost say, according to one news agency—the dispensation was granted on or before the 17th of July. On the 8th of August there is talk of the Cardinal of Lorraine's agent, Musotti, carrying it back 'sealed with gold';[1] and on that day week Bishop Chisholm of Dunblane, on his arrival in Rome, found that it was already in that agent's hands, 'who is to take it as soon as he gets an answer from his master' (p. 199, iii., vi., vii., viii.). According to other reports things proceeded very differently. Whereas we had been told that the dispensation was granted by the 17th of July, we are now told on the 21st that a courier has arrived 'to *try* and obtain' what was previously reported as already granted, and 'it is *believed* that the request *will* be granted' (*ibid.* iv.). Again, when 'the Scottish bishop, who had come for the dispensation of the queen,' left Rome, we hear that 'the dispensation had been granted *him*.' But as the bishop did not arrive till August, this news-writer does not suppose that the grant was made in July.

We have here two irreconcilable accounts of the date at which the dispensation was issued. To settle which of the two statements is the more reliable, we must have recourse to the higher authority of first-hand documents. We may say at once that these documents support not the earlier, but the later date for the dispensation, though the earlier date was very widely accepted by the public of that day. It is expressly mentioned by Lord Paget, writing from Venice six weeks later, as having come from Rome at this time (p. 195, *c*). It is also distinctly described by Baron Bolwiller, who told Cardinal Granvelle that the rumour came from Rome to Vienna, while he was there, that is to say on the 1st of August,[2]

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[1] According to modern usage there would be nothing exceptional in this, as Mary was a royal personage. But whether the same custom held in the sixteenth century seems doubtful. A. Giry (*Manuel de Diplomatique*, 1894, p. 674) also doubts whether matrimonial dispensations were thus sealed.

[2] Weiss, *Papiers d'État*, ix. 498.

which supposes that it started from Rome in mid-July. The report, too, which was credited by the nuncio in France, and to which we shall return ere long, can hardly have been anything else but that now under consideration. Moreover, when once we find that a rumour has spread so very widely, we can hardly help supposing that it became practically universal. It is not impossible that the passages in our historians, which describe the advent of the dispensation before the 22nd of July, are all ultimately derived from this untrustworthy source.[1]

[1] A catena of the statements of historians, with some additional contemporary reports, may be added here without further comment.

(*a*) 22 August 1565. Besançon. Cardinal Granvelle to Baron Bolwiller: 'La Royne d'Escosse se maria publiquement le xxi[e] du mois passé.'—Weiss, *Papiers d'État*, ix. 498 note.

(*b*) 8 September 1565. *Ibid.* Same to same. 'La royne d'Escosse est marriée de tout . . . et devant que faire les nopces a obtenu dispence de Rome pour estre parenz.'—*Ibid.* ix. 502.

(*c*) 1568. During the trial proceedings of 1568, both sides owned that the dispensation had been mentioned at the conference at Craigmillar (December, 1566); and that it was suggested that the document should be abstracted in order to obtain a divorce. Each side, however, attributes the suggestion to the other. The statement of Mary's advocates is given at p. 195 f., *infra*. That of her accusers in the *Detection*, Anderson, ii. 13; Buchanan, *Historia*, lib. xviii. cap. iv., etc. The earliest form of the latter is perhaps in the draft at Cambridge, DD. 3, 66, fol. 2b. Mary is here said to have proposed 'that the way to be quyte of the king in apperance was best to moove ane actioun of divorce againis hym quhilk mycht aeselie be broucht to pass be resoune of the consanguinitie betwix thame, the dispensatioun being abstractit.'

(*d*) No date. *The continuation of Knox's History.*—'The dispensation being come from Rome for the marriage, before which, according to the Romish law, it was unlawful to marry being cousin-germans, brother and sister's children, and so the degree of consanguinity forbidden.'—Laing's *Knox*, ii. 495, margin.

(*e*) No date (after 1568). G. Buchanan, *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, lib. xvii. cap. xlviii. (ed. 1725, p. 614).—'Erat et illa Reginae festinandi caussa non levissima, quod suos avunculos a nuptiis illis aversos non dubitabat; igitur, si mora longior interponeretur, metuebat, ne quod ab illis, quod rem prope confectam turbaret, impedimentum objiceretur.'

(*f*) No date (about 1580). John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, *Paralipomena* (in W. Forbes-Leith, *Narratives*, p. 104).—'The Bishop of Dunblane went on a mission to the Supreme Pontiff to obtain a dispensation because of Darnley's consanguinity with the queen, and in this he was successful.'

(*g*) No date (xvi. century). *Anonymous Life of Mary*, British Museum, Caligula, B iv. fol. 143.—'She temporising for some space from consummating ye mariage, and the chiefest reason thereof was to have the Pope's bull for

Although this rumoured early dispensation was so much talked of, I may say at once that I cannot find any clue to the origin of the belief. It may be connected with the dispensation rumours, which were current as early as March (p. 194, *a*). It may have been started in France; it may have been put about by Mary's friends there to explain the stories, which were told at an early date, that she had really married before any formal request for a dispensation had been instituted (pp. 199, v.; 467, No. 13). However this may be, we cannot do wrong so long as we steadfastly follow our first-hand authorities, with fidelity proportionate to the danger of going astray, if we trust to other sources of information.

III. *The first-hand evidence for the date of the dispensation*

The earliest first-hand document which we possess on this subject is an extract from a letter written on the 23rd of July

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dispensing with the impediment that occurred through the consanguinity between her and her husband that was to be.'

(*h*) 1 February, 1603. Report of the Council of State of Spain to King Philip III. on the English succession.—'The Catholics consider him [James VI. of Scotland] illegitimate, because there was no dispensation given for the marriage of his father and mother, who were closely related; the son [James ?] is also by many considered illegitimate for reasons which would be difficult to sustain in a court of justice.'—*Spanish Calendar*, 1587-1603, p. 727. This report is professedly based upon a paper sent in by Count Olivares, the Spanish ambassador in Rome. The 'Catholics' referred to in the first line will therefore have been the English Catholic exiles there, whose chief representative was Father Robert Parsons.

(*i*) No date (before 1640). Spottiswoode, *History of the Church and State of Scotland*, ed. 1655, p. 191.—'The dispensation of the marriage being brought from Rome.'

(*j*) No date (about 1640). Calderwood's MS. *History*, British Museum, Additional MSS., 4734, i. 630. (After quoting Buchanan and others).—'The queene had sent the Bishop of Dumblane to Rome for a dispensation to marrie with lord Darly, her cusin, in the second degree of consanguinitie, which was obtained.'

(*k*) 1734. Keith, *History*, ed. 1844, ii. 344, states that the bishop 'brought from Rome the Pope's dispensation for the marriage, by reason of consanguinity.'

(*l*) Labanoff, *Recueil*, i. 277.—'Le 22 juillet, l'évêque de Dunblane arrive de Rome avec les dispenses du pape, et les bans du mariage de Marie Stuart sont publiés dans l'église de Saint-Gilles à Edimbourg.'

1565 by the Cardinal of Como, vice-secretary, to the nuncio in France, informing him that the Cardinal of Lorraine 'has written to his Holiness for the dispensation for the Queen of Scotland and the Earl of Ross. An answer *will soon* be given, and I believe it *will* be a favourable one, for they found great hopes on the religion of that young man, though they own that hitherto he thought fit to dissemble it' (p. 201). 'Soon' (*presto*), in a Roman sense, means something very different from what it signifies in English, and we see that it is here used in its un-English signification. This appears from a question put by the cardinal to the nuncio, which would probably take weeks—in fact it took him two months—to answer, for he was following the French court in its progress through the south-west of France, and the country posts were most irregular. The nuncio was requested to forward 'his opinion and that of the good Catholics of your court' upon the proposed match. The answer would have been invaluable had it been recoverable,[1] but I have not succeeded in finding it. The reference to Darnley's fickleness in religion, when he was in England, gives us a fresh reason for supposing that the Holy See was not in any extraordinary hurry to grant the dispensation.

Three weeks after this, Mary's envoy arrives in Rome, and delivered before the Pope a discourse, of which we have a somewhat defective copy at p. 204. To this we shall have to return, when treating of the second object of Bishop Chisholm's mission, the papal subsidy. In fact it treats of that secondary object only; the dispensation is not specifically mentioned. We must therefore suppose either that he had

[1] One would have liked to know, for instance, what the nuncio had to say of the attitude of the French towards Mary. It appears to have been friendly, though Alava states on August 21, 1565, that the French 'are more hostile to the Queen of Scotland than to the devil' (p. 468, No. 28). Perhaps these words are less important than they appear, for Alava was blinded with prejudice against the French, and expressed himself very obscurely.

treated of the dispensation elsewhere, or else that he left the pleadings entirely to the Cardinal of Lorraine's agent, who had begun to sue for it before his arrival. Nevertheless, when the bishop does chance to refer to the marriage he does so in terms which suggest that he thought the marriage had *not* yet taken place. 'Capit consilium' he says, not 'cepit consilium'; and again 'virum deligit' not 'virum delegit,' 'She adopts the plan of marriage, she chooses a husband.'[1] His language better befits an ambassador come to ask for a dispensation than a messenger who announces that a marriage has taken place.

On the 1st of September the Pope delivered an allocution on the subject in consistory. He said that 'it appeared to him that *there was no reason why he should not immediately* free them from the laws and grant a dispensation, especially as it was to be feared lest, if their request were refused, they might continue to hold to their purpose and carry it out; and also lest, if they set at nought the authority of the laws and of the Apostolic See in this matter, they might be bold to do the same in other things. Wherefore, lest religion be endangered in that kingdom, he was sure that he ought to grant this dispensation. He had had a very long conversation on the affairs of that kingdom with the bishop, *whom the queen had sent for this purpose.* Every possible care and precaution would have to be taken to prevent that country from falling away from religion. He would do all in his power to prevent such a thing from coming to pass' (p. 211). These words are of great importance, especially those which refer to Mary's possible inconstancy. We shall return to them later; for the moment we confine our notice to the bearing of the Pope's words upon the question of the *date* of the dispensation. They suggest that its grant is a matter of the future, so far at least as formalities go, though the

[1] By inadvertence I have inserted past tenses in my translation at p. 208.

principle of the concession has been already admitted. The dispensation is perhaps 'as good as granted.'[1]

This may be confirmed by an allusion to the subject in a letter from Cardinal St. Charles Borromeo to Queen Mary, dated at Bologna, 15 September 1565 (p. 221, ii.). He was then on his way to Milan, having left Rome on, or about, the very day of the consistory, so that his information may really not be later than that which he might have imparted on the first of the month. After assuring Mary that the Pope will always be favourable to her, he continues: 'And now he has granted with very great liberality that which you chiefly desired in the matter of the bishopric of Brechin, and the matrimonial dispensation, [being moved thereto by] your royal authority and his desire to be generous in the matter.'[2]

Here we have our earliest first-hand reference to the dispensation as to an event just passed. Perhaps it may not be fair to press the force of the tense too strictly, considering that the writer had left Rome a fortnight before. We may note that the grant of the bishopric of Brechin, of which he speaks in identical terms, was made upon the 7th of September.[3]

Whilst then it is possible that the dispensation was granted

[1] Joseph Robertson, *Statuta Ecclesiae Scoticanae*, i. clxix, quotes a somewhat different version of this speech from Rinaldi, *Annales* (the continuation of Baronius's *Annals*) for the year 1565, § 19. Rinaldi's text, however, is not a full one, and the omissions detract greatly from its value. The differences are not very material as far as our present purpose is concerned. The Pope is made to say in consistory on August 17, that the dispensation was already granted. This, if correct, would point to the same conclusions as those to which we argue in the text. Robertson adverts to the 'mystery' connected with the date of the dispensation, but then he has increased that mystery by unwittingly accepting Labanoff's erroneous chronology for the return of the Bishop of Dunblane with the dispensation before July 22.

[2] Nunc quod in episcopatu Brechinensi et in matrimonii dispensatione maxime optare visa es, vel tuae auctoritati vel suae in re benificae voluntati liberalissime tribuit (p. 221, ii).

[3] The process was held on the 2nd and 3rd of September (*infra*, p. 512), and the final sanction was given in consistory on the 7th.—Maziere Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, ii. 138.

before the 15th of September, there can be no doubt that it had been expedited before the 25th of the same month. On that day the Cardinal of Como, vice-secretary, wrote to the nuncio in France, 'with regard to the Scottish marriage, I will inform you that the brief of the Queen of Scotland, which I sent you, did not actually contain the dispensation, but was a reply to a complimentary letter of hers. The dispensation is being sent now by the Bishop of Dunblane, who came here to solicit it' (p. 216).

From this letter we can conjecture that the nuncio had answered the question addressed to him on the 23rd of July by a counter question, Whether 'the brief of the Queen of Scotland,' which he had forwarded to that country, was not the dispensation? The nuncio seems to have been surprised, and to have thought that the brief, which passed through his hands, was nothing else.

This is important. The Nuncio, Santa Croce, had sent to Scotland an apostolic letter, which he (in error) had thought to be the actual dispensation. What wonder if others besides him were under the same impression? This may be a clue to the confident assertions, that the dispensation had been issued before the 18th of July.

The 'brief of the Queen of Scotland' certainly seems to have been the brief of May 1, of which we have the text at p. 188. It is, as the cardinal says, 'a reply to a complimentary letter of hers' (p. 216). The registers contain no other such reply at this period, and in the dearth of intercommunication with Scotland no other need be looked for. Moreover this brief of May 1 (allowing ten weeks for the post-time to Scotland) would have arrived just at the moment that Mary was making up her mind to proceed to the celebration of the marriage. Could it not have been, that the brief, which passed for a dispensation in France, should have also passed for one in Scotland? If it was so, then we have already solved the problem as to the dispensation. Meantime

we have in any case unanswerable testimony that the real dispensation had not been sent off before this date, the 25th of September.

The same conclusion follows from the other letters of the 25th of September. To Mary the Pope wrote, 'Now that (*postquam*) we have heard . . . from the Bishop of Dunblane of the marriage *to be contracted* [*contrahendo*, the same word is repeated lower down] . . . concerning which we have a letter [*litteras*, as though it had not been the formal request] from your uncle, the cardinal . . . we . . . send you the dispensation herewith (*una cum his*)' (p. 222). To the Cardinal of Lorraine he said, 'An impediment prevented marriage from being contracted (*nuptias contrahendas*) . . . *She* asked for a dispensation [the cardinal's application again not treated as the cause of the concession] . . . We without delay . . . ordered it to be expedited' (p. 225). It is incredible that the Pope should have spoken thus to the cardinal, if he had in reality consigned the bull 'sealed with gold' etc., to Musotti, the cardinal's own agent, in order to be 'sent away to Scotland,' some weeks before Mary's agent arrived in Rome.

The first-hand documents are therefore at one in stating that the dispensation was granted 'immediately' or 'without delay' (pp. 211, 225) *after* Bishop Chisholm arrived (14 August 1565). These expressions of time in Roman parlance might naturally stand for a period of six weeks or thereabouts.

From the last mentioned letters, a further inference may, I think, be drawn. On the 25th of September, the Pope had not so much as heard of the marriage celebrated on July the 29th.

VI. *The MS. of the Dispensation and its date*

Turning now to the dispensation itself (pp. 216-220), we find two points in it which call for notice.

(1) According to the canon law of the Catholic Church

there was an impediment of 'consanguinity' between Mary and Darnley, in so much as they were first cousins, or, as the bull correctly states in legal terms, they were 'in the second degree from a common stock'; that is they were divided by two generations only from a common progenitor, viz. their common grandmother, Margaret Tudor, the sister of Henry VIII. of England.

But then the bull goes on to say that they were also 'in the fourth degree from another common stock.' This is true in one sense, but not in the sense that is meant. Thus Mary and Darnley were both descended from James II. of Scotland, and Mary was in the fourth degree from him. But in this case Darnley was in the fifth degree, and so the impediment did not really exist. Again, both were descended from Jane Beaufort, the wife of James I., and Darnley in the fourth degree, through her second marriage with John, Earl of Atholl. But Mary's descent from that queen was in the fifth degree, and so again the impediment did not arise. The matter, however, is of no practical importance, and may be due to the petition having been originally presented by an agent of the Cardinal of Lorraine, who may have mentioned it *ad cautelam*, not being quite accurately informed about Darnley's pedigree.

(2) The difficulty arising from the date is far more serious.[1] 'Apud S. Marcum Anno Incarn^nis^ Dñicae 1565, 8 kal. Junii' (at St. Mark's on the eighth of the Kalends of June, *i.e.* on May the 25th) is in the first place a contradictory date: place

[1] The reader will perceive that my difficulties as editor were at first increased by not having been able to discover the Vatican document before the body of the text was put into type from a copy made by the late Father Joseph Stevenson. I therefore felt bound to say that, sure as I was of the usual fidelity of my copyist, I was surer still of the mistake in the date, and that the simplest solution of the difficulty would be to suppose an error in *his* transcript. But just before the sheets were printed off, Dr. Herren, who had kindly corrected my proofs from the Vatican originals, discovered the Vatican copy, and confirmed the accuracy of Stevenson's transcript. The error is therefore inherent in the Vatican document itself.

and time do not agree. The Pope was at St. Peter's during May, and did not go to St. Mark's till the 2nd of July. Still stronger evidence of error is found in the document itself. Darnley is mentioned by the name of the Earl of Ross. But he was only given that title in Edinburgh on the 15th of May (p. 192, note 3), and it was not possible that this should have been heard of in Rome by the 25th of the same month. Nor was Mary likely to have named him beforehand by that title, for she had meant to have made him duke as well (*ibid.*). Again, if we suppose that the dispensation was granted in May, we must suppose that the application for it was made a couple of months earlier. But in March the marriage proposals were far from having reached the stage at which the request for a dispensation would have been made.

The name of the month is therefore evidently an error, but *presumably only a clerical error*. Our MS. is neither the original bull nor an authenticated copy of it. It is a transcript (perhaps a late transcript) the accuracy of which cannot be implicitly trusted, as it contains other evident errors (p. 219, note). It would have been no great wonder if the scribe did write *Jun.* for *Sep.* or *Oct.*, when he was tired at the end of his task. The script of the 'minutante,' moreover, whose draft he was probably copying, is extremely hard to read, and this increases the chances of the error being due to the copyist. In point of fact the familiar names of months often do go wrong in the transcription of dates (cf. pp. 49, 195). It will now be necessary to turn to some more complicated, and perhaps more striking theories, but this should not make us forget that the simplest explanation of the error is probably the right one.

If the error in the date was not accidental but deliberate, it must have been so for one of two reasons.

(*a*) The date may have been *falsified*, in order to suggest to a superficial observer that the document was issued before the marriage ceremony in July. The date 25 May, it will

be noticed, would have suited this purpose very well. It allows about two months, the ordinary post time, in order to reach Scotland before the proclamation of the bans on the 22nd of July.

Against the probability of this being the true explanation we must weigh the improbability of a falsification being introduced into a copy of the bull, which was made to keep at home. It would have been (apparently) useless there, and liable to detection, if confronted with the letters of September 25, of which we have lately spoken. Moreover, the professional good faith of the archivists has never been called in doubt.

(*b*) Again, it may be asked whether the bull might not conceivably have been dated on the 25th of May *by legal fiction*. The Pope, as legislator in ecclesiastical cases, has power not only to impose laws, but also within certain limits to legalise that which is otherwise illegal; and this power is often employed to put right marriages which are invalid. *Servatis servandis*, he would have been glad to validate Mary's marriage *if* he had known that it was deficient. It might be suggested that this end would have been accomplished if he had caused the document to be ante-dated. This would be tantamount to saying, 'This favour may date from the day on which I should have had to sign the bull, in order to ensure its reaching Edinburgh in time.'

Against this theory, as against the last, we must set the fact of the Pope having alluded to the marriage in the covering letters of 25 September as if it were still a matter of the future. The only admissible inference from this is, as has been said, that he did not yet know of the marriage of July 29, and therefore that he could not have thought of legalising it. Besides this, the covering letters were of their nature more public than the dispensation itself. We cannot imagine Pope Pius IV. (in case he did know of the marriage celebrated on July 29) *publicly* disregarding it while he was privately making it valid.

It may also be added that there were definite forms for rectifying illegal marriages. They are not used, nor is their absence explained. No one would take this document to be an act of legitimation, for it makes no claim to be such. We cannot imagine the Pope simply issuing an ill-dated instrument in order to put off superficial inquirers, when there were many others really acquainted with the circumstances of the case, who would not have been satisfied by it.

We have now seen all the documents bearing on the date of the dispensation, and they present to us three alternatives: (1) According to the first-hand documents the date was *between the 14th of August and the 25th September*;[1] (2) according to a popular report (but not the only popular report on the subject, for there is another which agrees with the documents just mentioned) the date was *before the 17th of July*; (3) according to one ancient text, which, however, is certainly more or less inaccurate and lacks all confirmation, the date was *the 25th of May*. Under these circumstances our principles constrain us to adopt the first-mentioned date, and to regard it as proven that the dispensation was not granted till after the 14th of August.

v. *How did Mary manage without a dispensation?*

This brings us back to the problem, which was left unsolved on an earlier page, How did Mary do without a dispensation on the 22nd of July? It will I think be safe to lay down the principle, that she would have taken the most legal course

[1] In the summary of evidence for the date on p. 217, I have gone a step further and taken the date to be definitely September 24. If we accept the day-number (the eighth before the kalends gives the 25th in May, the 24th in September), and the literal interpretation of the Pope's words as to the futurity of the dispensation on September 1, then no other conclusion is possible.

But as there is more evidence to prove that the dispensation was granted *during a certain period*, than *on a certain day*, the less definite statement here given is really the stronger of the two.

In the third line of the same note read 'issued' for 'granted.'

which was open to her. She was not perfect, as the sequel will show all too clearly; but she was never gratuitously irreligious. Though in her religious policy she may sometimes have been inconsistent, sometimes have compromised, sometimes have been regardless of forms which she should have observed, yet we always find her preferring the course which her religion sanctioned, when she could take it without danger or serious inconvenience. The problem therefore is this, What was the most legal, or, at all events the least illegal, course (from a Catholic point of view) which was open to her in order to attain the end she had in view?

In the first place, then, we may ask, whether she might not have applied for a dispensation to Archbishop Hamilton, who, as legate of the Holy See possessed very ample faculties. But ample as his powers were, we are able to prove that they did not enable him to act in this case. We have the bull of faculties granted to the archbishop's predecessor, and the faculty of dispensing in the second degree does not occur among them.[1] We have the bull of faculties granted to Hamilton himself by Julius III. on March 6, 1555, and it is not there.[2] When Julius died and the archbishop had to request the renewal of his faculties, he does not so much as ask for the faculty in question, but contents himself with petitioning for leave to dispense in the third and fourth degrees, which was already a somewhat rare privilege.[3]

We may go even further and say that there is no reason to suppose that the faculty to dispense in this degree was then delegated to others by the Pope. The Council of Trent forbids all dispensation in the second degree except in

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[1] Burnet, *History of the Reformation*, ed. Pocock, v. 414.

[2] The draft of this bull is in the Vatican Archives, *Minuta Brevium Julii III.*, and bears date 6 March 1555.

[3] *Liber Officialis Sti. Andree* (Abbotsford Club, 1845), pp. xl, 164. It will be noticed that Bishop Chisholm in his petition for extraordinary faculties only asks for faculties over the third degree (p. 517). Trivulzio and Pellevé, being deputed for ecclesiastical reforms, had no faculties of any sort for matrimony (pp. 7, 35).

exceptional cases, and delegates are never appointed to dispense at their discretion in cases which are confessedly exceptional. Moreover all dispensations for princes are by common consent reserved to the Pope, so that even if the legate should have had the necessary power, he would not have used it in their case.[1]

Putting aside therefore the theory of Archbishop Hamilton having granted the dispensation in virtue of legatine powers, we may next discuss the probability of his having granted it by virtue of the powers which in the ordinary course of law would fall to him as highest local ecclesiastical superior, in case reference to Rome were impossible. As the command of an army devolves automatically upon the next in authority, when some accident removes the commander-in-chief, so in ecclesiastical law, when recourse to the Pope becomes impossible for the time (or even *for the moment* if the necessity of proceeding at once with the marriage is extremely urgent), the power of dispensing devolves upon the highest ecclesiastical superior on the spot. But in this case it could not be pretended that recourse to Rome was an absolute impossibility, seeing that one agent was already acting for Mary in that place, and another was hurrying thither at full speed. But Mary might have argued with some plausibility, that she was in urgent need of a dispensation at that very moment, and that further delays might put her to grave disadvantage. A revolution was undoubtedly in process of formation in order to hinder the match, and if a revolution broke out, there might be an end to Catholicism altogether. On the other hand, if she could marry at once, the rebels would be deprived of their pretext for recourse to arms, and she would acquire a very much stronger position, partly because marriage would settle many things which now hung doubtful, partly because she and many others were still under the impression that

[1] H. J. Feije, *De impedimentis et dispensationibus matrimonialibus*, Lovanii, 1874, p. 613.

Darnley was a real hero, who would be the salvation of Scotland (pp. 197, 464).

That Mary should have entertained thoughts such as these and others more ingenious still is probable enough. But the question before us is not what Mary, but what the legate, thought. As a Hamilton he would perhaps have taken a very different view of the matter. His family then stood next to the throne, and Darnley's marriage involved an enormous diminution of its chances of succession. He would not have been at all anxious to strain the law in Darnley's favour. What harm, he would have said, in waiting another month or so to complete the full term of three months, as she had promised originally? Haste had its dangers not less than delay. Moreover, unless the necessity for instant marriage was evident, his dispensation was obviously liable to future discussion, and the marriage to reproach and doubt, which would be worse than no marriage at all. Is it probable that under these circumstances a Hamilton would have been over-partial to a Stuart? Is it not more likely that Mary, knowing the weakness of her cause, would never have left it so entirely at the mercy of a member of a rival house, as this theory implies that she did?

It therefore seems to me more likely that Mary decided *to act on the presumption that the dispensation was already granted.* The probabilities were, she would have thought, that it had in fact been conceded. She had taken the first steps towards obtaining it as early as the previous May. She would have heard that her uncle had despatched a messenger to urge the concession. She knew the Pope's very favourable dispositions towards her. She would have learnt the confident assertions, which were current abroad, that the dispensation was really granted, and she may quite well have believed that it was so. Moreover she had in her hands an instrument, which would pass without question for the dispensation itself, for she would have received from the nuncio in France the

brief which he (and therefore presumably everybody else) thought was the dispensation, and though upon reading it she would have seen that, in point of fact, it was not so, yet that did not at all prove that the rumours were false, that no brief was on its way towards her, which would legalise the marriage on which she had set her heart.

Thus arguing, so I conceive, she kept the reputed dispensation a secret from every one (p. 195, *f*) and proceeded at once to the marriage, which in future years she was so bitterly and so unavailingly to regret.

If she had only presumed to perform the ceremony of marriage, and postponed its consummation until the arrival of certain news of the dispensation, then even the strictest moralist could hardly find any fault with her. It may be that she did so, but when I read what the Pope said concerning her at this crisis, I doubt if she was likely to have shown scrupulous respect for these points of the Church law. After a long conversation with the Bishop of Dunblane, Pope Pius said that, if he refused the dispensation, Mary would nevertheless probably 'hold to her purpose' and even 'endanger' religion in that country[1] (p. 211). Again, on the 15th of October, he had feared that Mary was likely to act 'in a way very disadvantageous and hurtful to the Catholic religion' (p. 228). Though the last utterance was probably made on the strength of some erroneous information, yet it fits in with his other words, and shows us that Mary's best friends did not think her incapable of acting with as much, and, indeed, with far more recklessness in regard of papal regulations than I am attributing to her.[2]

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[1] The force of this remark must not be exaggerated. When a petition for dispensation is being discussed, it is quite usual for reference to be made to the dangers that will ensue, if the request is refused.

[2] The same sort of recklessness with regard to papal dispensations may, I think, be observed in Mary's policy of granting charters confirming the sale of Church property. It would be impossible in this note to set forth the evidence fully, for it is circumstantial and covers a wide sphere. Briefly, however, I may say, that Mary from April 1565 onwards began to grant in considerable numbers

Whether this theory adequately sets forth Mary's subjective reasoning in defence of her action in marrying Darnley before the arrival of the dispensation, we shall perhaps never know. But I do not despair of hearing of the discovery of papers throwing light on the sequel of this episode. The proceedings, which we have hitherto traced out, must have had some further consequences. There must have been some subsequent ratification of the marriage either in public or in private. But no record of such a measure seems to be known. Public attention was soon taken up with the struggle for life between Mary and the Protestant party. Amid the clash of arms the close of this negotiation passed unnoticed. Yet even at the time Lethington's suspicions had been aroused by the mystery which surrounded the dispensation proceedings (p. 195, *f*), and forty years later Count Olivares reported that the English Catholic exiles, who were then opposing James VI.'s succession to the English throne in the event of Elizabeth's death, 'consider the king illegitimate, because there was no dispensation given for the marriage of his father and mother, who were

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'confirmatiouns of infeftments of fewferme of kirk landis,' which were, she said, 'as lauchfull and of als greit strenth and avale, as gif the samin had bene obtenit and purchast [procured] fra the Pape or sate of Rome.'—*Acts of Parliament of Scotland* (1814), ii. 545.

These confirmations could not have been (from a Catholic point of view) what they pretended to be, without a special grant from the Holy See; for Catholics hold that alienations of Church property (without dispensation) are sacrilegious. A grant of power, such as Mary claims to have had, would have been, not impossible, but very extraordinary. Yet no mention is made of this grant, which was more remarkable than Pole's, of which so much was heard at the time and afterwards. Moreover, contemporary Roman documents, referring to the state of Church property in Scotland, speak in a tone inconsistent with the existence of such a legitimate power over them as these grants presume. I allude to the process of the church of Brechin, the speech of the Bishop of Dunblane, and especially to his petition for faculties (pp. 208, § 3; 512, § 5; 517, § 5).

A careful consideration of this evidence appears to me to prove clearly that there was no power in Scotland, which Rome recognised as valid, to put the titles to the lately alienated Church property in Scotland upon a legal basis. If so, Mary's charters glossed over what was for Catholics a very serious matter, and she was professing to possess dispensing powers from Rome, which she had never received.

closely related.'[1] Their belief, as we now see, was incorrect, but it was not without foundation.

It would hardly be fair to Mary to leave this subject without a word of warning against pushing too far the conclusions to which we have been led, for the discussion of small points is apt to give them an appearance of undue importance. When we weigh that which is proved in Mary's disfavour with the accompanying circumstances which do her credit, the balance of evidence, if against her, does not decide much.

Even though it be true that Mary accomplished her marriage before the arrival, or even before the grant, of a dispensation, it does not follow that she understood the real nature or the consequences of her action. Without a doubt she had many excuses. She was youthful, impetuous and 'had a great want of good advice' (p. 499), that is, she was very inadequately supplied with reliable counsellors. But in the present case she seems to have made use of a trustworthy person. Her marriage was solemnised by John Sinclair, the future Bishop of Brechin, a man of whose integrity we happen to possess ample testimony (pp. 512-516). If she placed her whole case unreservedly in his hands—but we have no evidence on this point—she may well have thought herself safe. Nor must it be forgotten, that her firm adherence to her religion in other matters stands out with unequivocal clearness at this very juncture. Had she given up the Mass, all other objections would apparently have been waived.[2]

It is perhaps impossible for any one now to form an opinion on this part of Queen Mary's career without borrowing something from his settled ideas on events which took place

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[1] *Spanish Calendar*, 1587-1603, p. 727.

[2] See p. 228, note 1, *infra*. Randolph, on July 16, 1565, reports the following words of hers. 'What? Wolde you that I sholde mayke marchandize of my religion, or frame myself to your menestors willes? Yt cane not be so.'—J. Stevenson, *Selections*, p. 124.

afterwards. If no catastrophe had ensued, we should probably have been content to pass on, suspending our judgment for the time until ampler evidence came to hand.

VI. *Bishop Chisholm's second commission*

We now turn to the second commission entrusted to the Bishop of Dunblane, the request for a war subsidy from the Pope. We do not know whether the idea of obtaining this arose spontaneously in Mary's mind, or whether it was suggested by the Cardinal of Lorraine, or even by the appeals of her Protestant subjects to Elizabeth of England. The coincidence, however, is worth noting, that both the queen and her subjects were applying for foreign aid at the same moment. Randolph's letters in July show that the Lords of the Congregation were asking England's aid at the very time when the Bishop of Dunblane was speeding abroad to petition assistance for the queen from the continent. But English gold was nearer and more abundant, and it had begun to flow in to the insurgent lords long before Mary's distant friends had made up their minds whether they should do anything at all.

Queen Mary's ambassadors did indeed do their best by promptitude, earnestness and skill to urge her allies to action. The *harangue* of the Bishop of Dunblane is an able piece of pleading. 'The pious queen cannot make use of what is her own,' for her heretical ministers of state keep the administration of her revenues in their hands. 'She wishes to raise 10,000 to 12,000 men for four or five months,' and so to recover the rights of her crown. The Pope by granting an adequate subsidy 'will restore religion to splendour' and 'life to a devout queen, who is not only noble, valiant, patient, constant,' but has a heart, 'which is not merely virile but simply godlike.' If the Pope does not save her, Elizabeth will harass her to death, just as she brought to an

untimely end her mother, the regent, Mary of Guise (pp. 208-209). A contemporary news-writer, whose accuracy appears to be reliable, says that the sum asked for was 300,000 ducats (p. 200, x.).

Pius IV. was a man of peace-loving temperament, but of course he felt bound to assist Mary to the best of his ability. For the moment indeed, seeing that 'nothing could be done that winter,' he gave the bishop 'many fair words' (p. 212). As for the future he would take counsel, and requested Cardinal Pacheco, Philip's ecclesiastical ambassador at Rome, to send and ask his master's advice. This the cardinal did in his letter of September 2, 1565 (p. 212).

Philip's answer, dated the 16th of October, is important, for it indicates clearly the policy which he desired Mary to follow (p. 213). He neither throws himself into the contest 'with all his might,' as Mary's ardent advocates would have desired (p. 465), nor yet does he 'withdraw himself from it,' but shows himself anxious above all things to maintain the *status quo* among his allies. He was in favour of giving Mary 'small assistance,' such as would enable her to overcome her rebels. But after that she should wait, for, 'from waiting to seize the right moment nothing but good can ensue.' Open war with England was, he thought, 'attended with very great difficulties and drawbacks,' and he would give no pledge or promise of assistance, suppose one should arise, unless it were commenced just when he desired it.

This answer is the same in substance as that which had been given to Archbishop Beaton at Bayonne by the Duke of Alva,[1] and by King Philip himself to Guzman de Silva and Yaxley.[2] So Phayre was right in telling Cecil in November following, that Philip was 'not to be feared . . . In very deed the king is so much given to quietness, that it must

[1] 29 June 1565.—Teulet, *Relations*, v. 13.
[2] 20 and 24 October 1565.—*Spanish Calendar*, 1558-1567, pp. 490, 497.

be a wonderful matter that shall make him fall out with his neighbours.'[1]

But before Philip's answer reached Rome, tidings arrived there of the outbreak of the revolt, and of Mary's initial successes. The news filled the Pope with aspirations more warlike than those which he had hitherto cherished. On October the 12th, he made the change in his intentions known to the cardinals in consistory (p. 229). On the 15th he wrote to the Cardinal of Lorraine urging him to persuade Mary to give up her policy of compromise in religious matters (p. 228).

It was late on in the winter before the news of Mary's final victory was known in Rome. Perhaps it never reached Pope Pius IV. at all, for he was on his death-bed when the tidings arrived, and he breathed his last on the 9th of December. But certainly to his successor, to the Catholic party in general, and to the exiles in particular, the good news from Scotland was the cause of exaggerated hopes that a brighter day for them would immediately dawn. Interesting evidence of this will be found in the contemporary letters of the Jesuit Fathers (p. 489, Nos. 20 to 23).

Section VII. The Papal Subsidy.

Before he died, Pope Pius IV. had expressed his opinion that Mary ought now to abandon a compromise which was hurtful to the Catholic religion. In doing this he was but voicing the common sentiment of Catholic Europe, a sentiment which Mary and her friends had themselves encouraged. In the same way the new Pope, Pius V., at his accession congratulated Mary and Darnley for having, as he had heard, 'restored the due worship of God throughout their whole realm,' and he exhorted her to complete the good work which they had commenced (p. 232). Though this letter can hardly have pro-

[1] *Foreign Calendar*, 1564-1565, No. 1676, § 6.

duced any effect upon the progress of events in Scotland, with the brief of Pope Pius IV. the case was different. It would have reached the Cardinal of Lorraine just when he was preparing to despatch Clerneau to Mary's court, to urge her to follow a policy, of which we shall hear again, somewhat similar to that which the Pope was recommending. Under these circumstances we can hardly doubt that the Pope's counsel influenced the message sent by the cardinal to some considerable extent. At the same time we must beware of ascribing the policy of Mary and of the cardinal entirely to papal suggestion. This would be absurd, after what we have seen of Mary's scant respect for ecclesiastical ordinations of far greater weight.

Be this as it may, Clerneau, who appears to be the same person as the Monsieur de Villemont described by Melville,[1] coming from the cardinal, together with Thornton from her own ambassador in Paris, arrived in Edinburgh about the 27th of January 1566. If we trust the alarmed reports of Randolph, Thornton was 'full frought with all mischief,' and Clerneau made the queen 'harder to do,' that is to say, less facile in pardoning the rebels than before.[2]

We have no first-hand records of any sort concerning Clerneau's negotiations, but later on we shall find Bishop Laureo making a statement which strongly confirms Randolph's words. 'It was the cardinal,' he says, 'who advised and persuaded her to take measures for the confiscation of the property of the rebels, from which proposal ensued that great revolt and the danger to the queen's life' (p. 277). From these words it clearly follows that such increase in severity towards the late insurgents as was made at this juncture was attributable, at least in large measure, to the representations made during the time of Clerneau's visit to Edinburgh in January.

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[1] Sir James Melville, *Memoirs* (1827), p. 147.
[2] *Foreign Calendar*, 1566-1568, No. 56.

It was Clerneau's visit again, as we learn from the same letter of Bishop Laureo, which led Mary to decide on sending the Bishop of Dunblane to Rome a second time, in order to ask for a subsidy in money. The papers for the mission were soon drawn up, and by the middle of February Stephen Wilson had started to carry to the bishop, who had passed the winter in Paris, the credentials necessary for his embassy. An account by Wilson of Catholicism in Scotland at this time will be found at p. 494. Instead of going straight to Rome, the bishop turned aside to visit the Cardinal of Lorraine (p. 234, *j*). But before he had gone far, news arrived that Scotland was convulsed by a sudden and violent revolution, to which his mission itself had in part given the occasion.

This is not the place to attempt any minute inquiry into the genesis of the Protestant reaction, which culminated on the 9th and 10th of March 1566, in the murder of Rizzio, the imprisonment of the queen, and the return of the exiles. The Vatican documents lead to little but negative conclusions, but these are occasionally of some importance, especially as correctives of erroneous traditions, which have been accepted too easily by previous writers.

1. In the first place, then, they show plainly that no papal subsidy had as yet been sent to the Queen of Scots. We have heard the Pope expressly decline to give one, and this refusal was repeated to various persons (pp. 212, 200, 225, § 3). Nevertheless when Yaxley was drowned, in the middle of January 1566, on his return journey from Spain with part of the Spanish subsidy in his possession, the rumour was immediately spread abroad that the money he carried had come from Rome.[1]

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[1] See p. 233, and Randolph to Cecil, 16 January, 1566, in Stevenson's *Selections*, p. 147; and Smith to Cecil, 22 March 1566, *Foreign Calendar*, 1566-1568, No. 208, and *Spanish Calendar*, p. 557.

There is perhaps not very much to wonder at in this, considering the temper of the times. It is more remarkable that even Sir James Melville, whom Mary sent to recover the lost money from the Earl of Northumberland, was under the same impression (p. 224 note). He seems also to have forgotten the earl's reason for not handing back the lost money, to wit Elizabeth's explicit prohibition.[1]

2. Our documents also make it certain that the papal league described by Randolph on February 7 (p. 233, *g*), was apocryphal. No record of any such league remains in the archives of any of the powers who were supposed to have signed it, and, as has already been indicated (*supra* p. xxxix), this is conclusive evidence that no such treaty ever existed. Reports of papal leagues were, as we know, easily set in circulation in those days whenever Catholic powers met in conference. In this case we can hardly doubt that the rumour is sufficiently accounted for by the coming of Clerneau from France, and the sending of the Bishop of Dunblane to Rome.

3. Finally, our Roman papers show that it is extremely improbable that David Rizzio had any connection whatsoever with the Vatican. No letters to him or from him are preserved there. The one occasion on which his name is to be found in these pages (p. 277) suggests that he was a stranger to the Roman curia. The great difficulty in carrying on a correspondence of any sort between Scotland and Rome, which is evident in this volume at every turn, emphasises the improbability of the Pope having kept a pensioned emissary at Edinburgh.

When we inquire into the actual causes of the outbreak of March 1566, we obtain no positive assistance from the Vatican papers. The rising took place suddenly, at a distance, and at a time when there was no regular correspondence between

[1] *Foreign Calendar*, 1566-1568, No. 231.

Edinburgh and Rome. If de Gouda, Hay, or Manare had been on the spot, it might perhaps have been different. We might have had a survey of the causes and consequences of the murder of Rizzio, which would have thrown some much needed light on that conspiracy. It would also have been interesting to know whether the calmer heads on Mary's side detected in the early developments of that policy, which aimed at procuring a subsidy from the Pope, the same faults which, as we shall see, they observed in its later phases.

For several weeks after the murder, Mary's friends abroad were without any reliable news at all, and were distressed by the wildest rumours. Darnley, it was said, had killed his wife, and gone over to the heretics (p. 473). Mary did not put forth her account of the outbreak till April (p. 238, *k*), and in the meanwhile the Cardinal of Lorraine was 'chilled' (p. 495, § 3), and the Bishop of Dunblane paused at Lyons, partly because he was uncertain what to believe, partly because he had got ahead of his party (p. 494, § 1). But with the help of Father Crichton, now rector of the Jesuit college in that city, the bishop convinced himself that these rumours from England might be in great measure disregarded. As soon, therefore, as he heard of Mary's escape, but before getting news of her final victory, he pushed on again, and reached Rome on the 25th or 26th of April, the psychological moment at which Mary's cry for aid was most sure to be received with sympathy.

In effect all the ambassadors at the papal court sent home to their respective governments friendly notices of the Scottish ambassador's arrival and doings in Rome (p. 234, *c*), and the newly elected Pope St. Pius v. displayed more enthusiasm than anybody. He began by urging the kings of France and Spain to intervene vigorously on Mary's behalf with Elizabeth, 'quæ se pro regina Angliæ gerit,' words which may warn us of the change in papal policy towards her which this Pope was to introduce (p. 236, *f*). He would have urged them to active

interference, if he had thought that it was probable that they would have followed his advice (p. 236, *g*). At first he had seen no chance of being able to do more than this. Afterwards, however, he received news that the attack of the Turks upon Austria, which had been dreaded, was no longer imminent. He therefore decided to send to Scotland the extra subsidy, which he had intended for the defence of the empire. The new Emperor Maximilian remonstrated, and when Mary received the late rebels back into her favour, he did not fail to renew his representations. But the Pope, though we may be sure that the hint was not lost upon him, would not go back on the resolution favourable to the Queen of Scotland (p. 238, *i*).

News of the Pope's decision was sent to Mary by the brief of May 12, the warmth and earnestness of which are characteristic of its writer (p. 236). It was carried back at once by Stephen Wilson, who for safety's sake had to entrust it to a messenger from the King of France during the journey through England,—so insecure for Mary was the passage of letters by her own couriers, even when furnished with passes from the English government.[1]

We know but few of the details of Chisholm's negotiations during his stay in Rome. Besides the two speeches of the bishop, we have two very interesting letters of Father Polanco, which throw a clear light on the spirit with which the high-minded pontiff regarded the affairs of the Scottish queen (pp. 235, 239), and further insight into the negotiations of this period may be derived from the three anonymous and undated documents which follow.

The first of these describes in a somewhat rhetorical strain of what value the Scottish alliance may prove to Spain. Worthy of note here is the presumption that, when Mary and Darnley shall have come in for their English inheritance, they

[1] *Spanish Calendar*, 1558-1567, p. 560.

will prove English and not French in their sympathies (pp. 251, 252). The tone of exaggeration, which jars upon us in this discourse, is still more discernible in the *Classification of the Scottish Nobility* (p. 254). A Catholic party which reckoned first among its supporters the names of the Earls of Lennox, Atholl, Huntly, and Bothwell,[1] could hardly have been in a position to withstand any severe trial. The second list, which is probably only about one year older than the first, shows, by the great changes in the order of the names, how unstable the alliance had been, which the previous list had vaunted.

The next document (p. 258) is perhaps more interesting for bibliographical than historical purposes, as the notes sufficiently explain. In any case the estimate of the balance of parties after the death of Rizzio and the confessions of Mary's weakness are worthy of consideration. Her agents were not always clear on these points.

This last document was presumably written by the Bishop of Dunblane after he had left Rome. Before going he had had a farewell audience with the Pope, which Father Polanco has described in graphic terms (p. 239). The bishop had also obtained the leave of the Father General of the Jesuits to take two Fathers with him to Scotland in the nuncio's company. It would even seem as if he had made some tentative arrangement for founding a Jesuit college in that country during his previous visit to Rome (pp. 487, 496). The directions issued to Father Hay how he should bear himself when giving good advice to politicians (p. 497) is noteworthy, as an early, perhaps an off-hand, attempt to grapple with a very difficult problem, the only final solution of which, as was discovered later, was to forbid Jesuits from engaging themselves in politics in any way whatever.

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[1] Bothwell 'betwene factiounis of sindrie Religiounis, despysing baith sydis, counterfutit ane lufe of thame baith.'—*Detection*, ed. Anderson, ii. 58.

Section VIII. Laureo's Nunciature

In the present collection of documents the most valuable, beyond any doubt, are the despatches of Vincenzo Laureo, which set before us a new, a full and (when duly appreciated) a singularly reliable history of that great drama in which Queen Mary's fortunes were swiftly and tragically brought to ruin.

Laureo was a native of the south of Italy, profuse in words and compliments, and fond of display; somewhat ostentatious in his piety, and an advocate of strong measures without being a strong man. He is therefore not a man who is likely to make the best of first impressions on those whose prepossessions are Anglo-Saxon. The humanitarianism of our day, too, will not fail to be shocked at the test which we shall hear him propose to Mary to prove her sincerity. Of these faults and foibles we shall see much hereafter. At first we must rather dwell upon those better qualities which make him so good a witness for our purposes. If he is verbose, he is also full, he can tell his story clearly and intelligibly, and is evidently anxious to give his government all the information he can acquire. He is sincerely religious, sincerely anxious to do his best for Mary. If he is throughout ready to stretch as many points as possible in her favour, yet he can, and does, condemn without faltering what is evil in her conduct, when once he sees it distinctly.

There exists a fairly good life of Laureo from the pen of Tritonio, a secretary taken into his service when he started for Scotland (p. 407). From this source we learn that Laureo came into notice in 1561, by playing a somewhat important part, as intermediary between the Catholic party in France and the King of Navarre. After the death of the latter, he joined the household of Cardinal Hippolyto d'Este, a great friend of Mary and a leading member of the French party in the Sacred College.

For some reason unknown to me, Pius v., soon after his elevation to the see of Peter, selected Laureo to succeed him in his late see of Mondovi, and immediately afterwards chose him for the Scottish nunciature. The patronage of Cardinal d'Este and his own experience in France perhaps account for this appointment (p. 263).

In his subsequent career there is little that throws back light upon his mission to Scotland. The other great event of his life was his nunciature in Poland, which ended unfortunately. He espoused the cause of the Austrian succession, and was eventually withdrawn by the Pope. But want of success did not make him lose favour with successive Pontiffs. He became a cardinal, and, on the death of Cardinal Sermoneta, Mary asked him to be Cardinal Protector of Scottish affairs at Rome (30 April, 1586). He died 26 December, 1591.

The instructions issued to the bishop when he started from Rome in the middle of June 1566 are not extant, but we can well believe that George Thomson is right in saying (p. 406) that his orders were to treat earnestly (*serio*) with the queen for the restoration of Catholicism in Scotland and even in England! In reality, of course, Mary could not have done so, but after all that he had lately been told, the Pope might well have thought that she could. It was in keeping with the uncompromising mood in which the nunciature had been commenced that Laureo in the course of his journey should have conferred with the Duke of Savoy about overwhelming Calvinism at the fountain-head by the reconquest of Geneva. But even before he reached Paris, letters had been sent thence to Rome (pp. 498-500), which, if ever they came to the Pope's knowledge, were calculated to temper the enthusiasm amid which the nunciature had been started. They are written by Father Manare, the Jesuit Provincial in France, and by Father Edmund Hay, to St. Francis Borgia, General of the Society. Manare was by birth a Belgian, and possessed a full share of the sturdy independence of judgment which characterises his

race. As he did not die till 1614, and was almost always in high office, his many letters now, and for years to come, are a kind of repertory of contemporary criticism on men and affairs. We have already quoted from him a singularly frank account of the last hours of Pope Paul IV. (p. xxxvii). Historians of a later period never fail to appeal to his comments upon that difficult subject—Father Parsons's management of affairs at the end of the century.

Manare takes a new view of the situation in Scotland, and one which appears more practical than that which the Pope actually adopted. A foreigner, he points out, 'sent by that see, which the Scotch hate more than Lucifer,' is not the most likely man to give the queen the assistance of which she stands in need. '*She has great want of advice, and consequently of grave, prudent, and God-fearing men about her, men of the country rather than strangers*' (p. 499). The best man to send, he thinks, would be James Beaton, the Archbishop of Glasgow, and in his household he might have Father Hay and others. The other Catholic bishops and lords should then be exhorted to be courageous and loyal, etc. (p. 499). Father Hay's letter (p. 500), as becomes a man in a more subordinate position, whose own future is affected, modestly avoids prejudging the main question, but he is also clear that somewhere in the party there is 'desperatio' and 'imbecillitas,' which may ruin all, and he already apprehends that the nuncio will never reach Scotland at all.

Whether the contents of these letters ever came to the ears of the Supreme Pontiff we cannot tell, but after Laureo's arrival in Paris he was soon informed of all the troubles that beset the cause of the Scottish queen. The nuncio took ten days to study the situation before sending off his first despatch, but the time thus spent was not wasted. The cardinal secretary praised his letter as 'non meno lunga che prudente' (p. 284), and it explains the principles on which he acted throughout. The first part of this letter is occupied with an

account of his journey from Rome, of his interview with the Cardinal of Lorraine, and of the reasons which were detaining him in Paris (p. 274). The second part (p. 277) is a *foglio a parte*, a separate leaf, containing confidential information of greater importance. He finds from the Archbishop of Glasgow that the request for his mission had, after all, not come spontaneously from Mary, but had been asked for by the Cardinal of Lorraine, 'in order to incite the Pope to greater *liberality*.' This was a rather serious reflection on the cardinal's straightforwardness. But there was worse news to follow. Darnley's folly and want of principle were set out in a new light. It is true that from the first something of his fickleness had been known in Rome. Unfortunately he had been at first extravagantly praised by Mary's friends (pp. 464, etc.). But now, after his rebellion, he was, if possible, more harshly judged than he deserved to be, as is clear from the conclusion of this remarkable despatch (p. 278, § 12).

Laureo here tells the Pope that Darnley is leagued with six of the leading Protestant nobles (Murray, Argyll, Morton, Lethington, Bellenden, MacGyll), who, now that they are pardoned, 'go on making mischief in the queen's own household.' Thus the family quarrel, which is 'far the greatest' of the queen's dangers, is continued. *The only remedy* (such is Laureo's conclusion[1]) is that the six miscreants (*scelerati*) should be put to death. In the sequel we shall find that Laureo came to propose this measure to Mary as the only adequate test of her sincerity, and that Mary refused it, as indeed he foresees from the first that she would, out of 'excessive kindness' (*soverchia compassione*) (*ibid.*).

[1] It is a matter of some importance to find out who the informers were upon whom Laureo relied in coming to the above conclusions. In his subsequent letters he alludes to them more than once, but never gives their names. This makes it probable that they were Scots, whose names, even when written, were to Laureo '*oltramontani*,' and difficult to read, and more impossible to pronounce. They were probably exiles for religion's sake, men whose integrity was presumably above praise, but who were not necessarily the best advisers in delicate matters (pp. 332, 352, 381).

It is obvious from what we now know of Darnley's history that Laureo's '*empresa*,' as he calls his proposal to execute some of the so-called 'factious lords,' was based on entirely false assumptions. The murder of Rizzio had been effected by a coalition between Darnley and the leaders of the Protestant party, and Laureo's error lay in believing that the alliance was still existent. It was indeed true that Mary had already pardoned and received back at court two of the lords named on Laureo's black list, and it was probable that she would sooner or later pardon the others. But their quarrel with Darnley was now so deep that no future alliance with him was possible. His chief feud with Mary was, that she had pardoned these very persons against his will, and that they, or at least some of them, were plotting for his murder.

Judged strictly, therefore, Laureo's first step was in every way to be condemned. He proposed to Mary, as a test of her sincerity, that she should undertake an extraordinary '*empresa*' (enterprise), that she should put to death a number of the leading men in her kingdom. The reasons he gives for this proceeding could not have been maturely weighed, and—however honestly he may have believed them true—were demonstrably false. But if we take into consideration *all* the forms into which Laureo threw his proposals at different times, our judgment upon them may be modified. He came to see that the trouble did not depend upon Darnley, for after his murder the nuncio thought the '*empresa*' necessary and more easy than before (p. 361). He never again repeated his list of names, which, it will be observed, does not contain the name of Knox, or that of any of the religious reformers. His secretary Tritonio described the measures which would have been thought satisfactory as follows: 'To have punished with due severity that wicked and abandoned heretic, that chief supporter of the Earl of Murray, that prime-mover in the late sedition, viz. the Secretary Lethington, or at least

to have expelled him from her court' (p. 409, § 6). When Laureo's views are thus stated we perceive that he was not so set upon sanguinary measures as might at first appear. What he really desired was some unequivocal sign that Mary would give up that policy of compromise by which even her throne was endangered. Her 'indulgence,' he says, towards the enemies of her religion is 'unjust' (p. 370, § 3). Unless she will take '*some* good and holy resolution' (p. 302, § 8), or do 'something signal' (p. 314), his mission is foredoomed to failure. A good deal may be said in favour of the main objects which Laureo had in view.

What, indeed, could a Roman nuncio hope to be able to do in a court to which he was called at the same time as the murderers of Rizzio, murderers one motive of whose crime had been the belief that Rizzio was a papal emissary? If Laureo had gone to Scotland under happier circumstances, and seen things with his own eyes, his advice would in all probability have been such as would have beseemed his pacific office, and his zeal would have been none too vigorous to secure the attainment of those reforms which the Popes desired (pp. 7, 36, 528). If, however, which I do not for a moment believe, he was a man who could never have learnt from experience, if he could never have acquired more wisdom than he obtained in the course of ten days in Paris, then we can only say, that the failure of his mission was after all a blessing in disguise.

We now turn to Laureo's negotiations in Paris. On August 21 he had written home to say that he was being urged to pay over the subsidy while he stayed in Paris (p. 276, § 7), and from the tone of his letter it certainly seems that he was without instructions how to proceed under such circumstances. He consented, with some reluctance, to pay one instalment of four thousand crowns, but a letter from Rome, sent September 16 and received October 5, gave orders that no further payments were to be made until he had reached Scotland. Indeed, he is not 'to disburse anything at all if

on your arrival you should see that the money already paid has borne no fruit for religion' (p. 285).

A policy so decided was sure to lead to new developments. Laureo immediately carried the Pope's letter to the Cardinal of Lorraine, and together they resolved to urge upon Mary the propriety of executing Laureo's '*empresa*' or some plan of a similar kind. The cardinal, who was not a man of much animal courage, seems to have been not a little perturbed at the proposal, fearing that he might be assassinated by one of the Scots Guard, 'who are mostly, if not all, Huguenots,' in case his share in commending 'the enterprise' should be known. He, therefore, desired that the secret should not be committed to paper at all. Nevertheless the nuncio did so in cipher a month later, and the letter has even been registered (p. 314). From it we learn that Laureo made a direct attack upon the cardinal, pressing upon him the proposals already discussed above, and urging 'that there ought not to be further delay in doing something signal for the service of God in Scotland.' The cardinal made 'difficulties.' Laureo said that the Pope could prevail on King Philip to help (fond delusion!) though 'in the opinion of the ambassador of Scotland and the Bishop of Dunblane, the help of the Pope alone was sufficient.' Lorraine objected that the Pope was feeble and might die. Laureo, as became his office, replied by assertions of the Pope's strength, and that if the cause was good, God's help would not fail. At last the cardinal, in spite of his previous experiences (p. 277), consented, and sent off 'one of his gentlemen, in whom he confided much, to advise and persuade the queen to decide on restoring the holy religion in her kingdom, and as there seemed to be no more expeditious remedy, in the opinion of the cardinal himself, the Archbishop of Glasgow, and of the Bishop of Dunblane, and also Father Edmund the Scot, than the punishment of a few seditious wretches (as I. [Laureo] informed the Pope in the *foglio a parte* of the 21st of August), the queen should

execute this most just punishment with a brave heart for God's glory' (p. 314).

Unfortunately we know nothing more than this about the cardinal's messenger. Neither his name, nor his precise instructions, nor the answer he received appear to be on record. The cardinal was anxious that the matter should be kept secret, and he has succeeded. By December the 3rd Laureo was in receipt of an answer from Mary, refusing the proposals he had made, and this answer was probably given at the beginning of November, when Stephen Wilson was starting with letters from Mary to the Pope (pp. 324 to 329).[1]

Long before Wilson's arrival in Paris, Laureo had again received unexpected instructions from Rome. Nothing less than orders to put an end to his nunciature altogether and to return to his see. Laureo, with commendable independence, as it seems to me, decided to suspend obedience until he should really come to an understanding with Mary about her policy of conciliation and compromise. Nor did the Pope blame him for so doing, and asserting himself with more steadfastness than might have been expected from a man with his obsequious reverence for authority.

The orders to return are endorsed as having been received on the 20th of October (p. 287). Laureo had then probably just returned from Gaillon, where he had been presented at court. His somewhat pompous account of his audience, though rather tedious to us, was evidently written with a good spice of self-satisfaction; the letter of recall, therefore, must have been a little unwelcome. He straightway went again to the Cardinal of Lorraine, and together they decided on the next step to be taken (p. 303). To Rome he sent fresh letters, urging patience and delay till he had 'discovered the whole of

[1] If the conjecture made above (p. lx) be true, if Buchanan, in the passage there quoted, refers to this message from the cardinal, then Mary not only refused, but told Murray of her refusal.

her [Mary's] mind,' and to Mary he sent two envoys, the most trusty he could command, in order to urge her to action.

The first of these messengers was Chisholm the Bishop of Dunblane. Hitherto he had only been employed by Mary as her advocate, a part which he had sustained with very commendable devotion. But this of course was to some extent an objection to trusting him with the different 'rôle' of a dispassionate witness; so, 'as an additional safeguard' (p. 303), Father Edmund Hay was sent too, the nuncio being firmly persuaded of his entire devotion to the highest interests of the Church.[1] We must regret our lack of information about the instructions and reports issued to and returned by this mission. Nothing but the conclusion of their negotiations is known to us, and, considering all that these envoys saw, heard, and *presumably reported upon*, during their stay in Scotland, we cannot but feel that there is perhaps no other lacuna in the correspondence which we should be better satisfied to see filled up.

It was originally intended that the envoys should start on October 27 (p. 303), but there was a delay, probably because of the news of Mary's sickness. However averse the no-compromise party were to Mary's easy-going ways, there was no doubt that Catholicism 'would go to manifest ruin with her death' (p. 309).

Before November 5 'news had arrived that the queen was better' (p. 310), and so the envoys started on the 6th or 7th. A fresh delay, however, took place at Dieppe owing to contrary

[1] Father Manare's unfavourable comment (p. 502) should be noted. Its inwardness, I conjecture, is this. He had been asked to give up a very valuable man for a dangerous work, from which little immediate good was likely to result. On the other hand, we presume that those who asked him *professed* to believe that great consequences would ensue. It would then have been precisely in Manare's character 'to show them such few reasons as I had to make them doubt a little about the mission.' We who have the opportunity of looking over Monsignor Laureo's shoulder can see—more clearly than he cared to own—that there was little need to 'make him doubt,' and that he regarded the expedition as a forlorn hope. For Manare's unfavourable comment upon Chisholm, see p. 501, No. 37.

winds, and they did not actually leave France till December the 3rd at 4 P.M. (p. 504). Before they sailed, important letters arrived from Mary. Stephen Wilson reached Paris about the 20th of November, bearing answers to all the communications which had been sent to her from the beginning of September till the 20th of October. She pressed the nuncio to come to Scotland forthwith (p. 327), but refused to have anything to do with his '*empresa*' (p. 322, §§ 2, 3). These letters were not likely to allay Laureo's misgivings. Coming when they did, they were liable to the sinister interpretation that Mary did not want the nuncio but the money which he carried. At first she had asked him to stay in Paris and to send on the subsidy. It was only when this was refused that she asked him to come to Scotland. 'The queen formed the determination . . . to call me to her . . . with great difficulty after the arrival in that court . . . of the four thousand scudi sent in the name of the Pope.' And (so the nuncio was informed 'by secret warnings from a good source') her council 'advised her to get me to come, in order to avail herself of the rest of these moneys' (p. 313). It is easy to imagine how readily Laureo would believe such a hint, and what interpretation he would put upon Mary's invitation. He believed that her sickness was a providential punishment for her insincerity. He felt confirmed in his resolution *not* to go until he heard from some one like Father Hay whom he could trust (p. 323). There was another phrase in her message which added to Laureo's misgivings. He was to be received 'under some other colour than that of religion' (p. 323). This was hardly what the bishop had expected, as we shall see hereafter, but yet it was not an insuperable objection. Mary's further excuses, that the delay in calling him to Scotland had been caused 'becaus we behuiffit to mak ane conventione of the nobilitie' and obtain their consent (p. 327), seemed very likely to be true, and her hope, that the baptism of her son James might be the harbinger of a general return to Catholic obser-

vances, would be sure to arouse the bishop's sympathy. Whilst Laureo was thus divided between hope and fear, Wilson continued his journey to Rome, where he was very well received. The Pope still regarded all that Mary did in a favourable light, accepted her statements as satisfactory, and allowed Laureo to stay on until Father Hay's report should come in (pp. 339-344).

That Father reached Scotland on December the 13th. His companion the bishop ere long had an audience with the queen, and presented the nuncio's letters; but the serious business of their mission was postponed till after Prince James's baptism (17 December), for Mary was too preoccupied with it to think of anything else. This ceremony perhaps gave her more satisfaction than any other in which she ever took part. It was a court pageant, such as she delighted in, the grandest that had been seen in Scotland during her reign. It was a great religious ceremony, the pledge, she hoped, of the eventual liberation of her church. It was a gratification to her as a mother, for it implied a tacit recognition of her first-born as heir to the crowns of England and Ireland as well as Scotland. Alas, there is another side to the picture. If it was the climax of her court triumphs, it was also her last. Even then while the court was feasting (p. 342), the king was sulking in private (p. 347). The situation was full of danger, and soon resulted in a terrible tragedy.

Mary appears to have been in no hurry to see the envoys. Before doing so she seems to have waited till all the great guests were gone, and she had returned to Edinburgh (14 January 1567). What would we not give for an authentic account of what then passed! Mary was standing at the very brink of that abyss of miseries into which her next few steps would precipitate her. Who can help wondering how she received the men whose advice would have weighed with her perhaps more than that of any others? Moreover, Bishop Chisholm and Hay were the last of a long line of papal

envoys to Scotland, standing before the last of a long line of Catholic sovereigns, endeavouring to deter her from a course of action, which they feared would be her ruin. Everything depended on their tact, persuasiveness, and grasp of the situation.

Unfortunately we know little else except that they altogether failed to influence her. They did not dare to send at once to Laureo a full account of all that had happened. Afterwards, by the time that Hay had returned and given in his report, Darnley's murder had thrown all preceding events into insignificance. Laureo tells us that Chisholm's letter confined itself to 'giving great hopes' based upon 'the queen's good intentions' (p. 351). Father Hay 'did not dare to write' to the nuncio, but sent to Father Manare certain 'warnings' and 'a metaphorical passage, easy enough to understand' (*ibid.*). But as this metaphorical passage was not registered, it is now lost, and we remain very much in the dark about the whole matter.

The memoir writers do not throw much light upon the subject. Bishop Leslie is very disappointing (p. 404), and Tritonio, otherwise the best authority of this class, has nothing new to add. Thomson is fuller, and I subjoin Stevenson's translation of what he has to say.

'The outline of what [the Bishop of Dunblane] declared to her was this. It would be easy for the queen to purge both Scotland and England of heresy, and then to restore the Catholic religion to its former state and splendour. There were Catholics who would gladly spend all their possessions and their energies in such a cause, foreign troops would not fail to help when needed, and money sufficient to carry through the war would be deposited in the hands of merchants of Antwerp or Paris, to prevent the need of referring to distant Rome, after war had been begun. In fine he added that if she neglected this opportunity she would never get its like again as long as she lived.

'The queen answered to this effect, that she could not stain her hands with her subjects' blood. As for her sister the Queen of England, she, Elizabeth, regarded her as lawful heir, and she had already sent her some tokens of love and goodwill' (p. 406).

We can hardly doubt that Mary's characteristic answer is reported with fidelity, but the description of the rest of the interview is not so satisfactory. Chisholm's speech by no means corresponds with his other speeches of which we have full reports,[1] either in tone or method of argument; and the description of Laureo's '*empresa*' seems to be coloured by recollections of attempts made in later years to succour Mary's party in Scotland.

Be this as it may, Mary had definitely refused those pledges of her sincerity, without which Laureo thought that his mission would be fruitless. His nunciature was now really at an end. Nowadays the news would have been telegraphed to him, and he would have been back at his see long before he actually heard that waiting was useless. Fortunately for us the posts of those days were extremely slow, especially when safety and secrecy had to be considered. The news of the failure of his messengers reached him simultaneously with other Scottish news of a later date. Being bad, very bad, news, it had flown apace. The news was that Darnley had been murdered.

Section IX. The Murder of Darnley

We now come to Laureo's six interesting letters, which describe the death of Darnley. The value of the last letter in the series has already been highly appreciated by previous writers, who have known it through Labanoff's edition of the copy preserved at Florence. The importance of the letters, taken as a group, will be found to lie in their fulness. They do not offer many new details; but, considering their early date, the picture they present of the whole episode is the most complete we possess.

The first news which the nuncio sent on to Rome (22 Feb-

[1] *Infra*, pp. 207, 260, 317, and Stevenson-Nau, *History of Mary Stuart* (1883), pp. 193, 201.

ruary 1566) was supplied by the French ambassador in London. It had come from Scotland with extraordinary speed in ten days. The message, however, is a confused one, omitting such notable details as that of the explosion. 'From hour to hour,' says the nuncio, 'we expect an express courier to give us news of this unlucky accident' (p. 351).

This letter contained a *foglio a parte*, now lost, which, for reasons stated on p. 352, note 1, probably contained suspicions of Mary being an accomplice in the murder. But at this early date no real evidence on the point can have been forthcoming.

Next day (23 February) letters direct from Edinburgh had arrived. They give a complete account of the event: Mary's visit the evening before, the explosion, and the finding of the king's body (p. 354). Another copy of the last mentioned *foglio a parte* seems to have been sent on with this letter, or the next.

A day or two after this, Clerneau, whom Mary had sent in a quasi-official capacity, arrives, and we hear, evidently from him, the whole story in still greater detail. Some of these particulars are, I think, new and not unimportant. For instance, if Mary went 'masked' to see Darnley overnight, the surprise which she is said to have caused by going on at about ten P.M. to the 'masque' in honour of Pagez's marriage cannot have been very profound. Again, if the circumstantial account of the attack on Lennox, which is stated to have taken place simultaneously with the murder of Darnley, should stand, then Mary's action in bringing her husband to Kirk o' Field takes a new complexion. He would not have been safe even in Glasgow, and the charge against her of bringing him from safety into danger is in great measure disposed of (pp. 352, 354, 357, note 1).

Next (about March 4), another messenger arrives, whom we identify as Sebastian Pagez. From him comes news of the crushed state in which Darnley's body was found, a point of

some importance in determining whether the poor prince was blown up, or strangled and carried out before the explosion of the mine (p. 361).

After this (March 12) there is more speculation as to the author of the outrage, and the unpopularity of Murray's party is shown by the rumours current in his disfavour. We also get some interesting views from du Croc, as to what might have been, and he was a man who knew Mary and her position better than most of his contemporaries (p. 365).

At last (March 15) Father Edmund Hay and Moretta, whom the nuncio had been expecting for so long, reached Paris. They had little fresh news of the murder to impart. They confirmed the previous report, that Darnley had been strangled by a numerous band of assassins, and repeated the assurance that he had preserved his religion until the end. For the rest, Laureo's attention was now chiefly occupied with the problem of the practicability of going to Scotland, a question to which we shall return later. Suffice it here to say, that in his survey of the state of Scotland he lets us see something of the favour in which Bothwell was held by the queen, and was evidently much impressed by the dangers which were gathering round her (p. 369). As often happens in such cases, his practical conclusion was correct, though several of his statements appear to be unreliable.

In conclusion he says: 'As to the reason of the murder, the truth has not yet been discovered, except that which I sent you on suspicion by two notes *a parte*' (p. 371). The significance of these words is this. He has nothing more to add to what he reported *at first*. Even at the end of his stay in Paris there was no news to be obtained more reliable than the suspicions, which he had reported to Rome after the arrival of the first inaccurate and unauthoritative news of the murder episode, which he had repeated (and possibly supplemented) a day or two later (p. 353, note 1).

Section X. The Return of the Nuncio.

The Pope, as we have already stated, very soon perceived that the Queen of Scots was not sufficiently in earnest about the nunciature to ensure its success, and had issued the first order of recall as early as September (p. 287). But he had acquiesced in Laureo's desire to go on trying, and had been much gratified with Wilson's visit and the baptism of Prince James. When, however, his envoy was still kept waiting, he again despatched orders of recall on the 17th of February (p. 348), orders which he repeated in still more peremptory terms a month later (p. 373).

But Laureo lingered, fascinated by Mary, and divided between hope and fear. At one time he was 'not without hope' (p. 365), at another he was 'willing to please and to show due moderation and patience' (p. 380). Yet all the while he recognised that 'it was impossible humanly speaking to expect good' while Lethington and his like were in power (p. 402).

And now amid growing troubles Mary displayed more anxiety to call the nuncio to her court than she had shown in her days of comparative power. At first she is 'resolved to send Lord Seton in a few days with three ships to bring over the nuncio' (p. 370). Then, after Laureo had set out on his return, she 'was very desirous that I should send to Scotland one of my household with whom she could communicate her views' (p. 390). Finally, after the marriage with Bothwell, she instructed the Bishop of Dunblane to say to the Cardinal of Lorraine that the 'default of his presence, counsale, and conference with him, quhilk joynit with the uther thing befoir said [*i.e.* the subsidy], in all apparance wes nocht onlie liklie to haif furtherit and avancit the matir verie heichlie, but alswa mycht have red ws out of mony thrawart accidentis quhilks sensyne we haif fallin into' (p. 399).

Laureo's comment is 'Her Majesty herein screens her doings by the forced excuse that the nuncio was absent. Perhaps if he had been present she would have done just the same, and then laid part of the blame on the same person' (p. 398).

Before following Laureo on his journey back to Italy, we must at least fully state, though we may not be able fully to solve, the difficult question, Ought he not to have gone on to Scotland instead? The obscurity lies in this, that our answer must depend chiefly upon the opinions of contemporaries, and they do not agree. Queen Mary and Moretta, *as reported in the Spanish Calendar*, are very insistent that he ought to have gone. Father Hay and Moretta *as reported by Laureo* are equally or more decided in a contrary sense. And with the latter du Croc (p. 365), Alava (p. 380), and Thomson (p. 406, § 5), were apparently in agreement.

The contradiction as regards Moretta, though real, is less than appears at first sight. To appreciate it we must first look at the original texts.

'Díceme que será bien recibido, y que ella se gobernará en todo por él, y que podria ir con seguridad, y que así le he [? ha] escrito una carta de su mano persuadiéndole á la venida, y que no le ha parecido pedir salvo-conducto á esta Reina, para que pase por aquí, porque demas de pensar que no le dará, no creo que el paso será seguro, si se le concediese.'[1]

'[Moretta] tells me that [Laureo] will be well received, and that she will govern herself entirely by him, and that he could go with security, and so [she] has [*in text*, I have] written him a letter with [her] own hand persuading him to come, and that it does not seem good to him [Moretta] to request a safe conduct from this queen [Elizabeth] to enable him [Laureo] to pass through here, for besides thinking that she will not give it, I [*sic*] do not believe that his journey would be safe, if she did grant it.'

[1] Fuensanta del Valle, *Coleccion de documentos inéditos*, lxxxix. 450; see *Spanish Calendar*, 1558-1567, p. 623. A revision of the text seems desirable; but Mr. Froude's Transcripts at the British Museum, though giving much of this despatch, omit this particular passage. I have followed the editor of the *Spanish Calendar* in correcting 'ha' to 'he' in line five of the Spanish.

The chief difficulty in rendering this passage lies in supplying the proper names, the pronouns being used very carelessly in the original. In line five in particular the question arises, Who invited Laureo to Scotland? The Spanish gives no distinct specification, and the *Spanish Calendar* introduces (without square brackets!) the name of Moretta. But with Laureo's correspondence before us we can see that it was not Moretta who wrote to ask him to come over, but Mary herself who did so, 'in a French letter all in her own hand' (p. 322, § 2; and p. 324, iii.), and this again agrees with the phrase 'de su mano' given in the Spanish (but unfortunately omitted in the *Calendar*). If the hand were the queen's, that would be a circumstance which de Silva might have thought well to mention to King Philip, though we cannot imagine him taking the trouble to do so, if Moretta had been the writer. It is Mary's name, then, which must be inserted in this place.

Having thus revised our text, de Silva's report may be reduced to the following three chief statements, 'Moretta told me that Laureo will be well received.' 'She will govern herself entirely by him.' 'He could go there with security.' Laureo's letters agree (more or less) with the first and third of these clauses, so that eventually the discrepancy is reduced to the wording of two phrases. In the one case Moretta is made to say, that Mary 'would govern herself entirely by the nuncio,'[1] in the other that the nuncio 'will be able to do nothing for God's service (p. 371, § 4).' There is no reconciling these statements. Either Moretta changed his mind during his journey from London to Paris, or else he was misunderstood by Laureo or de Silva.

If he was misunderstood, the mistake, it seems, was not Laureo's. We have an independent account of Moretta's opinion about the state of Scotland at this time, and we can

[1] One cannot but suspect that Moretta's real words to de Silva were '*Mary said*' she would be governed by the nuncio.

see that he would have thought that country impracticable for Laureo. Alava, Spanish ambassador at Paris, reported on the Savoyard's authority that Mary 'desired to leave the country,' because it was 'passing through a most dangerous crisis' (p. 477). If Moretta thought that, he would never have advised Laureo to go there.

The former alternative may also be true. Subsequent information from Scotland may have made Moretta change his mind, and he may even have done so during his interview with Laureo. Was Laureo the man needed under the circumstances? He had been sent under the impression that Mary would be 'really mistress in her kingdom,' and that his business would be 'the restoration of the holy Catholic faith in its integrity,' and that he would 'bring credit to the Apostolic See' (pp. 370-371). When, however, it appeared that Mary—not altogether without her own fault—was 'exposed to the risk of being the slave and prey of the heretics,' and was 'constrained, not only to leave them in the enjoyment of a large part of the ecclesiastical benefices, but also to grant them such little revenues as the kingdom possesses' (p. 365); when it was found that 'very great danger would attend the mission—danger not only to the lives of the envoys, but also of further conspiracies against the queen' (p. 499), when the envoys would have to 'go as it were to martyrdom' (p. 501)—then the previous understanding was at an end. Difficulties had been expected, but not such dangers as these.[1] 'There seemed to be no prospect of the Pope's mission or his aids leading to a good result at present' (p. 506). Manare's plan of sending 'grave, prudent, God-fearing men, men of the country rather than strangers' to give the queen good advice (p. 499) was after all the right one. A Roman official of high rank, a bishop of an important Italian see, with a big

[1] In his brief of June 6, 1566 (p. 263), the Pope recognised the dangers which Mary had been through, not those amid which she lived.

sum of money at his disposal, was the wrong man for the post. His very dignity and standing would have been an impediment to the good which he might otherwise have had the opportunity of doing. No one, I think, saw this sooner than the Pope, as we see from the promptitude and persistence with which he ordered his recall.

Laureo commenced the ceremonies of saying farewell in Passion week. On Thursday (20 March), he was at Rheims with the Cardinal of Lorraine, who is represented as much vexed with his niece for not having accepted the advice which he had tendered at the nuncio's request, his only excuse for her being 'that she was a woman.' Incidentally we obtain an agreeable picture of the cardinal in the discharge of his pastoral duties as Archbishop of Rheims (p. 376).

The next leave-taking (24 March) was at Fontainebleau, where Catherine de Medicis discoursed in a style which was calculated to fill Laureo with delight upon the advantages that would accrue to Christendom from a Papal League between the Catholic princes (p. 377). Whether Catherine was sincere in her professions, or merely desirous of making a good impression upon the nuncio, must be left for students of her character to discuss. How visionary the project was may best be seen by studying the Appendix of Spanish Documents (pp. 468, 469, 473). So long as France and Spain, the two powers most interested in such a league, were more jealous of each other than of the heretics, the latter might sleep in perfect security as regarded any possible peril from the combined action of Catholics.

There was now absolutely nothing to detain Laureo any longer, and yet he could not bring himself to leave Paris. It was only after receiving the third letter of recall on the 7th of April that he finally started on the 10th (pp. 372, 383). On the way home he stayed to counteract the influence of the Huguenots in some church lands near Lyons, which he held as commendatory prior of certain convents, whose names I have

not recovered. He was back in his diocese before the middle of May (pp. 383-385).

Though the affairs of his own see now occupy the greater part of Bishop Laureo's letters, yet his connection with Scotland had not entirely ceased. He seems to have been still regarded as 'the nuncio of Scotland,' and Father Hay is careful to send him news about events of importance. On the 13th of May he writes to Rome about the residue of the subsidy, which was apparently still standing to his account in the Paris banks, but the arguments which he uses to persuade the Pope to allow the sum to remain there do not raise our ideas about himself, or about the queen. 'When I left Paris—partly for his Holiness' credit, partly to arouse and maintain in the Queen of Scotland a holy and wholesome zeal for the Catholic faith—I threw out hopes that his Holiness would . . . succour her Majesty with that subsidy, or with even ampler assistance, when any occasion occurred for the restoration of the faith in that kingdom.' He then goes on to say that this spur may rouse the queen to act with renewed ardour (pp. 385, 386).

The Pope answered somewhat coldly (27 May 1567) that he had received the bishop's letter of the 13th instant, and would reclaim the sixteen thousand scudi left with the Paris bankers.

The tone of this letter prepares us for more outspoken judgments from the Pope upon the disgraceful scenes which had just taken place in Scotland, but which would not come to his knowledge for a month or two. On the 18th of June Laureo, fearing 'that his Holiness may come to doubt of her Majesty's sincerity by the information that comes from France' (p. 390), sends him a letter from Mary, in which she repeats her old resolution 'to die in the Catholic faith' (p. 386). She also desires that some one should be sent her, and Laureo proposes Hay. But the interest of the letter lies in this, that he foresees the Bothwell marriage *before* he has even heard of the abduction. The importance of this, however, must be considerably discounted by the tenor of the letters on which his

judgment was based. The letters of Hay and du Croc to him were probably written under the impression that Laureo *knew* of the abduction; whereas, through the accidental loss of a letter from the Bishop of Dunblane, which ought to have conveyed the news, he had not heard of it. When, after this, Laureo seems to be making a very remarkable prognostication, he may in reality be doing nothing more than re-echoing the dark allusions of Hay and du Croc to a fact of which they thought him already informed.

A fortnight later (July 1) a new mail had come in with the account from Father Hay (now happily recovered, p. 394), of the marriage with Bothwell. 'She has not been able to restrain the undue affection which she bears to the Earl of Bothwell. With this last act, so dishonourable to God and to herself, the propriety of sending her any sort of envoy ceases. One cannot, as a rule, expect much from those who are subject to their pleasures' (p. 394).

The Pope's next message on July 2—based upon other and later news besides that communicated by Laureo—is more severe still. 'His Holiness has never hitherto dissembled about anything, he will not begin to do so now, especially in this all-important matter of religion. Therefore with regard to the Queen of Scots in particular, it is not his intention to have any further communication with her, unless, indeed, in times to come he shall see some better sign of her life and religion than he has witnessed in the past' (p. 397).[1]

[1] This and some of the preceding citations were first published by me in *The Month* for June 1898, p. 587. That article has recently been made the subject of strange comments by Mr. S. Cowan, *Mary Queen of Scots, and Who wrote the Casket Letters?* London, 1901, i. 218, etc. Suffice it here to say that the author states in his Preface: 'From the murder of Darnley to the assassination of Moray, it is very doubtful if any of the records can be relied upon' (p. vi). Consistently with this he declares that the above original, signed and sealed letter, which he has never seen, is perhaps 'a forgery' (p. 220). He then confuses Edmund Hay the Jesuit with Edmund Hay the Protestant lawyer, and Laureo with de Gouda (p. 222), and blames me because the summary I give of a letter, to which I refer correctly, does not correspond with another letter which I was not quoting at all! (*ibid.*).

In order to appreciate the force of the condemnation of the Bothwell match by the Pope and the nuncio, it will be advisable to place side by side with it the opinions of the various informants upon whom they relied. To them may be added the opinion of the nuncio's secretary and of Mary's confessor.

Father Roche Mamerot, O.P., Mary's Confessor.—Guzman de Silva writes (26 July and 2 August 1567): [As regards] 'the death of her husband, her confessor . . . said to me that she had not known it, nor understood thereof in any way. . . . He much lamented the occurrents in Scotland, the imprisonment of that queen, and still more the match which she had made with Bothwell, seeing that he has a wife already. . . . He had told her that she could not and should not attempt it.'—*Infra*, pp. 520, 521.

Ruggerio Tritonio, Laureo's secretary. His opinion must in great measure be a reflection of his master's. In his memoir of Laureo (p. 407), he does not accuse Mary of any share in the murder of Darnley, but he offers no excuses for the marriage with Bothwell. 'Bodvellius quem perdite amabat.'—Burnet, *History of the Reformation* (ed. Pocock), vi. 546.

Father Edmund Hay, S.J.—He sums up the case in one word 'peccatrix' (p. 507). On other occasions, when he could not speak out so freely, his adverse judgments lose none of their significance by their respectfulness (pp. 351, § 2; 396).

Monsignor Robertino Solaro Moretta, the Savoyard envoy. The Spanish ambassador de Silva thought that he believed Mary was cognisant of the murder of Darnley (1 March 1567, *Spanish Calendar*, p. 621). The following letter is still clearer. It was addressed to Hercules d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, by Taddeo Bottoni his agent at Turin.

BOTTONI to the DUKE of FERRARA. *Turin, 30th May* 1567.

Delle cose di Scotia s'intende che quella Regina comincia à ceruelezare et alla fine si dubita la peggior reuscita che quella d'Inghilterra, et la stà per pigliare marito, per quanto intendo da Monsr di Moretta, ch' oggi arriua dalla Corte di Franza et di Scotia doue fù già destinato per conto del Battesimo del figliolo come le scrissi già bon tempo fà, dico che farà peggior reuscita non solo per conto della vita sua, ma anche per conto della Religione poi che s'intende che voglia uiuere alla Caluinista.

[As to the affairs of Scotland, it is reported that the queen has begun to grow headstrong, and it is feared that she will in the end become worse than the Queen of England, and is now about to marry. I hear from Monsignor di Moretta, who has returned to-day from the courts of France and Scotland, whither he had gone, as I wrote to you a good time ago, for the baptism of the baby prince, that she will turn out badly, not only because of her [bad] life, but also because of her religion, for it is said that she wishes to become a Calvinist.]

On the 22nd of June Bottoni sends news of Mary's marriage with Bothwell, who had previously divorced his wife, with collusion (con intelligenza et dissegno). This letter was carried by Musotti, the Cardinal of Lorraine's secretary in Rome, who also confirmed the news it contained. On the 2nd of July the same agent forwarded a fuller description from Paris of the marriage, corresponding with that printed in the *Venetian Calendar*, p. 395. The above original letters are in the Archivio di Stato at Modena, *Ambasciatori Estensi a Torino*, Busta 2.

Philibert du Croc and **Clerneau** represented the French interests friendly to her. Clerneau's opinion may be gathered from the quotations given by Father Hay at p. 396, together with the interpretation the latter puts upon them. The opinion of du Croc (17 June, 1567) is that *les malheureux faits sont trop prouvés* (Teulet, *Relations*, II. 312). It may also be noted that the three occasions on which Laureo thought it necessary to write to Rome in cipher (now lost) concerning the 'suspicions' rife about the cause of Darnley's death were upon the arrivals from Scotland of du Croc, Clerneau, and Moretta (pp. 353, note; 371).

Archbishop Beaton and **Bishops Chisholm** and **Lesley** were the ambassadors and faithful advocates of Mary. But this very fidelity, however laudable, makes it difficult to discriminate between their official utterances and their private opinions. This difficulty is perhaps not altogether absent in some of the following references.

Archbishop Beaton wrote to Mary that it was believed in Paris that Darnley's murder had 'been all done by zour command,' and that unless she took 'regorowss vengence thairof,' . . . 'it appeiris to me better in this warld that ze had lossit lyf and all.'—Stevenson, *Selections*, p. 174.

I know of no statement by Beaton concerning the subsequent events which can be regarded as an utterance of private opinions, until we come to a sentence from a letter to the Cardinal of

Lorraine, 6 February 1568: 'She has begun to serve God better, with more devotion and greater diligence than she had been wont to do for some time previously, which is a great joy to me.'—Stevenson-Nau, clxxxvi.

Bishop Chisholm was commissioned by Mary to explain in Paris and Rome that she had been partially constrained to the marriage (Labanoff, ii. 31). In public he told the French court that 'it had been brought about rather by destiny and necessity than by her free choice' (*Venetian Calendar*, p. 397), but he does not seem to have remonstrated when it was intimated that his story was not believed (*ibid.*). In private he made no defence at all of her religious inconstancy.—Teulet, *Relations*, v. 25.

Bishop Leslie wrote in later years, in his *Paralipomena*: 'On her return from that unlawful ceremony, the queen . . . could not help weeping. At once she sent for the Bishop of Ross, and with many tears unlocked the secret of her heart to him; she showed many clear signs of repentance, and promised that never again would she do anything opposed to the rites of the Catholic and Roman Church, or permit any such thing to be done in her presence, even if it should be at the peril of her life. On the feast of Pentecost, which followed soon afterwards, she publicly received the Eucharist after sacramental confession, in order to repair, by so excellent an example of piety, the mischief caused by her fault. It must be added, as was indeed believed by most people at the time with every appearance of probability, that Bothwell threw the queen's mind into a confused state by means of magical arts, and so brought her to consent to this marriage. By what other means she can have been induced to take a step so improper and unsuitable, and so unlike the usual tenor of her life, I confess I cannot see.'—W. Forbes-Leith, S.J., *Narratives of Scottish Catholics*, 1885, p. 123.

In some respects these opinions are both vague and at variance with each other. As regards Mary's being accessory to the murder of Darnley, for instance, they are quite inconclusive. Indeed, if we consider the time at which they were formed, we see that they were bound to be so, for no systematic inquiries had as yet been instituted into that affair. But there is one point on which all her censors agree, though they regard it from different points of view. They clearly state that

Mary's marriage with Bothwell admits of no defence, that it was a shame and disgrace. We cannot suppose that the Pope and his informants—predisposed as they were to favour her, actively employed at the time in trying to ascertain the truth, and drawing their information from friendly sources—would under such circumstances arrive at the very reverse of the truth. We are therefore on firm ground when we draw from our documents the conclusion that Mary should be unequivocally condemned for her marriage with Bothwell.

This adverse judgment, moreover, does not cease to be clear and well-founded, because it is of its nature liable to modification in detail. Mary's critics were then judging her according to the broad and obvious interpretation which well-informed persons could not help putting upon her actions, and this they did, though ready to modify their verdicts later on, if a closer investigation of the facts should bring extenuating circumstances into light, and, *vice versa*, to be more severe, if such investigation made her guilt seem deeper.[1] At a later period certain investigations were made and certain new particulars came to light. But whether those circumstances should be considered as extenuating or aggravating is a much debated question, which our Vatican documents cannot answer. We have now come to the end of them, and even the latest in date is far too early for that purpose. So far as I have been able to discover, the cardinal-secretary's letter of July 2, mentioned above, did in fact put an absolute end to *the Papal Negotia-*

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[1] It will be noticed that Mary's co-religionists were greatly shocked by the religious insincerity she displayed on this occasion. Her repeated promises of constancy before and after, and her constancy itself, which was never otherwise seriously shaken, bring her guilt in this matter into higher relief. To her friends abroad it seemed that she was actually apostatising from the basest of motives, and without the pretence of appearing convinced, and that her fall would extinguish the last hope of better things, which the Catholics of these islands could still cherish.

Neither the Pope nor his informants notice the plea that she was forced to marry.

tions with Queen Mary, and for two years at least the Pope made no attempt to reopen communications with her.

But Mary's trials during that period put a new face upon the whole subject. By them she became an eminent sufferer for religion, a champion of the ancient faith, and the correspondence with the Pope might be recommenced. Our collection of documents closes with an extract from a letter of Father Hay to his Jesuit superior, in which he sums up the past with one pregnant word, whilst with another he reveals the new hopes, which were then (29 January 1569) beginning to cheer her followers:

'Pray for her,' he says. 'Potest enim fieri, ut illi peccatrici omnia in bonum aliquando cooperentur, et fiat postea magnorum operum effectrix, quae olim noluit sanis consiliis acquiescere'[1] (p. 508).

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[1] The process of mind through which the Pope passed is not yet clearly established, but the following references mark some of the stages:

1. It was believed that Mary while at Lochleven devoted herself to prayer and penance. 'She has begun to serve God better, with more devotion and greater diligence than she had been wont to do for some time previously, which is a great joy to me.'—Archbishop Beaton to the Cardinal of Lorraine, 6 February 1568; quoted above from Stevenson-Nau, clxxxvi. This was also reported in Rome, *ibid.* p. 145, and Queen Elizabeth of Valois told the nuncio in Madrid, that Mary 'had acknowledged her error and had become altogether spiritual and Catholic.'—Vatican Archives, *Borghese*, i. 606, fol. 412.

2. After her imprisonment in England the nuncio in France endeavoured to obtain her transference to France, 'for then we may be sure that she will remain Catholic.' But when (11 June 1568) he had got the nuncio in Spain to represent the matter to Philip, the Pope disapproved (18 August 1568). 'His mind is still undecided which of the two queens is the best.' Philippson, *Marie Stuart*, iii. 496, has printed the extracts. The original despatches are in the Vatican Archives, *Nunziatura di Spagnia*, iv. 3, 4; vi. 86.

3. When, however, her constancy in her faith became evident, the Pope's sentiments went through a considerable change. He wrote, 13 December 1568, to Archbishop Beaton, exhorting him to strengthen his mistress in the faith. —Vatican Archives, Arm. xiv. vol. iii. fol. 195; Laderchi, *Annales*, 1569 (*sic*), § 284.

4. The result of the conferences at York, Westminster, and Hampton Court, were understood by most of Mary's friends as equivalent to a verdict of not guilty of the murder of Darnley. She had given up Bothwell, and every day that she was kept in prison added to her reputation as a sufferer for religion. On

THE ARCHIVES, MANUSCRIPTS, AND METHODS OF EDITING.

With every document in this volume a description will be found of the essential characteristics of the manuscript original which has been followed. A few words upon the nature of the various archives which have been laid under contribution, and on the classes of manuscripts which they contain, will complete the account of the sources from which our documents have been drawn.

THE VATICAN ARCHIVES (*Archivio Secreto Vaticano*).—It may not be amiss to notice at once that these archives correspond less with our Public Record Office, or with the French Archives Nationales, etc., than with the library of our Foreign Office, or that of the French Ministère des Affaires Étrangères. They are intended for diplomatic correspondence only, to the exclusion of the records of judicature, finance, and the administration of benefices, missions, dispensations, canonisations, and the like. In ancient times, indeed, there was but one Archive, and even at our period some of the present subdivisions were matters of the future. But they are now in force, and the non-diplomatic papers have been taken to the different offices outside the Vatican Palace to which they respectively belonged. It is well to remember the limitations of the field for research, and that in the hitherto unopened archives of the subsidiary offices many interesting illustrations of our period may yet be found.

The Vatican Library, from which we draw a few documents,

May 9, 1569, Archbishop Beaton was assured from Rome that the Pope was 'as earnest in her favour as she could wish.'—Arch. Vat., Arm. xiv. vol. iii. fol. 217.

5. On January 9, 1570, the Pope recommenced his correspondence with her, saying, 'We hold it for certain that these miseries have befallen your Majesty because of your having preserved and defended the Catholic religion.'

These points will be found worked out in somewhat ampler detail in an article in *The Month* for June 1898.

holds the same relation to the Vatican Archives as the British Museum does to the Record Office. It is a collection of literary manuscripts, not of national records, yet diplomatic papers have for various reasons got transferred there which normally should have found their resting-place in the Archives.

At the time in which we are interested, the diplomatic papers were not very systematically preserved. Permanent, as opposed to extraordinary, nuncios and legates had only been instituted for a few decades, and, as was natural, the organisation of the Archives was not efficaciously taken in hand until a somewhat later period, that is, until the reign of Gregory XIII. (1572 to 1585). The diplomatic correspondence of the preceding period is, by comparison, not only ill-arranged, but also deficient. Señor Hinojosa found it so for Spain,[1] and von Sickel says in regard to Germany, 'hardly the tenth part of the despatches from the nuncios during the reign of Pius IV. are in the Vatican.'[2] Yet Spain and Germany are much better represented in the Archives than any other country.[3]

The Vatican documents used in this volume are taken chiefly from the *fondi* connected (1) with bulls and briefs, and (2) with nuncios' despatches.

1. The thirty-five *Apostolic Letters*, described or printed in whole or in part, are mostly taken from registers. It must, however, be remembered that in the sixteenth century the total number of briefs and bulls sent out from Rome was enormous, and that by consequence the regular registration of earlier times was no longer possible. Collections of signed minutes now form

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[1] R. de Hinojosa, *Los despachos de la diplomacia pontificia en España*, Madrid, 1896, i. 119, etc.

[2] In the 'Vorwort' to S. Steinherz, *Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland*, 1560-1561, Wien, 1897, I. vii.

[3] Further information on the Vatican Archives will be found in Dr. A. Pieper, *Zur Entstehung der ständigen Nuntiaturen*, Freiburg, 1894, and in the same author's *Päpstlichen Legaten . . . seit der Mitte des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*. The two works quoted in the last note are also most helpful. So too are the other volumes of the *Nuntiaturberichte*, now in progress of publication.

the most authoritative registers. Other volumes are made up of duplicates and official copies, etc. The distinctions between them are rather perplexing, and have not yet been sufficiently studied. The points of *diplomatique* which distinguish the letters sent abroad, engrossed upon parchment (see p. 53), can rarely be traced in the often abbreviated copies kept at home. A few of these points are commented upon at pp. 2 and 48, ii. *infra*, and lxxxix *supra*, where references to current authorities will be found.

The significance of the bulls and apostolic letters concerning faculties, dispensations, etc., will be readily appreciated. A caution, however, may not be superfluous on the import of those briefs, which are entirely hortatory. It is not to be supposed that they have any other mysterious meaning beyond that which they bear upon their faces. Perseverance was the virtue upon which the Popes of those days had to insist most frequently, and the reasons for perseverance were either known or might have been suggested by the bearers. The importance of these exhortations is referred to on pp. 18, § 2; 87; 148, § 4; 499, No. 33.

2. If the *fondo* of nuncios' despatches was as complete for our period as it becomes later, we should have expected to find in the letters of the French nuncio and the Flemish agents a fairly complete comment upon contemporary affairs in Scotland. As it is, we have only fragments of the French papers (pp. 10, 11, 25, 45, 61, 72, 83, 164, 229, 449), but more complete information concerning extraordinary nuncios and legates such as Commendone (pp. 63, 84, etc.), d'Este (pp. 58, 81, etc.), and above all Bishop Laureo.

His register calls for a few words of description. It consists of thirty-nine leaves of (? French) paper, many of which are blank, and is entirely in the hand of a secretary, doubtless Rogerio Tritonio, who continued to write for the bishop in his later nunciatures. The ciphers and letters '*a parte*' are entered at the end. The original title was *Per la Nunciatura di Scotia*

del anno 1566, and on the first leaf, 'Lettere scritte all' Ill^mo^ et R^mo^ Alessandrino.' It is now re-backed, and numbered *Inghilterra*, vol. i. A (formerly No. 3328).[1]

The deficiencies in the nuncio's despatches have been in part supplied by *Official Summaries*, where these exist (pp. 43, 61, 110, 164). They are the *précis* notes used by the secretaries in Rome for reporting upon and answering the nuncio's correspondence. On some occasions both summaries and full texts are extant, and this enables us to form a favourable estimate of the reliability of this source.

On other occasions recourse has been had to *Avvisi* or newsletters. The value of these papers has been already referred to in Section VI. of this Introduction. The necessity of using documents of this class in an age when little other news could be procured is shown by the references made to them in the Jesuit correspondence, Appendix III., pp. 488, 490, 491, 492. We also see here the caution which had to be used, in order to avoid being misled by their defects.

Other ITALIAN ARCHIVES.—Besides the Roman Archives, I have also visited those of Parma (p. 344), Turin (p. 454), Florence (p. 517), and Modena (pp. xlix. and cxxix. *ante*); but I found only few documents which illustrated our subject.

Of the FRENCH ARCHIVES, which I have consulted, the most important thing to say seems to be this. They contain more than has been realised for the period of French predominance preceding the treaty of Edinburgh, less than might have been expected for the years when Mary reigned *in* Scotland. Since the time when M. Teulet edited his *Papiers d'État* and *Relations*, the work of arrangement has gone steadily forward at the *Ministère des Affaires Étrangères*, and I would draw special attention to the volume, *Mémoires et Documents*,

[1] I may take credit for some share in the rediscovery of this volume, which, though its title was indicated in the old catalogue of the Archives, had been mislaid when I began my studies there. At my request the archivist, Monsignor Wenzel, instituted a search for it, which was ultimately successful.

Angleterre, No. 15, from which I have quoted some valuable letters in Appendix I. I have called it 'Mary of Guise's Register,' for it contains royal and other letters relating to her from September 1556 to July 1560. The originals, I conjecture, must have been brought to Paris, when the body of the regent was transferred there, after the peace of Edinburgh. This would account for the register being written by a French scribe upon French paper, and for the letters addressed to the regent having signatures and addresses, while those from the regent are without them. The exemplars would in the one case have been original letters, in the other the queen's minutes. Besides the documents from this codex printed below in Appendix I., as germane to the subject of this volume, there are others of no little value, especially a diary of the fighting round Leith (fol. 154-182), and the proceedings at Holyrood, February 5 to 10, 1560, against the Earl of Arran for rebellion (fol. 130-154). Amongst the deponents on this occasion was James 'Conte de Boithuil etc., du milieu age de vingtquart ans ou environ.' The whole manuscript deserves to be printed.

The extracts from Spanish documents in Appendix II. are due to my desire to see what sort of gleanings might be found in the *Archives Nationales* by going once more over the ground covered by M. Teulet. The result, though very favourable to M. Teulet's thoroughness, shows that the number of minor pieces still to be recovered here is not inconsiderable.

There are other French sources, the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, and the archives and libraries of Rheims, Lille, Douai, etc., in which I have made inquiries with the hope of tracing Mary's correspondence with the Cardinal of Lorraine, our want of information on this subject being the most serious deficiency in our historical materials relating to her. But nowhere have I found any trace of these papers, and I fear that they must have perished, as so many others did, in the troubles of the Revolution.

I was disappointed in not finding more at Besançon. There are numerous letters there addressed to Cardinal Granvelle by Anne of Lorraine, Duchess of Aerschot, Mary's grand-aunt and constant correspondent. I do not doubt that they contain much interesting information about Scotland, but unfortunately the handwriting is so bad that a passing traveller has not the time to master it. There was no difference between A, d, f, g, s, v, nor between i, p, x, and final n; there was no fixity of grammar or of spelling. Such passages as I did laboriously decipher indicated that interesting matter could not be very far off, but I was reluctantly obliged to leave further research to resident scholars. I noticed, however, that M. Weiss, in his *Papiers d'État du Cardinal Granvelle*, only printed such of her letters as the cardinal himself had had recopied, in order to read them at leisure.

The ARCHIVES of the SOCIETY OF JESUS have suffered greatly during the various revolutions and troubles of the last hundred years. Part is now in the *Archivio di Stato* at Rome (p. 510), part has been taken away by the dispersed Fathers. Descriptions of these latter volumes will be found in the periodical publication entitled *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu*, Madrid, 1894, etc. The codices used in this volume are catalogued in Fasciculus LV. (pp. lxii., lxiv.), which forms the Introduction to the *Epistolæ P. Nadal.* Minute descriptions of the codices relating to the German Jesuits in particular will be found in the Introductions by Father O. Braunsberger, S. J., to his *Epistulæ et Acta B. P. Canisii*,[1] Freiburg im Breisgau, 1896, etc.

Suffice it here to say that the letters which concern us are chiefly taken from the correspondence of the generals. Their

[1] The recently published third volume of this work (1901) gives at p. 525 a note on the literature connected with de Gouda's mission. I notice that Father Braunsberger now prefers 'Florissen' as de Gouda's family name. He identifies the 'third' Scot mentioned, p. 479, No. 1 *infra*, with George Hay, a name which seems to occur in the registers of the German College at Rome.

own letters are fairly well preserved in a series of registers, written mostly in Italian, the use of Latin as a *lingua franca* not being as yet universal. The registers with which we shall have to deal are: (i.) *Epistolæ Variarum Provinciarum*, 1562-1563; (ii.) *Germania, Flandria, Gallia, ab* 1561 *ad* 1565; and (iii.) *Allemania, Fiandra, Francia*, 1565-1567. The first is the register kept by Father Laynez during his absence from Rome at the Council of Trent. The other two are part of the regular series of Roman registers.

The collection of letters written *to* the general is unfortunately very defective. Except where an enterprising archivist has had them bound, they are almost entirely lost, and even the bound volumes have been mutilated in order to cut out letters, which were treasured as relics. The lacerated volumes with which we shall have to deal are now called (iv.) *Epistolæ Germaniæ*, III. (1562), (v.) *Epistolæ Germaniæ*, IV. (1563-1565), (vi.) *Epistolæ Galliæ*, II. (1561-1564), (vii.) *Epistolæ Galliæ*, III. (1565-1568). In Appendix III. these volumes are referred to by the Roman numbers i., ii., iii. etc., here assigned to them, and not by their full titles (see p. 479).

Principles of Editing.—The principles on which I have proceeded in editing will, I hope, explain themselves. The documents are printed *verbatim*, *literatim*, and integrally, so far as they are in any way related to the subject in hand. It will be readily understood that the letters of foreign diplomatists will almost always contain an immense amount of matter which has no connection with Scotland. These parts are as a rule omitted, while what relates to Scotland is given in full. When supplementary matter is printed in appendices, abbreviation is sometimes employed. In these cases the fact is stated in the headlines, and the distinction between the text and the editor's words is shown by inverted commas. Contractions are expanded,[1] deficient punctuation has been silently

[1] Some often repeated forms of address are left contracted. The Pope is styled 'Santità,' 'Beatitudine,' 'Padre.' When joined with 'sua' and 'vostra'

supplemented. The documents are subdivided into sections by numerals enclosed in square brackets, which are used for all editorial additions.

Large and small type are used to guide the reader in distinguishing what is more important and new in the series of despatches from translations and other subsidiary matter. As, however, there are many distinctions in the matter of novelty and importance, the nature of which cannot be explained by one change of type, a more precise definition of the value of each text is added in small type.

In translation I have aimed chiefly at strict fidelity. On the other hand, I have not treated the texts as though they were inspired writings or even legal formulas, where every little turn and syllable was of importance. The originals are as a rule simple, rapidly written letters, in which very little turns on verbal *minutiæ*, much upon a grasp of the argument considered as a whole. Attention has, therefore, been paid to the flow of the narrative, English idioms are substituted for those which are foreign, complimentary superlatives are often reduced to positives, and elaborate and untranslatable greetings and farewells, 'oscula pedum,' 'bascia mano,' etc. etc. are frequently omitted. For clearness' sake the modern title 'Eminence' has been generally given to cardinals, though at that time they were still addressed as 'Signoria Illustrissima.'

The readings and translations of deciphers, it will be observed, are often uncertain. The cipher-clerks endeavoured to shorten their labours by undue abbreviation, the cipher-codes were not very easy to apply, and the result was frequent confusion. Similar causes lead to a similar frequency of errors

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we naturally get S.S., S.B., B.P., V.S., V.B. 'Signoria' (Latin 'Dominatio') was the title for bishops, cardinals, etc., and might be qualified by 'Illustrissima,' 'Reverendissima,' and 'Eccellentissima.' Hence the forms S.S., V.S., V.S.I., V.S.I. & R., V.S.I. molto R., D.V., D.V.I., etc., and even E.D.V.I. & R. A priest, 'Paternitas,' will be addressed as R.P., T.R.P., R.P.V., etc. In practice all these forms are translated by 'you' and 'he.'

△ (sometimes ▽) stands for 'scudo,' a crown (p. 264, note.)

in our telegrams, but they can be repeated, whereas ciphers could not (pp. 62, 466, 467, etc.).

Sir Thomas Smith says of one of his letters to Cecil that it was 'a rabblement of news almost out of all countries in Christendom' (p. 194), and I may say something similar of this collection of documents. Now in a rabble, however carefully policed, some confusion and disorder can hardly be altogether avoided, and no one can be more sensible than myself that I have not succeeded in eliminating all such defects from my motley gathering of pieces in many languages and dialects, and drawn from far distant and scattered sources. Occasionally I have had to work under pressure, as a traveller must, occasionally to wait interminably for answers of foreign correspondents, my only means of settling the doubts that arose while I was employed in the actual work of editing. Hoping that my kind readers will on this score make allowance for the defects which they may notice, I conclude by acknowledging my great obligations to the many friends who have assisted me in my work.

Without attempting to enumerate the names of all the kind helpers at home and in Italy, France, and Germany, whose assistance in the past years has enabled me to accomplish my task, I must not omit to mention the Rev. Monsignor Wenzel, Archivist of the Vatican, without whose assistance this collection of documents could never have been brought together. Nor again should I easily have accomplished my task without the aid of the papers and memoranda which were left me by the late Father Joseph Stevenson, S. J. To the Scottish History Society, and to its secretary, Dr. T. G. Law, I must express my hearty thanks for their readiness in making every possible arrangement which could conduce to the successful production of this work, and to the latter especially I am indebted for many valuable suggestions, the good influence of which I can trace throughout the whole

volume. Dr. Archibald Constable and Dr. Hay Fleming have done me an inestimable service by reading through my proofs with minute care, and with wonderful patience and intelligence. My readers, as well as myself, will acknowledge their obligations to Mr. Alexander Mill for his diligence in composing the Index. I also take this opportunity of thanking Mr. John Scott of Halkshill for the loan of the letter of Queen Mary described at pp. 435, 521, and I am delighted to hear that, since those pages were printed, the Scottish History Society has decided upon reproducing the letter itself in facsimile in Mr. Scott's forthcoming volume, so that my readers will be able to judge of its interest for themselves.

J. H. POLLEN, S.J.

31 Farm Street, London, W.
19 *September* 1901.

SECTION I. INTRODUCTORY

No. 1

POPE PAUL IV. TO MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS (Extract)

Vatican Archives, *Pauli iv. Brevium minuta*, tom. x., No 329. Minute, with corrections.

[*Rome*, 15 *October* 1557]

Charissime in Christo filie nostre Marie Scotorum Regine Illustri.

CHARISSIMA in Christo filia, salutem. Superiori anno nobis pro parte tua exposito, quod, cum post mortem clare memorie Jacobi Scotorum Regis eius nominis quarti [*sic*] genitoris tui, Istud Regnum Scotie per decem annos continuos tot cum externis tum domesticis et civilibus bellis adeo misere vexatum et concussum fuisset, ut castra et loca eo tempore vastata et diruta, absque aliquo extraordinario subsidio brevi reparari nullatenus possent, Tu Timens ne, si federa pacis superioribus annis cum tunc Rege Anglie inite quoquo modo rumperentur, hostes tui Regnum ipsum libere invaderent et in illud omni metu[1] soluti incursiones facerent, una cum Proceribus eiusdem Regni decreveras non solum predicta, ut prefertur, vastata et diruta restituere et restaurare, verum etiam alia de novo presertim limitropha castra et loca aggeribus et propugnaculis ac necessariis presidiis communire, quod tamen, Regio erario ob bella predicta non solum exhausto sed etiam attrito, a te ipsa efficere nequibas, [Nos] tui asserentis[2] dimidios fere redditus ipsius Regni a personis

[1] MS. is here torn.

[2] The words 'ac propterea considerans' have been here cancelled, but the reading of the phrase which has been substituted for them in the margin is doubtful.

ecclesiasticis percipi et levari et exinde non minus earum, quę satis divites existebant, quam laicorum interesse, ut Regnum ipsum ab incursionibus hostium, tutum et securum redderetur, supplicationibus inclinati, cum equum esse censuerimus, ut qui commodum sentiebat etiam incommodum sentiret, subsidium unius vigesime cuiuslibet centenarij veri annui valoris secundum communem existimationem omnium et singulorum fructuum reddituum et proventuum unius integri anni a Kalendis novembris tunc proxime futuris et nunc vero elapsis inchoandi, quascunque Cathedralium etiam metropolitanarum, primatialium aliarumque ecclesiarum necnon monasteriorum &c.[1] . . .

. . . Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum etc., die 15. Octobris, 1557, Anno tertio.

Facto verbo cum Sanctitate sua, si mandaverit, potest expediri.

JA. CAR. PUTEUS. [*Pope's signature*] Io.[2]

[*On the back.*]

15 Octobr. 1557, Ao. 3. Supplicante Maria Regina Scotie. S^tas^ Vr̃a superiori anno per suas literas in forma brevis concessit subsidium unius vigesime a personis ecclesiasticis dicti Regni modo et forma tunc expressis exigendum pro muniendis Castris et locis limitrophis eiusdem Regni et illis restaurandis. Cum autem vigesima huiusmodi ob illius tenuitatem et expensarum magnitudinem dicte reparationi non sufficiat, et, nisi opus ceptum compleatur, expense iam facte inanes reddantur, S^tas^ V. ad eundem effectum extendit impositionem subsidii vigesime huiusmodi ad alium annum, et concedit quod illud eisdem modo et forma exigi possit.

Cardinalis Puteus dicens, facto verbo, cum Sanctitate Vr̃a, si mandaverit posse expediri, et Sanctitas Vr̃a, instantibus R^mis^ Bellayo et Sermoneta, mandavit mihi ut expedirem.

[1] The Church property on which the tax was to be levied is specified, but in general terms only, similar to those on p. 36, *infra*, and leave is given to levy it for another year.

[2] In subscribing bulls of this nature the Popes use the initial of their christian name. Paul the Fourth's names were Giovanni Pietro Carafa.—H. Bresslau, *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre*, Leipzig, 1889, i. 738; J. A. Twemlow, *English Historical Review*, July 1900, p. 529.

[Pope Paul iv. to Queen Mary. *Rome*, 15 *October* 1557.

To our most dear daughter, Mary the illustrious Queen of Scots.

Most dear daughter in Christ, greeting, etc. Last year representations were made on your behalf, that whereas after the death of your father of renowned memory, James King of Scots, fourth [*sic*] of that name, the realm of Scotland was so disastrously harried and perturbed for ten years continuously by wars, both foreign, domestic, and civil, that the castles and places, then devastated and ruined, could in no wise be soon repaired without some extraordinary subsidy. You therefore feared that if in any way the treaties of peace should be broken, into which you had entered in previous years with the King of England, your enemies might freely invade your realm, and make incursions into it, unrestrained by any fear. For this reason you, together with the nobles of your said realm, had resolved not only to set up anew and restore the aforesaid wasted and ruined castles, but also to construct new border stronghold and places fortified with walls, outworks, and other necessary defences, but that your royal treasury had not only been exhausted by the aforesaid wars, but entirely drained, so that, without some aid, you would be unable to effect your purpose. [Finally you asserted] that nearly half the revenues of the kingdom were levied and taken by ecclesiastical persons, who for that reason (being so well off as they are) were not less interested than laymen in ensuring the freedom, protection, and security of the realm against invasion. Moved by your petition, and seeing that it was but just that he who enjoys an advantage should feel the corresponding disadvantage, [we granted] a subsidy of one twentieth of each hundred of actual annual income, according to usual calculation, arising from all and singular fruits, revenues, etc. for one whole year, to begin on the first of November then ensuing and now past. . . .

Given at Rome, at St. Peters, on the 15th day of October 1557, the third of our Pontificate.

His Holiness having been spoken to, this may be expedited, if he orders.

[Signed] Ja[mes], Cardinal Puteo. [*Pope's signature*] Io[hn].

[*On the back.*] 15 October 1557, third year. At the request of Mary Queen of Scots. Your Holiness granted last year, by letters in the form of a brief, a subsidy of one twentieth from ecclesiastical persons of that kingdom, which was to be levied in the way and form then expressed, and it was to be applied to the fortifications of castles and border strongholds of that kingdom, and for the repair of them. But whereas, by reason of the small amount realised and the greatness of the expenses, this twentieth has not sufficed for the said repairs, and whereas the money spent may be wasted if the works commenced be not completed, your Holiness extends for another year the levying of the said subsidy for the same purposes, and grants that it may be raised in the same way and form.

Cardinal Puteo, having spoken to your Holiness, has stated that, if you command, it may be expedited, and your Holiness, at the instance of Cardinals Bellay and Sermoneta, commanded me to expedite it.]

No. 2

POPE PAUL IV. TO CARDINAL TRIVULZIO

Ibid. x., No 363. Original Minute.

[*Rome, 27 October* 1557]

Dilecto filio Antonio tituli Sanctorum Ioannis et Pauli praesbitero Cardinali Triuultio nuncupato, ad charissimum in Christo filium nostrum Henricum Francorum Regem Christianissimum nostro, et apostolicae Sedis legato de latere.

DILECTE fili noster salutem. [1] Cum sicut charissima in Christo filia nostra Maria Scotorum Regina illustris nobis nuper exponi fecit a certis annis citra in regno suo Scotiæ disciplina ecclesiastica sit plurimum relaxata, et prelati tam saecularium quam regularium ecclesiarum alijque earum rectores, et beneficia seu canonicatus et praebendas ac dignitates in eis obtinentes, bona ecclesiastica etiam immobilia et notabilis valoris in damnum ecclesiae, et non seruatis solemnitatibus a jure requisitis, etiam in fauorem potentiorum alienare, et edificia earundem ecclesiarum negligere atque ex eorum vetustate seu alias ruere et collabi permittere, et ab eorum reparatione et restauratione cessare; [2] necnon moniales et aliae Deo dicatae mulieres septa monasteriorum exire et per domos saecularium uagari, ac personas suspectas jntra earum monasteria admittere, seque delitijs et humano luxui dare praesumpserint, et in dies praesumant, diuersique abusus in ecclesijs illarum partium introducantur et complura delicta et crimina enormia et scandalosa ac quandoque haeresim sapientia per varias utriusque sexus personas tam ecclesiasticas etiam diuersorum ordinum regulares quam saeculares committantur jn diuinae maiestatis offensam et religionis christianae opprobrium ac perniciem animarum et christi fidelium scandalum, [3] Nos qui gregis dominici uniuersalem curam sustinemus, et ad populum christianum vita et moribus reformandum mentem

nostram applicuimus, omniaque per nos ipsos jmplere et exequi non possumus, in te quem nuper ad charissimum in Christo filium nostrum Henricum Francorum Regem christianissimum nostrum et apostolicae sedis legatum de latere destinauimus, et de quo ob tuam doctrinam fidem et probitatem ac multiplicem rerum experientiam aliasque insignes virtutes et animi dotes singularem in domino fiduciam obtinemus, coniecimus oculos nostrae mentis; [4] jdcirco circumspectioni tuae, quod per aliquem prelatum ad hoc jdoneum doctum et Deum timentem ac solum quae Dei sunt et ad Dei honorem ecclesiaeque suae sanctae exaltationem pertinent zelantem, a te deputandum, Regnum Scotiae hujusmodi, et quascunque illius cathedrales etiam Metropolitanas et primatiales aliasque ecclesias, necnon monasteria et alia regularia ac pia loca in eodem Regno consistentia, et quascunque ecclesiarum Monasteriorum et locorum huiusmodi utriusque sexus personas tam saeculares quam cuiusvis, etiam cistertientium et cluniacentium aut alicuius ex mendicantibus et sanctae clarae ordinis, regulares etiam exemptas et soli Romano Pontifici aut alijs earum praelatis subditas et subiectas, cuiusvis dignitatis status gradus ordinis conditionis et praeeminentiae existant, aucthoritate nostra visitare, [5] et tam in capite quam in membris reformare ac vitia extirpare et virtutes serere, necnon contra eos qui de praemissis aut aliquibus alijs criminibus delictis et excessibus diffamati erunt, etiam per viam jnquisitionis uel jnvestigationis seu denunciationis aut alias etiam ex officio procedere, et culpabiles repertos debita animaduersione punire, ac male alienata ad jus ac proprietatem ecclesiarum, quarum antea erant, reducere. Necnon reparationem et restaurationem aedificiorum ecclesiarum quarumlibet procurare, et ad id obligatos ut illa reparent et restaurent cogere et compellere, ac moniales quaslibet ut debitam clausuram et regularia earum ordinum jnstituta obseruent, et ab illicitis abstineant, cogere et compellere, [6] necnon omnia alia, que pro restitutione ecclesiasticae disciplinae et abusuum abolitione ac curatorum correctione et morum reformatione necnon diuini cultus augmento et animarum salute necessaria seu alias quomodolibet opportuna esse videbuntur, statuere et ordinare ac quae statuta et ordinata fuerint per sententias censuras et penas

ecclesiasticas jnviolabiliter obseruari facere, necnon contradictores quoslibet et rebelles ac eidem praelato non parentes similibus sententijs censuris et penis cohercere, et praelatum a te pro tempore deputatum quoties tibi videbitur reuocare et alium eius loco etiam pluries substituere et surrogare libere et licite valeas, plenam et liberam apostolica auctoritate tenore praesentium concedimus facultatem et potestatem. [7] Non obstantibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis ac ecclesiarum monasteriorum et locorum necnon ordinum huiusmodi, etiam juramento, confirmatione apostolica, uel quavis firmitate alia roboratis, statutis et consuetudinibus privilegijs quoque indultis exemptionibus immunitatibus libertatibus et literis apostolicis eisdem ecclesijs monasterijs locis et ordinibus eorumque praelatis et superioribus sub quibuscunque tenoribus et formis ac cum quibusvis, etiam derogatoriarum derogatorijs, alijsque fortioribus et efficacissimis clausulis necnon jrritantibus, et alijs decretis etiam motu proprio aut alias quomodolibet concessis, et etiam iteratis vicibus approbatis et innouatis, quibus omnibus, illorum tenores, ac si de verbo ad verbum insererentur, presentibus pro expressis habentes, hac vice duntaxat specialiter et expresse derogamus, contrarijs quibuscunque, etc., aut si aliquibus communiter uel diuisim ab eadem sit sede indultum quod interdici suspendi etc. mentionem etc. Dat. Romae apud Sanctum Petrum &c. die 27. Octobris 1557 a°. 3°.

[*Pope's signature*] Io.

[*On the back*] 27 Octob. 1557 a°. 3°. Supp^te^ Regina Scotiae.

Datur facultas R^mo^ Cardinali Triuultio legato ad Regem Francorum uisitandi per prelatum idoneum ab eo deputandum ecclesias et monasteria ac utriusque sexus personas ecclesiasticas tam seculares, quam cuiusuis ordinis regulares Regni Scotiae, et quae reformatione, seu correctione indigere compererit reformandi, et corrigendi.

S^tas^ V. commissit mihi in consistorio petentibus R^mis^ Belayo et Sermoneta.

[POPE PAUL IV. to CARDINAL TRIVULZIO. 27 *October* 1557.

To our beloved son, Anthony Trivulzio, Cardinal Priest of the Title of

SS. John and Paul, Legate *de latere* for us and for the Apostolic See to our dear son in Christ, Henry, the Most Christian King of the French.

Beloved son, greeting! [1] Whereas our most dear daughter in Christ, Mary, the illustrious Queen of Scots, has lately made known to us that for certain years [back] ecclesiastical discipline has been very much relaxed in her kingdom of Scotland, and that the ecclesiastical prelates, both secular and regular, and others, rectors of churches, holders of benefices or canonries, and prebends, and dignities therein, alienate church property, both immovable and of notable value, to the Church's loss, and in favour of men of power, without observing the solemnities by law required; Also that they neglect the fabric of the said churches, that they allow them to fall into ruin and decay from age, and that they cease from the restoration and repair of them; [2] Moreover that nuns and other women dedicated to God go outside the bounds of monasteries, and wander through the houses of the laity, and that they admit suspected persons within their monasteries, that they have made bold, and daily make bold to indulge in pleasure and carnal lusts; That divers abuses are introduced into the churches of those parts, and very many crimes, iniquities, and scandalous enormities (some of them savouring of heresy) are committed by various persons of either sex, by ecclesiastics also of various orders, both secular and regular, iniquities which give offence to the Divine Majesty, bring shame on the Christian religion, and cause loss of souls, and scandal to Christ's faithful: [3] We who bear the charge of the universal flock of the Lord, and have fixed our minds on the reform of Christians in life and morals, and yet cannot of ourselves fulfil and discharge all duties, have in our thoughts cast our eyes upon you, whom of late we have appointed legate *de latere* for us and for the Apostolic See to our most dear son in Christ, Henry, the Most Christian King of the French; and we conceive by God's grace a singular confidence in you, because of your learning, faith, probity, manifold experience, and other signal virtues and gifts of mind; [4] Wherefore we grant you full and free apostolic authority, faculty and power, by the tenor of the present letters, to visit the realm of Scotland through some prelate to be deputed by yourself. He must be a man fit, learned, God-fearing, zealous for those things only which are God's, and appertain to His honour and the exaltation of His holy Church. [By him you are to visit] with our apostolic authority all cathedrals whatever therein, even those of metropolitan and primatial sees, and other churches, monasteries too, and other religious and pious places within the same realm; Also all persons whatever belonging to the said churches, monasteries, and places aforesaid, both males and females, both seculars, as well as members of any order, even though they be Cistercians or monks of Cluny, or mendicant friars, or Poor Clares; also exempt regulars, and those who are subject to the Roman Pontiff only and to their superiors, of whatsoever dignity, state, degree, order, condition, and pre-eminence they may be; [5] To reform them both in head and

members, to extirpate vices, to plant virtues, to proceed officially, even by way of inquisition, or investigation, or denunciation, or by any other, against those who have been accused in respect of the above charges or other crimes and excesses, and to punish the guilty by exacting due penalties; ALSO to restore property wrongly alienated to the power and ownership of those churches to which it previously belonged, and to see that the fabrics of churches of every sort be repaired and restored, and that those who are bound to execute such repairs do their duty; ALSO to compel and constrain nuns of all kinds to observe due enclosure, and the rules and institutes of their orders, and to abstain from everything illicit: [6] MOREOVER, to establish and ordain all other things which shall seem necessary for the restoration of ecclesiastical discipline, the abolition of abuses, the correction of curators, the reform of morals, the extension of the service of God, and the well-being of churches, or any other such measures as shall be suited to the times; and to ensure that such statutes and ordinances be observed inviolate by means of sentences, censures, and ecclesiastical penalties, and to coerce all rebels and gainsayers and all who disobey the said prelate with similar sentences, penalties, and censures: ALSO to recall the prelate, whom you may propose as your deputy, as often as shall seem good to you, and even to substitute and surrogate another several times freely and licitly. [7] [All this you have faculty to do] NOTWITHSTANDING the constitutions and apostolic ordinations, and the statutes of churches, monasteries, and particular places or orders, even though confirmed by oath, apostolic confirmation, or any other formality, notwithstanding similarly any statutes, customs, privileges also, and indults, exemptions, immunities, liberties, and apostolic letters granted to the same churches, monasteries, particular places, and religious orders, to their prelates or superiors, under whatever form or tenor, with whatever saving clauses (even those derogatory of derogative clauses), or others of the strongest and most efficacious kind, even if they be irritant, notwithstanding also decrees (even those granted *motu proprio*) and other grants of any sort, even those that have been repeatedly approved and innovated. In these letters, and on this occasion only, we derogate expressly from all the above, in especial, treating them as though their tenor were here inserted word for word, [notwithstanding] anything to the contrary, etc., or if an indult have been granted by the same see to any, whether separately or in common, of which mention, etc., in case of suppression or suspension, etc.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, etc., on the 27th day of October, the third of our Pontificate.

[*Pope's signature*] Io[HN].

[*On the back.*] 27 October 1557, third year. At the petition of the Queen of Scotland.

Faculty is granted to the most reverend Cardinal Trivulzio, legate to the King of the French, to visit, by means of some fit prelate, to be deputed by him, the churches, monasteries, and persons of either sex, ecclesiastical

and secular, and regulars of every order in the realm of Scotland, and of reforming and correcting what he shall think deserving of reformation and correction.

Your Holiness committed it to me in consistory at the petition of Cardinals Bellay and Sermonetta.]

No. 3

CARDINAL TRIVULZIO TO CARDINAL ALFONSO CARAFA (Extract)

Vatican Archives, *Lettere di principi*, tom. xi. fol. 373. Original.

[*Morette*, 12 *March* 1557-8]

Per haver qualche informatione delle cose del Regno di Scotia appartenenti alle dimande, che la Serenissima Regina ha fatte à N. S^re^, ho parlato hoggi secondo l'auiso di V. S. Ill^ma^, con il Re christianissimo, il quale mi dice che fra due o tre giorni s'aspettano qua certi signori Scozzesi,[1] da i quali s'intenderanno pienamente i bisogni di quel regno, et poi mi risponderà, et il medesimo ho inteso da Mons^r^ Ill^mo^ di Lorena, al quale ho ancho lassato un memoriale à questo effetto, non restero io però di cercar con ogni diligentia d'hauer altra informatione, anchor ch' io reputi difficile che di ciò si possa saper altro che quello che s'intenderà per questa strada, et di tutto quello che potrà ritrarsi le darò auiso incontinente. . . .

Di Moretta, à 12 di Marzo 1558.

[Cardinal Trivulzio to the Cardinal of Naples (Extract).

To obtain some information on the state of the Scottish affairs, to which the queen's application to the Pope referred, I spoke to the King of France to-day according to your directions. He answered that some Scotsmen of importance were expected in two or three days.[a] They

[1] James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, David Panter, Bishop of Ross, Robert Reid, Bishop of Orkney, the Earls of Rothes and Cassilis, the Lord James, Commendator of St. Andrews, Lords Fleming and Seton were named commissioners for Mary's marriage, 14 December 1557. They must have been in France by March 16, when Mary re-appointed them. Unless Panter was in France before his appointment, it would appear doubtful whether he ever came. To the authorities quoted by D. Hay Fleming (*Mary Stuart*, p. 210, *n.* 47) add Teulet (*Inventaire Chronologique*, Edinburgh, 1839, pp. 99 *et seqq.*).

would give full information as to the necessities of that kingdom, and then he would answer me. I received a like response from the Cardinal of Lorraine, with whom I left a memorial for the purpose. I shall not, I trust, omit any pains to gain further information, though I suppose it will be difficult to find out more than comes to us through that channel. I will give immediate notice of everything that may be heard. . . .

From Morette, 12th of March 1558.]

No. 4

THE BISHOP OF FERMO, NUNCIO AT PARIS, TO CARDINAL CARAFA (Extract)

Rome, Barberini MSS., lxi. vol. xxvi., No. 29. Original.

[*Poissy*, 28 *November* 1558]

Io scrissi hieri à V. S. Ill^ma^ et R^ma^ la nuova che si era intesa della morte della Regina d'Inghilterra per il Gobbo corrier', al quale, essendosi già spedito da [. . .][1] mandai le lettere con diligenza à Parigi, et perche il mio mi hà riferito, che egli parti di la questa notte passata con le dette mie lettere, non gli replicherò altro, ma gli dirò bene, che la morte della medesima Reina pare che si verifichi, intendendosi che mori fino à gli xxvii. del[2] passato, ma non si ha però certezza se Madama Elisabetta sua sorella, che è stata chiamata nuova Reina, sia eletta con conditione di non poter pigliar' marito straniero, et che ella habbia dato di già licenza, che ciascuno possa vivere con qual sorte di religione più gli piace in quel Regno, sebene si dice cosi volgarmente, dove s'intende, che S. M^ta^ Christianissima manda il Secretario Rubettet, ma non si è già potuto ritrarr' con che speditione, ò commissione egli vadia, come che si creda, che possa esser' per le pretensioni, che ha in quella Corona la Reina delfina: Si è similmente detto, che il Cardinal d'Inghilterra si trova malato, et che portava pericolo che non gli fusse fatto qualche cattivo scherzo, ma voglio creder', che sieno discorsi, che si faccino. Questa mattina medesima si è saputo ancora, che i Signori Diputati al negotio della pace, hanno concluso una Tregua per duoi mesi, cioè per tutto Gennaro prossimo, per la qual cagione si crede che

[1] MS. torn

[2] A clerical error for *agli xvii. passati*, or *del corrente*.

Mons^{r} Ill^{mo} Cardinal di Lorena sia per esser fra tre o quattro giorni di ritorno senza sapersi particolar' . . . . . si dice che non sieno per esser' insieme prima che il Gobbo passasse, il qual tempo si dovrà veder', che forma piglino le cose d'Inghilterra, et che effetti partorisca così fatta mutatione.

Di Poessy agli xxviii di Novembre del lviii.

[THE NUNCIO to CARDINAL CARAFA. *Poissy*, 28 *November* 1558.

I WROTE yesterday by the courier Gobbo to your Eminence the news we had heard of the death of the Queen of England. As Gobbo had already gone from. . . . I sent the latter by diligence to Paris, and I hear that he left last night with my letter. I therefore do not repeat it, but may as well add that the news of the queen's death seems to be confirmed, for we hear that she died on the 27th of last month [*sic*], but there is no certainty yet that her sister, the Lady Elizabeth, who has been proclaimed the new queen, has been chosen under the condition of not marrying a foreigner, or that she has already given leave for every one to live in her realm with what form of religion he likes, though this is commonly reported. We hear that the King of France is going to send Secretary Robertet thither, but we have not discovered for what purpose or commission he goes. People think it may be because of the pretensions which the Queen Dauphin has to that crown.

It is also said that the Cardinal of England is ill, and there was danger that some bad trick should be played him, but I prefer to think that these are mere stories.

This morning too the news has come that the deputies for the peace negotiations have concluded a truce for two months, that is, till the end of January. It is therefore believed that the Cardinal of Lorraine will be back in three or four days, but particulars are not known . . . . . It is reported that they will not meet before Gobbo departs, by which time one ought to see what direction English affairs take, and what the result of the changes are. . . .

From Poissy, the 28th of November of '58.]

No. 5

THE NUNCIO AT PARIS TO CARDINAL CARAFA

(Extract)

Ibid. Barb. lxi. vol. xxvi. No 36. Original.

[*Paris*, 4 *January* 1558-9]

. . . IN quanto alla Religione per ancora non s'intende, che

[1] MS. torn.

in Inghilterra sia seguita mutatione alcuna, ma se ne dubita bene assai, intendendosi che tutti gli ufitiali, che la detta Reina ha nuovamente creato, sono persone molte sospette, e la Reina Delfina ne porta il duolo et per [. . . . . .][1] Dicono ancora, che pigliera il Titolo et l'Arma di quel Regno, dove in cambio di Mons^r. Rubert fu mandato Milort Greco[2] sotto la fede, che era di qua pregionato, come V. S. Ill^ma si può ricordare; piaccia a N. S. Dio, che tutte queste cose causino quella quiete, et pace universale, che ricercano i bisogni della Republica Christiana. Il Sig^r. Cardinale d'Inghilterra fece esecutore del suo testamento il Priuli, ma non havra molto che fare, essendosi saputo, che à instanza della Corte erano stati inventariati, et presi tutti i mobili, et beni, che S. S. Ill^ma havea in quel Regno. . . .

Di Parigi a gli iiii di Gennaro del. lix.

[THE NUNCIO at PARIS to the CARDINAL SECRETARY CARAFA.

Paris, 4 *January* 1558-9.

. . . WE do not thus far hear that any change in religion has taken place in England, but it is very much feared, for it is said that all the officers the queen has yet appointed are persons much suspected [of heresy]. The Queen Dauphin wears mourning, and by . . . . . ." . . . . . they say too that she will take the title and arms of that kingdom. Instead of M. Robertet being sent to England, Lord Grey" has gone on parole. Your Eminence may remember that he was imprisoned here. God grant that all these things may bring about that tranquillity and universal peace which the needs of christendom require. The Cardinal of England made Priuli the executor of his will, but he will not have much to do, for we hear that by command of the court a list of his goods has been made, and all the personalty and such property as his Eminence had in England has been seized. . . .

From Paris on the 4th of January '59.]

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[1] MS. torn.

[2] William, Lord Grey of Wilton, taken prisoner at Guisnes, was allowed to return to England 'ostensibly for the purpose of raising money to pay his ransom, but really to forward the alliance against Philip.'—*Foreign Calendar*, 1559-60, Introd. xxxiii.

No. 6

KING HENRY II. OF FRANCE TO POPE PAUL IV.

Vatican Archives, *Castel Sant Angelo*, Arm. xiv. Caps. iii. No 9. Contemporary official translation on Roman paper. The dialect appears to be that of the Romagna.

[*Paris*, 29 *June* 1559]

Santissimo Padre [1] Antivedendo da longo tempo la disgratia incredibile dapoi successa nel reame di Scotia in nr̃o grandissimo rincrescimento, fastidio et dispiacere, noi habbiamo per obviarci, per molte et diverse volte dinanzi à qui, scritto et fatto instantissima riquesta a V. Santità accioche il suo buon piacere fosse commettere et delegare qualche buono, virtuoso et notabile personagio delli prelati di detto reame, tale che saperia ben capare et eligere nr̃a car^ma^ et amant^ma^ buona sorella et cosina la regina dotariera di detta Scotia, per introdurre et stabilire qualche buona santa et devota reformatione nella Chiesa, corrigere, refrenare et temperare li costumi corrotti et la vita depravata et dissoluta di detti prelati et ministri ecclesiastici, li quali d'all'hora cominciavano di grandam^te^ guastar' et contaminarsi, et la nobilita et il terzo Stato à fare seditioni et insolentie con scandali contra la religione. [2] Per causa del che era stato avisato di supplicare V. S^ta^., come faciamo, di permettere che fosse levata sopra detti prelati et beneficiati di detto reame tale somma di denarii quale detta regina dotariera di Scotia con il detto vostro delegato vederia essere necessaria et conveniente per la erectione et stabilimento di una camera et Jurisdittione Criminale, et per lo intratenemento delli giudici et ministri che ci sarebbano ordinati di piu famosi et notabili personagij che si potesseno truovare per la punitione et correctione di simile gente abandonata da Dio et possedata dal diavolo. Nientedimeno per qualunche rimonstrationi et instantie che sopra cio noi habbiamo saputo procurare farsi a V. S^ta^. anchora non vi è stata data provisione alcuna. Ansi ne sono le cosi fin qui restate nel longo et suspenso, donde è accaduto che detti prelati et gente di Chiesa, vedendosi in libertà di mal fare, senza esser' alcunamente exhortati ne ripresi di alcuno suo superiore, havevano non solamente continuato, anzi di male in peggio augmentato la lor' trista et mala vita, tenendo con

loro domestichamente concubine, quali essi stimano come lor' moglie maritate, imitando la magior parte di essi le nuove secte, false et riprovate dottrine contrarie alla nostra santa fede et religione, come fanno quasi tutti li più grandi signori et gentilhuomini del paese ch'anno certi predicanti apostati della eruditione o vero dottrina di Geneva, per predicare et inducere il populo a seguitare li loro damnabili errori et heresie, donde la maggior parte di detto populo è tutta infettata et come persa. Havendo li uni et li altri di quelli preso le arme et fatto grande compagnie con artigliaria per constringere ogni uno à seguitare la lor' secta; ruinando le chiese et monasterii, prophanando le cose sacre; abbrugiando publicamente le imagini et representationi di Santi, con le lor' sante reliquie et l'ossa; fatto cavare di terra li corpi delli re di Scotia defunti,[1] quali similmenti hanno abbrugiati et redotti in cenere; levato et mutato li habiti delli religiosi et religiose per farli seculari, et abandonare et lasciare li lor' ordini et professioni; jactando et ventandosi di correre sopra et contra la regina et tutti altri che lor' vuolesseno contradire et impedire di unirli nella lor' nuova lege [*sic*] talmente che li crudeli barbari non saperebbono far' peggio.

[3] Per cagione del che noi habbiamo risoluto di fare presentemente passare in detta Scotia una buona et sufficiente forza o vero possanza di gente di guerra tanto di piedi quanto de cavalli Francese, con speranza di farli ben presto seguitare et accrescere o vero ingrozzare di un' altra buona compagnia o vero multitudine si sara di bisogno, non vuolendo spargnare cosa alcuna per il sostenimento et per la defensione della causa di Dio, anchora che non faciamo che di uscire d'una longa guerra per intrare alla pace, havendo sopportato et patito una spesa incredibile, si come ciascun' sa. Havendo questa assiccurezza in Dio, il qual primamente è offeso per tale infelice peste di genti [che] nostri carissimi et amantissimi figlio et figlia, li re et regina Delphina, et la regina Dotariera lor' madre, con il nostro aiuto et soccorso, perveniranno di sopra à questi heretici et scismatici, et che la forza et possanza ne restara a loro per castigare et punire lor grande temerita

[1] This seems to refer to the wrecking and burning of the Carthusian convent at Perth with the tomb of James I. and the destruction of Scone. Cf. Teulet, *Relations*, 1862, i. 319, 328.

et arrogantia ad honore del Creatore, esaltatione del suo Santo Nome, et augmentatione della nostra Santa Fede et Religione. [4] Ma quando in quello noi haveremo fatto cio ch' è in noi, non è il tutto, perche bisogna sempre ritornare al primo punto, il quale è la interventione della autorità vostra, della quale è più che necessario che voi usate per il principale rimedio al guarire d'una piagha tanto ystromenata [1] che questa qui, facendo promptamente spedire vostra delegatione, o vero il vostro rescritto Apostolico, sicome ve ne supplicamo tanto et si affectionatamente che possiamo fare, al nostro amato et fedel consigliere et maestro delle Requeste della casa nostra, Maestro Nicolao de Pelve, vescovo d'Amyans, il quale è personagio d'onde al principio del vostro pontificato voi havete havuta cognossanza et il quale hà la sufficientia et le qualita requisite, per fare et exequire quel che per la santita vostra gli sara commesso et dato in carigo per detta vostra delegatione overo vostro rescritto, il quale contenga possanza, faculta, autorita et mandamento speciale de inquirere et informarsi in et per tutto il detto reame di Scotia della vita et di costumi di tutti li prelati et genti di Chiesa di esso, sia in generale o vero particolare, et contra quelli che trovara insolenti et scandalosi, contempnenti et dispregianti loro dovere et professione, overo essendosi smenticati fin a tanto che de imitare et seguire li detti errori et false dottrine per accostarsi et venire alla secta et alla compagnia di detti heretici che sono adesso in detta Scotia, procedere per censure, interdictioni et privationi delli loro beneficii et dignitade ecclesiastiche, et per tutte le altre vie di ragione, et secondo le canoniche sanctioni, et in luoco di essi commettere et deputare per la administratione di detti beneficii et dignitade certi altri buoni personagii di buona et syncera vita, laudabile esempio et honesta conversatione, quali saranno per il detto vescovo d'Amyans capati et eletti per questo effetto, con la participatione et lo aviso di detta regina Dotariera, la quale conosce li uni et li altri.

[5] Et per haver' megio, tanto per la erectione et stabilimento della detta Camera criminale, grandemente utile et

[1] Du Cange gives *instrumentatus*, '*i.e.* descriptus in instrumentis'; cf. *articulatus* in Appendix III. No. 56, *infra*. But *Istromenato* does not seem to be recognised even by the latest dictionaries as an Italian word.

necessaria in detto reame per le cause et occasioni sopradette, quanto anchora per solduare et mantenere genti di guerra che sono stati et saranno levati et messi sopra per resistere alli danni, imprese et machinattioni di detti heretici, correregli sopra et extirpare et exterminarli con tutte demonstrationi rigorose et esemplarie, per nettare ne il detto reame come de infideli, perturbatori et inimici del bene et riposo publico, V. S^ta^ dara, si gli piace, possanza et facultà al detto vescovo d'Amyans per detta vostra delegatione, o vero rescritto, di fare, pigliare, et levare secondo che lui vedera et giudicara con la detta regina et quelli del Consiglio de di la, esser requisto et necessario fin alla mittà del revenuto, overo reddito annuale delli arcevescovati, vescovati, abbadie, priorati et altri beneficii et dignitade ecclesiastici di detto reame, per li danari che ne proveniranno et procederanno esser' convertiti et applicati per quelli che ne haveranno il carigo et administratione alli effetti sopradetti, essendo la meglior, la più santa et laudibile opera dove li detti danari si possono exponere et spendere. [6] Per megio del che sarà bisogno, si per sorte si trovassero alcuni refutanti, overo contradicenti alla contributione sopradetta, che il detto vescovo li possa constringere et fare constringere per tutte le vie di compulsione in caso simile requisite et solite. Et che di più proceda alla introductione et stabilimento della santa et devota reformatione della Chiesa di detta Scotia et delli ministri di quella, di qual si voglia qualita et dignita, che siano chiamati et convocati quelli che per cio chiamare et convocare doveransi, constringendo et facendo constringere per la executione del gladio spirituale tutti quelli che bisognara alla osservatione delli decreti, ordinationi et constitutioni di detta reformatione, al che saragli tenuta la mano et prestato lo aiuto et soccorso del brachio secolare si necessario sia per la detta regina Dotariera di Scotia et quelli che haveranno carigo delle nostre forze overo possanze de di la.

[7] Ma sopra tutto SS^mo^ Padre, è più che requisto et necessario di provedere il più promptamente che fare si puotera a tutto quello ch' è sopradetto, perche, oltra cio che li pericoli et inconvenienti crescono et augmentano di uno giorno all' altro per il grande numero delle genti che se ne vanno a

tutte le hore, gettare, mettere et accompagnare con li detti heretici, è stato intimato et assignato uno Parlamento alli vinti giorni d'Agosto prossimo, dove si deve trattare di negocii della religione, et bisogna che tra tanto il detto vescovo d'Amyans se ritruova de di la garnito et munito di detta vostra delegatione overo rescritto Apostolico per la esecutione delle cose sopradette. Et per questa ragione, S^mo^ Padre, V. S^ta^ può considerare di quanto importa la diligentia in questo, [8] rimettendo quel di piu sopra il nostro ambasciatore, il vescovo d'Angolesme, loquale vi supplicamo credere sopra questo, si come vorressi fare noi medesimi, et voi farete cosa degna di detta V. S^ta^, supplicando il Creatore che quella voglia longamente mantenere, preservare et guardare al buono regimento et governo della nostra Madre Chiesa.

Scritta in Parigi, alli vintinove di Giugno, 1559.

Vostro obediente et devoto figliuolo,

HENRICO.

Duthier.

[KING HENRY II. of FRANCE to POPE PAUL IV. *June* 29, 1559.

MOST Holy Father, [1] Having long foreseen the incredible disaster which has since befallen the realm of Scotland to our extreme regret, disgust and displeasure, we have many and divers times heretofore written and made most instant request to your Holiness, that it might be your good pleasure to commit and delegate some good virtuous and notable personage among the prelates of that kingdom, such as our most dear and well-beloved good sister and cousin the queen dowager of this Scotland could well choose and select to introduce and establish some wholesome, holy and devout reform in the Church, correct, bridle and temper the corrupt customs, the depraved and dissolute lives of the said prelates and ecclesiastical ministers, who already begin to fall away very much and degenerate, while the nobles and the third estate are seditious and scandalously insolent against religion.

[2] For these reasons we have been advised to supplicate your Holiness, as we do, to allow such a sum of money to be levied on the said prelates and beneficiaries of the said realm as the said queen dowager of Scotland together with your delegate shall see to be necessary and fitting for the erection and establishment of a Chamber and Criminal Jurisdiction, and for the maintenance of the judges and ministers, who shall be appointed from among the most famous and noteworthy personages

who can be found, for the punishment and correction of men of this sort abandoned by God and possessed by the devil. None the less whatever remonstrances and instances on these points we have been able to lay before your Holiness, thus far no provision whatsoever has been made, the very negotiations have been left to languish. Hence it has happened that the said prelates and churchmen, seeing their freedom to do evil, without being in anywise exhorted or taken to task by any superiors, have not only continued, but increased the wickedness of their sad and evil life, going from bad to worse, keeping in their homes concubines, whom they regard as their wedded wives, most of them following the new sects, and the false and reprobate doctrines which are contrary to our holy faith and religion, as do almost all the greater lords and gentlemen of the country. They have certain apostate preachers of the learning or doctrine of Geneva to exhort, and induce the people to follow their damnable errors and heresies, whence the greater part of the said people is entirely infected and as it were lost. Both of these parties have taken up arms and mustered great companies and are furnished with artillery. They constrain every one to follow their sect, wreck churches and monasteries, profane holy things, burn publicly the statues and pictures of saints with their holy relics and bones. They have disinterred the bodies of the kings of Scotland, whom they have in like manner burnt and reduced to ashes; they have taken off and changed the habits of monks and nuns to make them become seculars and leave and abandon their orders and professions, boasting and bragging of attacking and bearing down the queen and all others who would oppose and refuse to join their new league, in such sort that cruel savages could not do worse."

[3] For which reason we have resolved to send immediately to Scotland a large and sufficient force or posse of French soldiers, both infantry and cavalry, with the hope of sending more after them very shortly, and of increasing and strengthening them with another large company or army, if need shall be; not intending to spare anything in sustaining and defending the cause of God, even though we have but just concluded a long war to enter on peace, after having borne and suffered an incredible expense as every one knows. But our confidence is in God who is signally offended at this wretched pest of ruffians. He will so provide that our most dear and well-beloved son and daughter, the king and queen dauphin, and the queen dowager their mother, with our aid and succour, will overcome these heretics and schismatics, and force and power will be in their hands to chastise and punish their great temerity and arrogance, for the honour of the Creator, the exaltation of His Holy Name, and the increase of our holy faith and religion.

[4] But when in this matter we have done that which in us lies, this is not all, for it will ever be necessary to return to the first point, which is the intervention of your authority, whereof it is more than necessary that use be made, as the chief remedy for the healing of so often men-

tioned a wound[1] as this. There is need that you promptly expedite your delegation or apostolic rescript (for which we beg as much and as feelingly as we can) to our beloved and faithful councillor and Master of Requests of our household, Maistre Nicholas de Pellevé, Bishop of Amiens, a person of whom you have had cognizance since the commencement of your pontificate, a very sufficient man, with the qualities requisite for doing and executing that which your Holiness shall command him, and charge him with under your said delegation or rescript, which should contain powers, faculties, authority, and special command to inquire and gather information in and throughout the whole of the said realm of Scotland on the lives and manners of all the said prelates and churchmen, both in general and in particular. And as to those whom he shall find insubordinate and scandalous, contemning and despising their duty and profession,or so negligent of their duty as to imitate and follow these errors and false doctrines, and to side with and join the sect and society of the said heretics who now exist in the said realm of Scotland—against such to proceed by censures, interdicts, and deprivations of their benefices and ecclesiastical dignities, and by all other reasonable ways in accordance with canonical sanctions. Furthermore, to commit [to others] and depute for the administration of the said benefices and dignities certain other worthy persons of good and sincere life, praiseworthy example, and honest conversation, as shall be by the said Bishop of Amiens taken and elected to that effect, with the participation and advice of the said queen dowager, who is acquainted with such persons in particular.

[5] Besides this, to have the means wherewithal both to erect and establish the said Criminal Chamber (a thing extremely useful and necessary in the said realm for the matters and occasions above mentioned), and also to pay and maintain the soldiers, who are and will be levied and sent over to resist the harm intended, the enterprises and the machinations of the said heretics, and to correct, extirpate, and exterminate them with all demonstration of exemplary rigour, and so to cleanse the said realm of infidels, disturbers and enemies of the common good and general peace. Your Holiness will give, if so it please you, power and faculty to the said Bishop of Amiens, through your said delegation and rescript, to impose, raise, and levy taxes—according as he, with the participation of the queen dowager and the Council there, shall see and judge to be requisite and necessary—up to the half of the revenue or yearly return of the archbishoprics, bishoprics, abbacies, priories, and other benefices and ecclesiastical dignities of the said realm; [and] for the money incoming and proceeding to be converted and applied by those who shall have the charge and administration for the said purposes, which are the best and most holy and laudable works wherein the said moneys can be laid out and expended.

[6] As a means thereto it will be necessary, if by chance any be found

[1] See *ante*, p. 15 *n*.

who refuse and dispute the above contribution, that the said bishop should be empowered to compel them, and cause them to be compelled, by all the means of compulsion usual and necessary in such cases. Moreover, that he should proceed to the introduction and establishment of the holy and devout reform of the Church of the said Scotland, and of its ministers, of whatever quality and dignity, that they be called and convoked who ought to be called and convoked, constraining and causing to be constrained by the use of the spiritual sword all whose aid is necessary for the observance of the decrees, ordinances, and constitutions of this reform. For this end he shall be given the help, aid, and assistance of the secular arm, if need be, by the said queen dowager of Scotland and those who have charge of our forces and powers there.

[7] But above all things, Most Holy Father, promptitude in providing all the aforesaid is above measure requisite and necessary, for not only do the dangers and inconveniencies grow and increase from one day to another, because of the great number of persons who flock at all hours to throw in their lot, give themselves to, and accompany the said heretics, but a parliament also is proclaimed and fixed for the 20th day of August next, in which the matter of religion will be treated, and it is necessary that by that time the said Bishop of Amiens should be there furnished and provided with your said delegation or rescript apostolic for the execution of the matters above mentioned, for which reason, Most Holy Father, you can understand how very important diligence is in this case.

[8] Remitting further considerations to our ambassador the Bishop of Angoulême, to whom we beg you to give credit in this as you would to ourselves, wherein you will act worthily of yourself. Praying the Creator long to maintain, preserve, and guard you for the good rule and government of our Mother the Church.

Written in Paris on the 29th of June 1559.

Your obedient and devoted son,

HENRY

Duthier.]

APPENDIX to No. 6

THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR AT ROME TO THE CARDINAL OF LORRAINE. (Translated from the Despatch printed by G. Ribier, *Lettres et Mémoires sous François I., etc.* (*Paris*, 1666), vol. ii. pp. 811-817.)

[*Rome*, 17 *August* 1559.]

MY LORD,—I received two other letters from the late king, the first of which relates entirely to the affairs of Scotland, the chastisement and repression of the rebellious heretics and the reformation of the Church in that country, and the delegation of Monsignor of Amiens for that purpose. The second letter gave the particulars of his Majesty's memorable visit to the court of Parliament, and proofs of his desire to proceed

actively against all heretics, without sparing any one of whatever quality or dignity, hoping thereby to purge his realm in a short space. The Holy Father took great pleasure in listening to what I had to say. He kept me more than two hours, gave me hopes, nay assurance, that he would do, and do quickly, all that the king required. He said he would institute a special congregation for this purpose, as he did, before three days were over. Yet nothing was settled, except that the king's letters should be translated from French into Italian, and copies given to all the cardinals, so that, when they should happen to meet, they might be already well informed. Thus the time passed until the 26th of July, when the Pope declared that he would go no further, as the king, who had written to him, was dead.

Hereupon I went to the Cardinal of Naples to remonstrate, alleging that the affair was as important for the Church and the Holy See as it was for the king, or even more so, and that delay would be extremely dangerous. The cardinal sent to me the Bishop of Terracina, who, to be brief, told me that some malicious persons had inspired the Holy Father with doubts as to the Bishop of Amiens' orthodoxy, and that for this reason the Pope would never grant him the bull. I answered the Bishop of Terracina that I would go bail for the Bishop of Amiens, not only with my goods and my body, which I offered to be burnt, but even with my soul, which I pledged to eternal damnation, in case spot or stain of such a crime should be found in him. I asserted that he had on the contrary excited the hatred of Lutherans and heretics, who accuse him of instigating and soliciting your eminence to persecute them. Furthermore, I made every remonstrance I could think of, showed the disasters that would ensue to the Holy See, explained that these ways of acting would discourage any one from serving it as laboriously as my Lord of Amiens had done, and would drive us all to despair. We were labouring with all our might to sustain the Pope's authority, while the Pope seemed to wish to injure himself. I begged his Holiness to think of the dissatisfaction which the new king and his council will feel at finding a request rejected which was so appropriate, so holy, so entirely for the good of the Church as this. I said I had an express courier, whom I should have to send off, but whom I had so far kept back, to prevent, if possible, a new government, in which your eminence held the chief power, from meeting with such a refusal, and that they should therefore think seriously before disappointing you in this way. Finally I assured him that they could not give heretics and enemies of the Church a greater pleasure than by crediting so calumnious a statement against a person so worthy as the Bishop of Amiens, and when hereafter the Pope, or the gentlemen of the Inquisition, wished to accuse some one justly, people would think that there was no more reason [than now].

The Bishop of Terracina promised to speak to the Pope himself before supper, to tell him all my reasons, and assure him that I was prompted by sincerity and loyalty. Moreover he confessed freely that his Holi-

ness both in this and in other negotiations and resolutions showed little prudence, but proceeded with much obstinacy and harshness. Finally he prayed me to keep back the courier for a day or two, to which I consented.

Next day the Bishop of Sinigaglia visited me on behalf of the Cardinal of Naples, to say that he had good hopes that the Pope would grant what was requested, and that my courier's news might be the subject of satisfaction, but that I must have patience for a few days more.

Thus the time passed until the first of the current month of August, when the Bishop of Terracina returned to say that the Pope had found a means of satisfying all my difficulties, and it was this. I should send my courier to inform the king that his Holiness did not like to be constrained to grant rescript and delegation to a particular person, which must happen when only one name is submitted by the prince, as in this case. It was the Pope's office to make the choice of persons. Nevertheless, to satisfy the king and your eminence, he promised to delegate one out of three or four, including the Bishop of Amiens, whom his Majesty might propose. In this way no one's honour would be impaired, his Holiness not being constrained to delegate one person more than another.

To this I answered that time pressed too much to send to France, and await an answer. Moreover a score of French agents knew of the reason of the Pope's refusal, and would be sure to write to France about it, and that the only way to repair the injury done to the Bishop of Amiens was to show the world by what was done, that what may have been said by the French agents and others was contrary to the truth. In fine I begged the Cardinal of Naples to appoint me an audience with the Pope, in order to be able to report with greater certainty.

The cardinal next day sent to say that he had not yet found a convenient moment for speaking to the Pope, but that he would keep watch for the propitious hour. The Pope, he added, had some special congregations to attend to, which might delay my audience a little. After that on the fourth of this month, he sent to tell me that if on Sunday, the sixth, I could come to the palace, the Pope would gladly see me, but that, his Holiness had already assigned audiences [on that day] for the ambassadors of Portugal, Venice, and Ferrara. I did not fail on the day assigned to me, and went to dine with the said Cardinal of Naples, who had sent me the invitation the day before. We chatted together after dinner long and intimately, and the cardinal expressed his detestation of those hypocritical bigots, many of whom were heretics themselves, who yet filled his Holiness' ears and head with calumnies. He had found the Pope half won over, and not far from agreeing to my proposals, having but two difficulties left. The first was that the Pope could not approve of that yearly subsidy levied on Church property in Scotland, saying it was excessive, and might entail perilous consequences. The second was that the Bishop of Amiens might make of the rescript a perpetual legation, and that there would be fresh complaints every time his

Holiness wanted to revoke it. We Frenchmen, he said, could never let go, but were always making much of things, and turning them to our own profit. But for these two points, he thought, the Pope would easily consent, out of regard for the king, for your eminence, and for my word. Finally, after much discussion, we concluded that the Pope should freely limit the extension both of the subsidy and of the delegation.

So we parted, the cardinal going to the Pope and leaving me in his rooms to await my summons, and fully expecting to obtain what I asked for. Nevertheless the exact contrary took place. Despite all the Cardinal of Naples had told me, I found his Holiness obstinately resolved on the contrary. He said that the king, the princes, and cardinals of France do a great deal of business besides that of religion, for they went a-hunting and did not read, as he did, the trials of the heretics. Moreover that these Scottish affairs were no concern of the late king, who had nothing to do with that country, while the new king and the queen, to whom the land belongs, had not written a word about the appointment of the Bishop of Amiens as legate. I said that, with the letters of the late king, those of the reigning king and queen had been delivered to him by the Abbé of St. Ferme. His Holiness answered that those letters did not say a word about it, and I replied that they had no other object. Then he asked me if I had read them, and I could not insist further for fear I should find myself mistaken, as the said king and queen never wrote to me, and their secretaries never sent me copies of their Majesties' letters to the Pope.

After that remonstrance was useless. His Holiness, as a final decision, said the matter was one he had already refused in full congregation, and that when once he had said no, there was no power in the world that could make him unsay it. King Philip understood that well enough, and his ministers too. They never spoke to him again of a thing he had once refused, having for this the special command of the king their master, who was the best, the most obedient, and the most prudent prince who had lived this long time, and he made a long speech in his favour. I should have liked to ask him if he had not revoked the warrant issued for the reception of Figuerol [Figueroa], who would be ambassador resident here to-day if he had not died suddenly.[1] How often has he said that he would never grant a bishopric to a cardinal, because only those should be appointed who can reside, and again, that he would never allow pensions to be deducted from benefices! How often has he said that he felt relieved of a great load in having disembarrassed himself of his relatives, that he would never use the Cardinal

[1] Juan Figueroa, governor of Milan, was destined by Philip to be his envoy at Rome in 1558. The Pope, however, absolutely refused to receive him, because of the violence he had used towards an official of the Inquisition. His sudden death at Gaeta put an end to a difficulty which might otherwise have become serious.—S. Pallavicino, *Storia del Concilio di Trento*, 1793, lib. 14, c. vi., § 10, p. 368.

of Naples for anything higher than a help in reciting the breviary, and would punish him with special severity if he meddled any further! How often, both in public and in private, has he affirmed the exact contrary to that which he now preaches about the King of Spain! In fine, your eminence sees how inconstant he always is. I quite credit the statement of Cardinal Pacheco, who sent the other day to tell Cardinal Carafa that the more the Pope was pressed to do a thing, the less he did it, while he readily altered and changed his mind when nothing was said to him. Thus it happened that he had refused for a whole year to erect the bishoprics in the Netherlands, had said a hundred times that he would do nothing, and had forbidden the subject to be mentioned, withal immediately afterwards he changed his mind, and did much more than he was asked to do, without any pressure being put upon him. So too he might act in regard to Cardinal Carafa.

I have made minute inquiry to find what charge was brought against the Bishop of Amiens, and from several interviews with well-informed persons I find that during the last journey which your eminence made hither the Bishop of Amiens, talking of the Gallican Church, spoke of what we call *Pays d'obéissance* and *Pays réduit*.[1] Herein he said some word which was taken up amiss, calumniously interpreted, and at once referred to a member of the Inquisition. In the report it was stated that we in France were not bound to obey the Pope, and they say this tale was carried by one of your retinue, but I cannot learn his name.

In the course of his conversations the Holy Father (though the subject nowise required it) reopened the grievance about the late Queen of Navarre, saying that she had engendered all the heresies and heretics of France, and had left behind her a daughter worse than herself, who had ruined her husband and infected the whole house of Vendôme. I replied with divers remonstrances, going as far as to say that one must sometimes dissimulate with royalty, and make them believe that they are better than in fact they are, in order to manage them better. For all that, the good man would not change the subject, saying repeatedly that he knew the state of things in France far better than I thought, and better than the king and all the royal princes, for he read the trials, as I said before. For the rest heresy is so great a crime that as soon as a man is ever so little stained by it, there is no other remedy but to burn him incontinently. Great folk too must be punished without respect of persons, and all the world had seen how superior he was to nepotism and claims of kindred, as if there were any comparison or proportion between his kinsmen and the blood-royal of France.

[1] The meaning seems intentionally obscure. *Pays d'obédience* is said to signify *Les provinces où le pape nommait à certains bénéfices*. *Pays réduit* appears to be the same as *pays de conqueste* and *pays reconquis*, *i.e.* countries won back from the English (P. Guérin, *Dictionnaire des Dictionnaires*, under PAYS) in which the French Crown had greater rights than elsewhere. It may therefore be that Pellevé's words were interpreted as implying invidious comparisons between the extreme rights of pope and king.

After all this he returned to the subject of the Council, of which, in my opinion, he has a holy horror, and this is not the first time I have noticed it. His great preoccupation is to put all into turmoil, so as to ward it off. However brave he tried to appear, he did fail to tell me that I need not mention that subject to the king.

He told me too that he had written to King Philip in favour of the king and kingdom of France, and that he should like me to see the letter. I thanked his Holiness, and said that if I had a copy I would send it to you to show the king. His Majesty indeed had such brotherly friendship with the King of Spain that not the least misunderstanding or suspicion could arise between them. Still his Majesty would be much pleased to see this evidence of the perfect love and charity which his Holiness bears him, even though there was no doubt of the fact. The good man told me I might ask for the said copy from the Cardinal of Naples and send it you, as if on my side I should take measures to obtain it. I let that day pass and half the next to see if they would not send it of themselves, which they did, the Bishop of Terracina coming expressly to my lodgings to bring it. Your eminence will find it with this. I must not forget to add that the Pope told me that King Philip wrote to him with his own hand in such excellent and orderly terms that he was fain to confess that he was a prince both wise and judicious. In answer to what I said about the king's goodwill with regard to false and novel doctrine, he answered, deeds will show it, *a fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos*.[1]

No. 7

CARDINAL TRIVULZIO TO CARDINAL ALFONSO CARAFA (Extract)

Vatican Archives, *Lettere di Principi*, tom. xi. fol. 504. Original.

[*Paris*, 13 *August* 1559]

. . . HIER mattina s'intese con grandissimo piacere, come la Reina reggente in Scotia s'era impatronita non solamente del porto chiamato Petitliet, mediante il quale non può più essere impedito alle genti Francese di non scendere in

[1] The writer was Filibert Babou de la Bourdaiserie, Bishop of Angoulême. He was afterwards made Cardinal and Bishop of Auxerre, and died at Rome, 28 January 1570. Two fragments—from 1 July 1560 to 2 April 1561, and from 25 March 1563 to 8 January 1564—of his registers are in the National Library of Rheims, and have been excellently edited by E. Henry and Ch. Loriquet for the *Académie Impériale de Reims*, Reims, 1859. I found nothing at all about Mary in them, only a short allusion to Scottish benefices and the treaty of Edinburgh. At Turin (*Archivio di Stato, Raccolta P. Balbo Seniore, n.* 276) there is a large collection of copies of his letters (April 1558 to 1 July 1561); but again I found nothing about Mary.

quell' Isola, ma ancora del Castello d'Edin Bourg, nel quale furono ammazati molti Luteranj, et il tutto ha fatto quella Reina acompagnata dal Conte d'Arran, il quale è tanto cattolico, quanto è Luterano il Conte suo figliuolo, che à giorni passati si fuggì di questo Regno, hauendo inteso, che S. M^ta^ christianissima cercaua farlo mettere pregione, la qual nuoua ci ha leuato quasi del tutto il timore, che si hauea di qualche mal successo, conciosia cosa, che s'intenda, che quella Reina sia restato superiore talmente, che la maggior parte di quei ribaldi si sieno messi à sua discretione, et alcuni altri habbino domandato licenza di andarsene, onde ne sequita la salute di quel Regno, doue S. M^ta^ manda Monsignor della Brocha con alcune genti, piaccia à N. S. Dio condurle salue, à ciò la Reina con queste forze possa sequitare così santa impresa; il che è tutto quello, che al presente ho da scriuerle.

Di Parigi à gli xiii d'Agosto del 59.

[CARDINAL TRIVULZIO to CARDINAL CARAFA. *Paris*, 13 *August* 1559.

YESTERDAY morning we heard with the greatest satisfaction that the Queen Regent of Scotland had gained not only the port called Petitliet [Leith], with which in our hands, French troops can no longer be impeded from landing in that island, but also of Edinburgh Castle, wherein many Lutherans were slain. In all these operations the queen has had the support of the Earl of Arran [*i.e.* the Duke of Châtelherault], who is as Catholic as the earl his son is Lutheran. The latter fled from this kingdom a few days ago, on hearing that the Most Christian King meant to imprison him. This news has banished almost entirely the fear of some disaster that was felt before; for we hear that the queen has gained a superiority so decided, that the greater part of those rascals have submitted at discretion, while others have asked permission to retire; by consequence that kingdom is safe. The king is sending M. La Brosse with some troops thither (God grant they arrive safely), in order that the queen may follow up her holy enterprise with these forces, and this is all I have to say at present.]

SECTION II

PIUS IV. AND THE LOSS OF SCOTLAND

No. 8

JAMES THORNTON TO MARY OF GUISE

Paris, *Ministère des Aff. Étrangères, Mém. et Doc.* xv. fol. 55. In the margin there is the note, 'Les clauses merqués de ces merques [ ] sont en chiffre.'

[*Rome*, 16 *January* 1559-60]

MADAME, par mes dernieres, Vostre Majesté aura entendu comme du comun consentement des Cardinaulx, le Reverendissime Cardinal de Medicis fut le xxvi^{me} du passé esleu pappe, et nomme Pius Quartus, sa coronation fut le vi^{me} du present, depuis laquelle Monseigneur le Rm̃e et Illm̃e Cardinal de Guyse, apres tresgrand instance faicte pres sa Saincteté sur la resolution des demands de V. M., a impetré que monseigneur [levesque d'Amyens est depputté pour legat de ce S. Siege, et reformateur des abbus et erreurs commis par les ecclesiastiques de vostre roiaume.] Commandement a esté faict d'expedier sur ce ung brief ample duquel estant depesché, ne fauldray en diligence en mander coppie, voulant mon dict seigneur Illm̃e Cardinal luy mesme porter le brief orginal.

Jay plusieurs fois donné entendre et monstré par escript a mondict Illm̃e Seigneur, les instructions de V. M. [sur l'imposition perpetuelle de dix mil ducats sur les prelatures pour lentreteinement de la Justice, ensemble l'article sur le plaidoyé du possession des benefices. Lequel pour le present na trouvé aucunement expedient surce raisonner auecques sa Sainctete: mais bien suiuant les mandements des roy et royne vostre fille, impectrer aucunes decimes et autres imposts sur le clergé de vostre royaume, pour subvenir aux frais quil conviendra faire pour pugnir et abolir les lutheriens et autres perturbateurs

du bien et repos de vostre roiaume.] A ceste requeste sa Saincteté se monstre assez enclin, et en esperons bonne resolution. Ne fauldray a du tout en dilligence donner advis a V. M.

Je prieray tres humblement icelle que son bon plaisir soit mander pardeca lettres supplicatoires pour les depesches tant des evesches de Gallouay, Brechin et des Isles, comme des abbayes de Cambuskyneth, Glenluce et Beauling,[1] lesquels de si longtemps sont vacquans. L'abbaye de Kelso est espediée en faveur de mons. Illme Seigneur Cardinal de Guyse [sans que sur icelle soit reservée la pension de neuf cents livres monnoye descosse au fils du Conte de Glencairn, laquelle jay pardeca empesché suivant les lettres et commandements de V. M.]

Nouvellement receu lettres de V. M. pour impectrer pardeca le doyenne de l'eglise de Moray en faveur de mr. Alexandre Dunbar, auquel lexpedition sera difficile a cause que le pere dudite Alexandre autreffois possedoit ladicte doyenne, et aussi, ce que pouvons presumer, le pape ne voudra aulcunement deroger a la Clementine et aultres constitutions defendantes que les enfans des prebstres puissent succeder aux benefices paternels.

Je ne fauldray en toute dilligence a moy possible, mais pour obuier a telle difficulté seroit plus expedient nominer autre

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[1] *Galloway* became vacant by the death of Andrew Dury, September 1558. The succession of Alexander Gordon, titular Archbishop of Athens, was never recognised in Rome, though the existence of a bishop elect is mentioned by de Gouda, and in the briefs of June 1564.—*Infra*, No. 38, § 15, and No. 51.

Brechin, vacant by death of John Hepburn in August 1558, was filled by the appointment of John Sinclair, 7 September 1565.

The Isles must have been vacant before the election of John Campbell, prior of Ardchattan, in 1558. Though it seems certain that neither he nor John Carswell received confirmation from Rome, yet the writer of No. 66, ii. *infra*, speaks of the see as though it had an acknowledged bishop who had turned Protestant. —Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, iii. 325; Keith, *Catalogue*, 308.

Ross, vacant by the death of David Panter on 10 October 1558, was provided for, 2 June 1561, in the person of Henry Sinclair, dean of the Church of Glasgow. —M. Brady, *Ecclesiastical Succession*, i. 146.

On the commendation of the Abbeys of Kelso and Melrose to the Cardinal of Guise, see Brady, *ibid.* 169, 200.

Thomas Hay was recommended by Mary for Glenluce, 22 March, 1560.— Labanoff, i. 69. The Abbey of Cambuskenneth seems to have been held by the Bishop of Ross, and the Priory of Beauly by the Abbot of Kinloss.—*Register of Great Seal*, 1571, Nos. 2020, 2021.

personne a la provision dudite doyenne, lequel en effect est vacquant, attendu qu' Alexandre Campbel n'a autrement faict instance dobtenir pardeca sa provision.

Mondict Illustrissime Seigneur Cardinal de Guise, suivant le commandement[1] du roy et royne, faict inhiber pardeca quaucunes matieres, ausquelles leur nomination est requise, ne se depeschent en faveur de quel se soit, que premier par lettres expresses de V. M. n'apport que ceulx, en faveur desquels les provisions s'auront a faire, ne soient declares non suspects d'heresie. Par ainsi la depesche de l'evesche de Rosse sera retardée, si monsieur le doyen de Glasgo nobtient pardeca nouvelles lettres de V. M. addressés au pappe, et a monseigneur le Rme Cardinal de Sermonette protecteur de vos affaires en ceste courte, Survenant autre occasion ne seray negligent a donner advis a V. M. Qui sera l'endroit ou prieray le Createur, Madame, vous donner en santé heureuse et longue vie.

De Rome a xvi^me^ jour de Janvier 1560.

(*Et au bas*) D. V. Mté,

Le tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur,

(*et au dessoubs signe*) JAMES THORNTON.

(*Pour addresse sur le dos*) A la Royne, Douairiere et Regente descosse.

[JAMES THORNTON to MARY of GUISE. *Of the 16th January.*

MADAME,—Your Majesty will have heard by my last despatches that by the general agreement of all the cardinals, the Most Rev. Cardinal de Medici was elected Pope on the 26th [*vere* 25th] of last month, and took the

[1] These instructions are dated 1 January 1560, and have been printed by Ribier (*Lettres et Mémoires*, ii. 841, 842). They enjoin the Bishop of Angoulême to continue soliciting for the deputation of Pellevé, but, as appears from this and the following document, the legation was granted before the instructions arrived. The ambassador is also enjoined to require the revocation of all clerical promotions, which might have been made by the Popes, unless the candidates had previously obtained the royal 'placet,' and that no more such appointments be made in future. The reason given is remarkable. 'Those who have been provided to those benefices are unworthy persons, and ought to be deprived, seeing that they are those who now are foremost in Scotland in sustaining and maintaining errors and false doctrine against our holy faith and religion, and who, as far as they can, favour the rebels and the heretics, who are raising troubles in that kingdom against their king and their queen.'

name of Pius IV. The coronation took place on the 6th of this month, since which event, Monseigneur the Most Reverend and Illustrious Cardinal de Guise, after strongly urging his Holiness to come to a decision about your Majesty's requests, has obtained the appointment of the Bishop of Amiens as Legate of the Holy See, and reformer of the abuses and errors committed by the ecclesiastics of your kingdom. Order has been given to prepare an ample brief concerning this matter; I will punctually send you a copy of it when published. My lord cardinal wishes to bring the original brief himself.

I have several times informed my said lord by word and writing of your Majesty's instructions about the perpetual tax of ten thousand ducats on the prelacies for the maintenance of justice, together with the article on the pleading of possession of benefices. For the present he finds it very inexpedient to approach his Holiness on this point; but following the instructions of the king and the queen your daughter, he has decided to obtain some tithes and other taxes on the clergy of your kingdom, to assist in defraying the expenses which will be incurred in fighting and suppressing the Lutherans and other disturbers of the well-being and peace of your kingdom. His Holiness shows himself well disposed towards this request, and we hope for a favourable reply. I will not be wanting in diligence in giving your Majesty information of it.

I humbly pray your Majesty to be pleased to send here letters, requesting the settlement not only of the bishoprics of Galloway, Brechin, and the Isles, but also of the abbeys of Cambuskenneth, Glenluce, and Beauly,[n] which have been so long vacant. The Abbey of Kelso is expedited in favour of his eminence the Cardinal of Guise, without the reservation of the pension of nine hundred pounds Scots to the son of the Earl of Glencairn, which I have prevented, according to the letters and commands of your Majesty.

I have lately received your Majesty's letters, to sue here for the deanery of the church of Moray for Mr. Alexander Dunbar, which request will not easily be granted, because the father of the said Alexander formerly possessed the said deanery, and it may be presumed that the Pope will in no wise depart from the Clementine and other constitutions, which prevent the children of priests from succeeding to the benefices of their father.

I will not fail to do all that is possible in the matter, but to obviate such a difficulty it would be more expedient to nominate another person to the provision of the said deanery, which is in fact vacant, as Alexander Campbell has made no attempt here to obtain it.

Following the instructions of the king and queen,[n] the most illustrious Lord Cardinal of Guise has caused all business to be stayed which required their nomination for its progress. No despatch is to be made in favour of any person whatever, unless those, in whose favour the provisions are solicited, are declared to be free from all suspicion of heresy, by express letters of your Majesty. Consequently the settlement of the Bishopric of Ross will be delayed, unless the Dean of Glasgow obtains fresh

letters from your Majesty, addressed to the Pope and to the Most Reverend Cardinal Sermonetta, the protector of your affairs at this court.

I will not fail to send information to your Majesty of anything that may require it. I will now pray the Creator, Madame, to grant you health and a long and happy life.

From Rome this 16th day of January 1560.

Your Majesty's Very humble and obedient servant,

JAMES THORNTON.

[*Addressed on the back*] To the Queen Dowager and Regent of Scotland.]

No. 9

POPE PIUS IV. TO NICHOLAS PELLEVÉ, BISHOP OF AMIENS

Vatican Archives, *Regesta Vaticana*, No. 1923, fol. 35. Duplicate or official copy.

[*Rome, 25 January* 1559-60]

PIUS, etc., Venerabili fratri Nicolao Episcopo Ambianensi nostro et apostolice sedis in Regno Scotie cum potestate Legati de latere Nuncio, Salutem, &c.

[1] UNIVERSALIS ecclesie regimen nobis ex alto commissum nos admonet ut illis provinciis civitatibus ecclesiis et populis qui in remotioribus partibus consistunt et majoribus periculis subjiciuntur, prestantiori et efficaciori auxilio providere studeamus. Unde cum Scotie regnum ac ecclesias, civitates et populos variis schismaticis et errorum ac seditionum languoribus et discriminibus conflictari, et nisi mature huic morbo occurratur, illum in dies latius emanaturum fide dignis relatibus [*sic*] intellexerimus, [2] Nos cupientes omnes Christi populos ac presertim errorum et discordiarum huiusmodi morbis imbutos ab eisdem purgatos ac in sancte pacis et charitatis vinculo ac fidei unitate contineri, . . . Idque per tue prudentie et doctrine ac integritatis aliarumque virtutum titulis, quibus te illarum largitor altissimus insignavit, opera consequi sperantes, Te in regno Scotie huiusmodi cum potestate legati de latere nuntium ad nostrum et sedis apostolice bene placitum auctoritate apostolica tenore presentium facimus, constituimus et deputamus ac etiam ordinamus, [3] necnon fraternitati tue quascumque cathe-

drales etiam metropolitanas et collegiatas, ac parochiales et sine cura ecclesias, necnon monasteria, prioratus et alia ecclesiastica secularia et regularia ordinum quorumcumque tam virorum quam mulierum loca, ac quecumque hospitalia et xenodochia, studiorum universitates et congregationes ac collegia clericorum quorumlibet exempta et non exempta in dicto regno consistentia eorumque prelatos et utriusque sexus personas tam seculares quam regulares cuiuscunque dignitatis, status, gradus, ordinis vel conditionis fuerint, tam in capite quam in membris auctoritate nostra visitandi ac de earum consuetudinibus, ordinationibus, constitutionibus, vita et moribus aliisque que inquirenda fuerint, inquirendi, illaque que reformanda fuerint reformandi et novas constitutiones et ordinationes condendi, antiquas alterandi mutandi et corrigendi ac etiam reformandi et confirmandi, necnon quascumque ordinationes constitutiones et consuetudines de quibus tibi videbitur evellendi, et novas pro eorum salubri directione faciendi condendi et edendi ac illa inviolabiliter et sub penis ac censuris ecclesiasticis perpetuo observari mandandi, Capitula quoque conventus, collegia, universitates et congregationes huiusmodi in toto vel in parte tam in capite quam in membris reformandi, [4] necnon contra criminosos et delinquentes etiam exemptos procedendi, eosque juxta criminum et excessuum exigentiam, prout canonice mandant sanctiones aut ipsorum ordinum regularia instituta exegerint, vel tue conscientie videbitur expedire, corrigendi castigandi et puniendi eorumque officiis et beneficiis privandi et privatos declarandi ac ab illis amovendi, eaque aliis personis idoneis conferendi et de illis etiam providendi, [5] ac contra quosvis Archiepiscopos Episcopos vel alios ecclesiarum prelatos ac monasteriorum Abbates ac Commendatarios necnon administratores, et pro ipsis prelatis, abbatibus, commendatariis et administratoribus hujusmodi se gerentes hereticos et schismaticos, vel a schismaticis vel alias minus rite promotos seu consecratos, vel omnino alias errantes vel deviantes a vera fide et obedientia sancte Romane ecclesie etiam ex officio inquirendi et procedendi, ac culpabiles juxta easdem canonicas sanctiones a divinis et administratione beneficiorum ac iurisdictionis ecclesiarum et monasteriorum quibus presunt, seu que in administra-

tionem vel commendam obtinent, suspendendi et interdicendi, ac eorum loco vicarios et administratores catholicos idoneos et sufficientes donec alias per nos ordinatum fuerit,—accedente tamen consensu et voluntate charissime in Christo filie nostre Marie dicti regni Regine illustris dotarie nuncupate, quoad ecclesias et monasteria in quibus ius nominandi sibi competit,—ponendi constituendi et deputandi; ac curam regimen administrationem et gubernationem quarumcumque monialium cuiusvis ordinis a quibusvis personis ecclesiasticis tam secularibus quam regularibus, quoties tibi opportunum videbitur, abdicandi et illa aliis committendi, Ac concilium et concilia diocesana seu provincialia convocandi et celebrandi, [6] necnon predictos omnes et singulos in dicto Regno existentes utriusque sexus heresum labe infectos tam ecclesiasticos quam seculares ad viam veritatis redire et hereses huiusmodi abiurare volentes, postquam errores suos deposuerint ac de illis doluerint, recepta prius ab eis abjuratione publica, vel arbitrio tuo secreta, heresum et errorum huiusmodi, alias tamen in forma iuris, ab omnibus et singulis excommunicationis, suspensionis et interdicti aliisque ecclesiasticis sententiis censuris et penis quas quomodolibet incurrerint, necnon eorum excessibus, criminibus et delictis in forma ecclesia consueta in utroque foro absolvendi, [7] eisque perpetuo vel ad tempus, de quo tibi videbitur, ab executione suorum ordinum suspensis, demum suffragantibus sibi meritis et alio canonico [impedimento] non obstante, cum eis super irregularitate per eos ex premissis, etiam forsan quia sic ligati missas et alia divina officia, non tamen in contemptum clavium, celebraverint, aut alias se divinis immiscuerint et interfuerint, quomodolibet contracta, quodque, eisdem premissis non obstantibus, in per eos alias rite susceptis ordinibus, etiam in altaris ministerio ministrare, ac Episcopi munus consecrationis exercere et electi illud suscipere, ac non promoti ad omnes etiam sacros et presbiteratus ordines alias rite promoveri, ac ecclesiis et monasteriis ut prius preesse, nec non dignitates, personatus, administrationes et officia, ceteraque beneficia per eos obtenta retinere, ac conferenda recipere, illaque in temporalibus et spiritualibus regere et gubernare libere et licite possint dispensandi, ac adversus premissa restituendi reponendi ac plenarie reintegrandi, omnemque inha-

bilitatis et infamie maculam sive notam per eos premissorum occasione contractam ab eis penitus et omnino tollendi et abolendi, iniuncta eis pro modo culpe penitentia salutari et aliis que de jure fuerint injungenda, [8] necnon contra ceteros huiusmodi heresum labe infectos in dicto regno existentes cuiuscumque gradus status ordinis conditionis et preeminentie fuerint, similiter inquirendi et procedendi juxta canonicas sanctiones et sanctorum patrum instituta, prout qualitas excessuum exegerit puniendi, et penis debitis plectendi, necnon ad gremium sancte matris ecclesie redire nolentes a communione ecclesie veluti putrida membra separatos et divisos ac etiam Sathane et angelis eius addictos esse velut iuris fuerit decernendi, et si ecclesiastici seculares vel religiosi ac in sacris etiam prebiteratus ordinibus constituti fuerint, eorum ordinibus et dignitatibus ac beneficiis privandi ac privatos declarandi, ac dignitates et beneficia huiusmodi, si infra limites eiusdem legationis tue fuerint, aliis personis idoneis conferendi, necnon [quoad] dictos presbiteros sive alios in sacris ordinibus huiusmodi constitutos tam seculares quam regulares per te vel alium catholicum antistitem, gratiam et communionem dicte sedis habentem, ad degradationem actualem talium hereticorum et scismaticorum ac [ad] eorum curie seculari dimissionem procedendi, [9] omniaque ac singula alia que in premissis ac circa ea, necessaria et opportuna, etiam si talia essent que expressiorem mentionem aut specificationem requirerent, faciendi, statuendi, disponendi, decernendi, declarandi et exequendi, necnon contradictores quoslibet et rebelles ac eis auxilium, consilium vel favorem quomodolibet prestantes, per excommunicationis, suspensionis et interdicti aliasque ecclesiasticas sententias, censuras et penas etiam pecuniarias tuo arbitrio moderandas et applicandas compescendi, ac si opus fuerit auxilium brachii secularis invocandi plenam et liberam auctoritate apostolica tenore presentium concedimus facultatem, [10] non obstantibus premissis ac quibusvis apostolicis necnon provincialibus et synodalibus conciliis, dictis generalibus vel specialibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus ac ecclesiarum monasteriorum et ordinum ac militiarum predictorum etiam juramento confirmatione apostolica vel quavis firmitate alia roboratis, statutis et consuetudinibus privilegiis quoque indultis et literis

ac exemptionibus apostolicis, illis eorumque superioribus et prelatis ac quibusvis aliis sub quibuscumque tenoribus et formis ac cum quibusvis etiam derogatoriarum derogatoriis aliisque efficacioribus efficacissimis et insolitis clausulis irritantibusque et aliis decretis etiam motu proprio et ex certa scientia ac de apostolice potestatis plenitudine ac etiam consistorialiter concessis confirmatis et innovatis ac etiam concedendis, quibus, illorum tenores, ac si de verbo ad verbum insererentur, presentibus pro sufficienter expressis habentes, illis alias in suo robore permansuris, hac vice dumtaxat specialiter et expresse derogamus, illaque adversus premissa nullatenus suffragari posse decernimus, ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque, aut si aliquibus communiter vel divisim a dicta sit sede indultum, quod interdici, suspendi vel excommunicari non possint per literas apostolicas non facientes plenam et expressam ac de verbo ad verbum de Indulto huiusmodi mentionem. Volumus autem quod presentium transumptis manu alicuius notarii publici subscriptis et sigillo alicuius persone in dignitate ecclesiastica constitute munitis eadem prorsus fides in judicio et extra adhibeatur, que eisdem presentibus adhiberetur si forent exhibite vel ostense.

Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostri facti constitutionis deputationis ordinationis concessionis derogationis decreti et voluntatis infringere. Si quis autem &c.

Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum Anno incarnationis dominice millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo nono, octavo kalendas februarii. Pontificatus nostri anno primo,

Io. Cardinalis Reomanus.

Fr. Aragonia.
Barengus.[1]

[Pius iv. to N. Pellevé, Bishop of Amiens. *Rome, 25 January* 1559-60.

Pius, etc. To our Venerable Brother, Nicholas, Bishop of Amiens, Nuncio for us and for the Apostolic See in the Kingdom of Scotland, with power of Legate *de latere*. Greeting, etc.

[1] The government of the Church Universal, committed to us from on

[1] The date and signatures are all in the hand of Barengus.

high, requires us zealously to provide assistance for distant provinces, cities, churches and peoples, and to apply remedies more special and efficacious to those situated in more remote parts and exposed to greater dangers. Moreover, we have heard from trustworthy sources that the kingdom of Scotland, its churches, towns, and peoples, are disturbed by various maladies of schismatical errors and the strife of sedition, and that unless a timely remedy be applied to this disease, it will daily spread further. [2] Desirous, therefore, that all Christian peoples should keep together in the bond of holy peace and charity and in the unity of faith, and especially wishing that those infected with the ailments of error and discord should be healed of their sickness, and hoping to attain this through your well-known prudence, learning, integrity, and the other virtues with which the Most High, the Bestower of these has endowed you, WE MAKE, appoint, depute, and order you, by apostolic authority, in virtue of these present letters, to be nuncio in the kingdom of Scotland aforesaid, with power of legate *de latere*, at our good pleasure and that of the Apostolic See. [3] FURTHERMORE we give you, brother, power to visit with apostolic authority all cathedrals whatsoever, both those that are metropolitan and collegiate, as also all churches, whether parochial or without cure of souls, monasteries too, priories, and other ecclesiastical places belonging to seculars or religious of any order, whether of men or of women, also all hospitals and hospices, universities of studies, congregations, and colleges of clerks of all kinds, exempt and not exempt, which are situated in the said kingdom, with their prelates and inmates, men and women, seculars and regulars, of whatsoever dignity, estate, degree, order, or condition they may be, both in head and members; with power to inquire into their customs, ordinances, and constitutions, life, manners, and whatever else needs investigation, to reform what needs reformation, and to draw up new rules and constitutions, to alter, change, and correct the old ones, as also to reform and confirm them; furthermore, to abrogate ordinances, constitutions, and customs, where that seems good, and to make new ones for their salutary government, to formulate and publish them, and to order them to be obeyed for ever inviolably, under ecclesiastical pains and censures. In like manner to reform chapters, convents, colleges, universities, and congregations of this nature, wholly or in part, both in the heads and in the members. [4] MOREOVER, we grant you faculties to proceed against criminals and wrong-doers, even if exempt, to correct, chastise, and punish them according to the exigencies of their crimes and excesses, and in the measure sanctioned by the canons, or prescribed by the rule of the regular institutes to which they belong, or in so far as your conscience shall think right; to deprive such men of their offices and benefices, to publish the act of deprivation and actually to remove them, and instate other fit persons in their stead, as also to make due provision for such persons. [5] [AGAIN we empower you] to make official inquisition about and to proceed against all archbishops, bishops, and

other prelates of churches, abbots, commendators, and administrators of monasteries, and also against heretics and schismatics who hold the places of such prelates, abbots, commendators, or administrators, and against men promoted by schismatics, or in other respects unlawfully promoted or consecrated, or wholly wandering or straying from the true faith, and the obedience of the Holy Roman Church, TO [PUNISH] the guilty according to the sanction of the canons, and to suspend and interdict them from the administration of benefices, jurisdiction over such churches and monasteries as they rule or hold in administration or in commendam; to place, appoint, and depute in their stead as vicar-administrators fit and capable Catholic persons, until we shall take other order: the consent and good-will of our most dear daughter in Christ, Mary, the illustrious queen dowager of the aforesaid kingdom, must, however, be obtained in the case of those churches and monasteries in which she has the right of nomination. ALSO to accept the resignation, as often as you shall see fit, of any ecclesiastical person, whether secular or regular, who has the care, rule, administration, and government of any nuns of any order, and of committing such government to others. ALSO to summon and celebrate a council, and diocesan or provincial councils. [6] FURTHERMORE we give you faculties to absolve all and singular persons who may be in the said realm, and each of them, of both sexes, who have been infected with taint of heresy as aforesaid, whether ecclesiastics or seculars, provided they wish to return to the way of truth and to abjure their heresies, after putting aside their errors and sorrow for them, and a previous public abjuration (or a private one at your discretion) of such heresies and errors, [observing], however, the forms of law; To absolve such persons from all and every excommunication, suspension, and interdict, and from other ecclesiastical sentences, censures, and penalties which they in any way may have incurred, from their excesses also, crimes, and transgressions, according to the usual form of the Church in either forum; [7] To dispense in perpetuity, or for a time, as you shall think best, those who are suspended from the exercise of their orders (provided that their merits sanction it, and that there is no other canonical impediment), to dispense such persons from the irregularity they may have incurred through the foresaid delicts, or even if, when bound by such irregularity, they should have celebrated Masses and other divine offices (unless they did so out of contempt for the Keys), or if they joined or partook in such offices, however such irregularity was contracted; and that, notwithstanding the same premisses, you may dispense them so that they may minister even at the altars in the orders by them rightly received, supposing they were rightly received; to dispense also that bishops may exercise their bishop's office of consecrating, also that, if they were before only bishops elect, they may receive the episcopal dignity, also that, if they were not yet promoted to orders, they may be otherwise rightly promoted to all orders, even holy orders, and the priesthood; to dispense further that

they may rule churches and monasteries as before, and retain their dignities, parsonates, powers of administration, and other offices, benefices already received, and to receive those that shall be offered, so that they may freely and licitly rule and govern them in temporals and spirituals. ALSO to restore, reinstate, and fully rehabilitate them with regard to the foregoing, and to remove from them altogether, and abolish utterly, all stain or note of disability and infamy contracted by them on occasion of the premisses, enjoining them salutary penance according to the measure of their guilt, and all that law enjoins; [8] FURTHERMORE to inquire after and proceed against the rest of those in the said realm who are infected with the stain of heresies, of whatsoever degree, state, order, condition, and pre-eminence they may be, according to the sanctions of the canons, and the institutes of the holy fathers, to punish as the nature of the excesses requires, to inflict those penalties which shall be due, also to adjudge those who will not return to the bosom of Holy Mother Church to be as rotten members, separate, cut off, given over to Satan and his angels, as law may require; to deprive ecclesiastics, secular and religious, if they have been admitted to holy orders even to the priesthood, to deprive them and declare them deprived of their orders [*sic*], dignities, and benefices, to make public such deprivation; and to confer such dignities and benefices, if they are within the boundaries of your legation, on other fit persons; also to proceed to the actual degradation of the said priests, or others already in holy orders, whether secular or regular (and this either by yourself or by another Catholic prelate, who shall be in favour and in communion with the aforesaid [Holy] See); to give over such heretics and schismatics to the secular court: [9] ALL these things and every other thing involved in or consequent on the foresaid, even though they should be such as require more express mention or specification, [you may] do, establish, dispose, decree, declare, and execute. ALSO you may silence all gainsayers and rebels (and all those who any way offer them aid, counsel, or favour), by sentence of excommunication, suspension, and interdict, and other ecclesiastical sentences, censures, and penalties, or even money fines, to be estimated and applied at your judgment; ALSO, if need be, to invoke the aid of the secular arm. [10] [For all recited above] we, in virtue of our apostolic authority, and by the tenor of the present letters, grant you full and free powers, notwithstanding [the obstacles] recited above, or any apostolic, provincial, or synodal councils, called general or special, or the constitutions and ordinances of churches, monasteries, orders (even military orders) aforesaid, even those ratified by oath or by apostolic confirmation or any other sanction, [notwithstanding also] any statutes, customs, privileges, and indults, apostolic letters, and exemptions addressed to them, and to their superiors and prelates, or others, of whatever form or tenor, with whatever saving clauses (even those derogatory of derogative clauses), or any others, both those more and most efficacious and unusual and irritant, and all other decrees (even

those granted *motu proprio* or *ex certa scientia*, and out of the plenitude of apostolic power and in consistory), or granted, confirmed, and even those still to be granted. By these letters, and on this occasion only, we derogate expressly from all the above in especial (though otherwise they shall retain their full force) treating them as sufficiently quoted, and herein inserted word for word, and we declare that they can avail nothing against the foresaid, notwithstanding all else to the contrary, not even if to any, separately or in common, the indult has been granted by this See, that they should not be interdicted, suspended, or excommunicated by apostolic letters which do not make full and express mention of this indult word for word. We desire that transcripts of these letters, subscribed by the hand of some notary public, and furnished with the seal of some person in ecclesiastical authority, should have that credit in courts of law and out of them which would be conceded were these actual letters shown and exhibited.

It shall, therefore, be lawful to no man to invalidate this record of our action, constitution, deputation, ordination, concession, derogation, decree, and will. But if any one, etc.

Given at Rome, at Saint Peter's, in the fifteen hundred and fifty-ninth year of the Lord's Incarnation, the eighth of the kalends of February, the first year of our Pontificate.

Io[HN] CARDINAL REUMAN. FR. ARAGONIA. BARENGUS.]

No. 10

JAMES THORNTON TO THE REGENT MARY OF GUISE

Paris, *ut supra*, *Mém. et Doc.* 15, fol. 63 b. Square brackets in the original denote ciphers.

[*Rome*, 29 *February* 1559-60]

MADAME,—Depuis mon advis du premier et xvi^me^ du passé sur l'election et creation du pape nouvel [*sic*], monseigneur l'Illme et Revme Cardinal de Guyse, frere de V. M. a derechef faict instance pres sa Saincteté pour la legation au nom de monsr l'evesque d'Amyens en vostre royaume, laquelle luy fut octroiée avec tells facultes que V. M. pouvra entendre par la coppie que presentemente recepverez. Les bulles originalles sont depeschées, et les mande a la court Monsr Angolesme Ambassadeur du roy, lequel a toute charge de ceste expedition. Monseigneur Cardinal, ainsi que j'advertis V. M., n'a trouvé bon pour le present communiquer avec sa Saincteté [quant a limpost des decimes et de dix mil ducats

sur les prelatures de vostre Royaume pour l'entretenement de la justice, et qu'il seroit trop plus expedient scavoir sur ce le bon plaisir et vouloir du roy et comme les affaires et troubles de vostre roiaume succederoient.] Par ainsi ceste matiere demeure en surceance, presentement j'envoyé audict seigneur les bulles et expedition de l'abbaye de Kelso en son faveur.

Quant aux autres expeditions de vostre roiaume on ny procedde aucunement pour cause que ledite seigneur Cardinal auant son partement de Rome feit inhiber et defendre qu'aucunes matieres descosse, ou leur nomination est requise, ne se depeschassent, que premiere les roy et royne neussent mandé nouvelles lettres pour l'expedition d'icelles, qui est cause que les evesches de Rosse et Galloway avec la coadiutorie de Dumblain[1] et toutes autres matieres demeurent en arriere attendants nouvelles lettres et bon plaisir desdites princes.

[Auregard de celle de Cambuskquets, mr Andre, gran nepveu du feu evesque de Rosse, le quatrieme du present partit de ceste ville pour retourner en Escosse, sans avoir autrement obtenu lettres de provision de ladite abbaye de Cambuskquets &c, remettant a ce que sur cest affaire il plaira a V. M. de ordonner.]

Nostre sainct pere le Pape a vostre requeste et instance a signé la grace et provision [en faveur de maister Alexandre Dunbar, du doyenné de l'eglise de Murray avecques derogation de la Clementine et autres constitutions deffendantes que les enfans des prebstres ne puissent succeder aux benefices de leur peres], nestant si rigouroux et difficile aux graces comme estoit son predecesseur dernier. La datarie demande grand somme d'argent pour composition de ladicte derogation. Surquoy je scripts ⊖ c. δ pp. 7 ff. 4 y A[2] plus amplement afin sil voudra obtenir entiere depesche y vueille donner ordre. Le dernier du passe sa Saincteté feit troys Cardinaulx, desquels l'ung est fils du duc de Florence et est nommé de Medicis, les autres sont nepveus et se nomment Fouligny et Boromeo.[3]

[1] The coadjutorship of Dunblane was not filled up till 2 June 1561, when William Chisholm II. was promoted to it, *cum jure successionis*.—Maziere Brady, *Episcopal Succession* (1876), i. 140.

[2] Cipher undeciphered.

[3] At the first promotion, 31 January 1560, Giovanni de Medici, Gianantonio Serbellione, Bishop of Foligno, and [St.] Carlo Borromeo were made cardinals.

Je n'oublieray a faire entendre a V. M. le deces de la bonne memoire du Cardinal du Bellay, qui fut le xvi^me^ du present, au lieu duquel pour le doyen du St. College est succeddé le Reverendissime & Illme Cardinal de Tournon auquel V. M. pouvra escripre et raccommander ses affaires pardeca.

Madame, je supplie treshumblement V. M. que son bon plaisir soit faire que le bon droict que je pretends et par justice ma este adjugé au canonicat de Foungart en leglise de Dunkeld, me soit gardé me remectant de tout au bon plaisir et vouloir d'icelle. Jay pardeca obtenu sentence declaratoire contre mr. Thomas Makgill [1] mon adversaire, et ne me reste autre que la possession dicelluy, a laquelle vous plaira me faire admectre. Pareillement V. M. entendra comme asses a peine suis paié de pension; suppliant icelle ordonner et commander a son tresorier que je soys deuement satisfait ainsi que de raison. Survenant autre occasion, ne seray negligent a donner advis a V. M. Qui sera l'endroict ou prieray le Createur, Madame, vous donner en santé heureuse et longue vie.

De Rome ce xxix^me^ jour de Febvrier 1560.

(*Et au bas est escript*) Ce jourdhuy v^me^ du present de mars est deceddé le Rm̃e Cardinal Paceco, premier Cardinal espagnol de la faction du Roy Catholique en ceste courte.

(*Ainsi signé*) Le tres humble et tres obeissant seruiteur,

JACQUES THORNTON.

(*Et sur le dos*) A la Royne douairiere Regente d'Escosse.

[JAMES THORNTON to the REGENT MARY of GUISE.

Of the 29th February 1560.

MADAME,—Since my letters of the 1st and the 16th of last month concerning the election and creation of the new Pope, Monseigneur the Most Illustrious and Reverend Cardinal de Guise, your Majesty's brother, has again urged his Holiness to send Monseigneur the Bishop of Amiens as legate to your kingdom, which request has been acceded to, with such faculties as your Majesty will learn from the copy of the rescript which you will herewith receive. The original bulls are despatched, and

Cardinal Francis de Tournon died in Paris two years later. His companion and doctor was Vincenzo Laureo, whom we shall meet again. The Cardinal Pacheco, whose death is mentioned below, was named Peter. His nephew Francis was made cardinal at the next promotion, 26 February 1561.—L. Cardella, *Memorie de' Cardinali*, iv. 280; v. 1 and 9.

[1] Thornton's adversary, Mr. Thomas Makgill, may have been the archpresbyter of Dunbar, who resigned 23 March 1574.—*Register of Great Seal*, No. 2388.

M. Angoulême, the king's ambassador, who has entire charge of their expedition, is sending them to the Court. M. the Cardinal, as I warned your Majesty, has not thought it opportune to confer with his Holiness at present [about the tax on tithes and of 10,000 ducats on the prelacies of your kingdom for the maintenance of justice. On this point it will be necessary to know the king's good pleasure and wishes, and to be informed of the progress of the affairs and the troubles of your kingdom.] Consequently, this last matter is still in abeyance, but I sent just now to the said lord the bulls and expedition in his favour concerning the abbey of Kelso.

The other matters relating to your kingdom make no progress, because the said cardinal, before his departure from Rome, caused the stay and prohibition of any Scottish affairs, in which the nomination of the king and queen are necessary, without fresh letters from them authorising their being forwarded. Hence the delay concerning the settlement of the Bishoprics of Ross and Galloway, and the coadjutorship of Dunblane,[n] and other business, until fresh letters come from the said princes, making known their good pleasure.

[With regard to that of Cambuskenneth, Mr. Andrew, grandnephew [?] of the late Bishop of Ross, left this city for Scotland on the 4th of this month, without obtaining letters of provision to the said abbey of Cambuskenneth, etc., leaving it to your Majesty's good pleasure to arrange the matter.]

Our Holy Father the Pope, at your request and instance, has signed the grace and provision [of the deanery of the church of Moray, in favour of Master Alexander Dunbar, thus derogating from the Clementine and other constitutions, which forbid the children of priests succeeding to their fathers' benefices] not being so strict and rigorous in the matter of grace as was his predecessor. The Dataria demands a large sum of money to compensate for the said derogation. Concerning which I write . . . . . .[n] more fully in order that it may be completely settled and despatched. The last day of the past month his Holiness created three cardinals, one of whom is the son of the Duke of Florence, and is named de Medici, the others are nephews. Their names are [the Bishop of] Foligno and Borromeo.[n]

I must not forget to inform your Majesty of the death of Cardinal du Bellay, of pious memory, which occurred on the 17th of this month. He is succeeded by the Most Reverend and Illustrious Cardinal de Tournon, as dean of the Sacred College, to whom your Majesty can write to recommend your affairs here.

Madame, I most humbly beg your Majesty to be pleased to see that the right which I claim, and which the law has upheld, in the matter of the canonry of Fungarth in the church of Dunkeld, may be upheld, submitting myself entirely to your good pleasure in the same. I have obtained a declaratory sentence here against Mr. Thomas Makgill,[n] my opponent; and it only remains for me to take possession there, if your

Majesty will be pleased to admit me. I also wish to inform your Majesty how much difficulty I have in getting my pension paid; begging you to order your treasurer that I may be justly and truly satisfied. I will not be neglectful in writing to your Majesty should occasion require, and I will here pray the Creator to grant you health and a long and happy life.

From Rome this 29th day of February 1560.

[*And lower down is written*] This 5th day of the present month of March, the Most Reverend Cardinal Pacheco has died, the principal Spanish cardinal of the Catholic King's faction at this court.

Your Majesty's very humble and very obedient servant,

JAMES THORNTON.

[*And on the back*] To the Queen Dowager, Regent of Scotland.

No. 11

OFFICIAL SUMMARIES OF DESPATCHES AND ADVICES FROM THE NUNCIO AT MADRID

Vatican Archives, *Varia Politicorum*, xiv. 263. Original rough drafts, from despatches now lost. The *Avvisi* are from the Vatican Library, Cod. Lat. 6436.

[7 *April to* 6 *August* 1560]

(Spagna, Vescovo di Tarracina, Nuntio, 1560.)

7 d'Aprile. NELL' udienza 2da il Re scuso che non haveva risoluto sopra le proposte per li gravi negotii che li erano sopravenuti, pero che si era accesa guerra tra la Regina d'Inghilterra et Scotia, della quale Francesi havevano presa protettione, et l'uno et l'altro domandavano aiuto a S. Mtà Cattolica, quello allegando le capitulationi per le quali S. Mtà era tenuta ad ajutarla in simili guerre, questo dicendo che la guerra et protettione di Scotia era stata per conto della Religione Catholica, che l'Inglese voleva in quello Regno estinguere, et percio fomentava gli heretici di quello Regno, et fatto ribellare per tal conto li popoli alla Regina, onde conveniva a Principe Cattolico aiutarla in cosi santa causa. Et piu diceva che a lui si erano eccitati per conto della religione nel suo regno proprio di Francia tumulti, che se gli erano ribellati i popoli in quella et altre parti del Regno, anellava [*sic*] pero ajuto per gastigarli. Il Re intendeva fra Francia et Inghilterra stare neutrale et come comune amico interporsi per accordarli, ma quanto a Francia contro li ribelli heretici offeriva tutte le sue forze et la vita . . .

Avisi della Corte Cattolica, dati in Toledo alli 7 de Aprille.

. . . Alli 30 del passato li ambasciatori Inglesi ebbero haudientia da Sua M^ta^ la qual fu molto breve et per quel che si dice pocho grata alla Maiestà Sua, tratando costoro di volere che Sua M^ta^ Cattolica persuade al Re di Franza à perdonnar alli Scocesi ribbelli et Luteranni, à levar il suo essercitio di quel regno, et à dare à questi scelerati linterim, et a persuader che si restituische Cales. Alle qual cosse Sua Maiestà non ha risposto altro seno che gli ha rimessi al Signor Duca d'Alva, dal qual saraĩ ciariti della mente de Sua Maiestà, la qual per tutta la corte è publicha che di questo negotio no ne fara nulla, ma ben vuole che la Regina de Inghilterra lasi la protectione che a pressa delli Scocesi, e che no lo facendo aiutara il Christiano chon tutte le sue forze alli dani suoi.

12 d'Aprile. Si doveva mandare in Francia il Signor Garcia lasco della Vega per trattare accordo tra Francia et Inghilterra . . .

25 d'Aprile. Garcia lasco era partito per Francia per trattare accordo tra quella et Inghilterra . . .

6 Agosto. [Sua Majestà] Dava nuova della pace seguita tra Francesi et l'Inglesi.[1]

[The Nuncio at Madrid to the Cardinal Secretary.

7 *April*–6 *August* 1560.

7 April. In the second audience the king excused himself for not having arrived at any determination about the proposal on the score of the weighty negotiations which had supervened, to wit the declaration of war by the Queen of England against Scotland, of which the French had assumed the defence, and both sides had applied to him for assistance. The one was appealing to the treaty, by which his Majesty was bound to give aid in wars of this nature, the other saying that this war and defence of Scotland was on behalf of the Catholic religion, which the English queen wanted to extinguish in that realm, and that was the reason why she incited the heretics in that country and made the people rebel against their queen, whom he [Philip] as a Catholic

[1] The writer of the despatches here summarised was Ottaviano Rovere, Bishop of Terracina. For an account of his mission, see Ricardo de Hinojosa, *Despachos de la diplomacia Pontificia en España* (Madrid, 1896), i. 112-115. For the intervention of Spain, see Ernst Bekker, *Giessener Studien*, 1887, No. iv. 4, pp. 51-62.

prince ought to aid in so holy a cause. [Francis] moreover added that rebellion for religion's sake had been excited against himself in his own kingdom of France, that the people had risen in various parts of the realm, and he desired aid to chastise them. The king [of Spain] intended to remain neutral between France and England, and to intervene as a common friend to reconcile them, but as for France he offered his forces and his life to combat the heretical rebels. . . .

Advices from the Court of Spain. Toledo, 7 April 1560.

. . . On the 30th of last month the English ambassadors had their audience with his Majesty, which was very short, and is said to have displeased the king. They endeavoured to draw him to persuade the King of France to pardon the Scots rebels and Lutherans, to remove his army from that kingdom, to grant the 'Interim' to those scoundrels, and to restore Calais. To these overtures his Majesty made no other answer except to remit them to the Duke of Alva, who will inform them of his Majesty's mind. Every one at court knows that he will take no part in this business, but he certainly wishes the Queen of England to abandon the protection of the Scots, which she had undertaken; and that if she will not, that he will help the King of France with all his forces, and at his own expense.

12 April. Señor Garcia Lasco dela Vega will be sent to France to negotiate peace between France and England. . . .

25 April. Garcia Lasco had left for France to negotiate peace between that country and England . . .

6 August. [The king] announced the peace, which had been arrived at between the French and the English.]

No. 12

INSTRUCTIONS FOR SEBASTIAN GUALTIERI, BISHOP OF VITERBO, NUNCIO FOR FRANCE

(Extract)

Rome, Bib. Chigi. I. iii. 67. fol. 179. Transcript, 17th century.

[*Rome*, 15 *May* 1560]

[After directions how to proceed in the French court, where, *inter alia*, he is to request that some of the many Huguenot ladies at court should be removed, he is directed to explain the Pope's great desire to treat with Elizabeth by a special envoy. If she remains obstinate, the Council [of Trent] might proceed against her. The passage referring to Scotland runs as follows:]

. . . Intorno alle cose di Scozia potrete fare ogni officio che ui parerà à proposito per mostrare, quanto dogliano a Sua

Santità i trauagli e disgusti di S M^tà Christiana, ma non entrate in cosa che possa obligar S.Stà. à dar aiuti con spesa, tanto più che quel Regno non è dichiarato Scismatico, che sarà quella cosa c'haueua de muouere SStà. S'offerisca circa le cose di Gineuera,[1] come già ha fatto, e voi potrete fare di bel nuovo . . .

[With regard to Scottish affairs, you may make all the representations that may seem to you opportune to show how deeply the trouble and disappointment of the King of France pain the Pope. But you are not to enter into negotiations, which may constrain his Holiness to grant an expensive subsidy, the more so as that kingdom is not declared schismatic. This it is which would influence his Holiness [as it has made him] offer his aid for enterprise of Geneva.* He has done so already, and you may renew the offer on the first favourable opportunity.]

No. 13

THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR, BISHOP OF ANGOULÊME, TO FRANCIS II. (Extract)

Paris, Bib. Nat., 500 de Colbert. No. 343, p. 476.

[*Rome, 27 May* 1560]

Quant a ce qui concerne le fait d'Ecosse et les deportemens de la royne d'Angleterre, nostre dit Saint Pere me respondit que l'abbe de Saint Salut estoit party, comme aussi il estoit le mesme jour, pour aller de sa part devers la dicte royne d'Angleterre, luy faire les deues remonstrances et admonestemens, et essaier toutes les façons que l'on pourra de la convertir et reduire a la voye de salut. A quoy si elle ne veut entendre, sa Saincteté, apres avoir fait son devoir, ne faudra pas de proceder contr' elle, et user de puissance que Dieu luy a donné. Esperant que vous, Sire, et le roy Catholicque, vostre bon frere, assisterez aux decretz et ordonnances de l'eglise, et ne voudrez permettre, qu'un tel royaume voize a perdition ; et que sa Saincteté ne

[1] After the restoration to Savoy, at the treaty of Cateau Cambresis, of the lands captured by the French, the Duke Filibert began to renew his claims on Geneva. He was herein always warmly supported by the Papal diplomatists. According to a very enigmatic statement of Dempster's, one attempt to carry these claims into execution was nearly being successful through the assistance of Father Edmund Hay, whose name will often appear in these pages.—*Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum*, lib. viii. No. 684 (1829, ii. 361).

manquera de son costé de ce qui sera en elle pourveu que voz deux majestez s'accordent en l'execution.

[The French Ambassador to Francis II. *Rome, 27 May* 1560.

In regard to the affair of Scotland and the conduct of the Queen of England, our Holy Father answered me that the abbé of San Saluto had left, as indeed he had that very day, to go in his behalf to the said Queen of England to make her the necessary remonstrances and admonitions, and to try in every possible way to convert her and bring her back to the way of salvation. If she will not hear him, his Holiness, having done his duty, will not fail to proceed against her, and to use the power which God has given him. He hopes that you, Sire, and the King Catholic will support the decrees and ordinances of the Church, and will not suffer such a kingdom to go to perdition. His Holiness will not fail on his side to do what shall be in him, provided that you two kings agree about the execution.]

No 14

POPE PIUS IV., SPEECH IN CONSISTORY

[17 *October* 1560]

Source.—The following declaration of Papal views about Scotland at this crisis deserves a place here, though the text is neither new nor as directly reported as could be wished. It is quoted by Cardinal Sforza Pallavicini (*Historia Concilii Tridentini* (ed. 1670), lib. 14. c. 17. § 1), from a *Diarium Concilii apud Burghesios, i.e.* in the present *Fondo Borghese* of the Vatican Archives. But neither Mr. Bliss (Transcripts, R.O.), nor Maziere Brady (*Episcopal Succession*, ii. 326), nor myself have been lucky enough to find it.

In quodam Purpuratorum coetu . . . censuerat Pontifex . . . se Concilii sedem . . . haud mutare. Quod in primis conducebat celeritati, quae magis in dies necessaria videbatur, positis continuis religionis jacturis, quando per eos plane menses diem clauserat vidua Regina, Scotiae moderatrix, Guisiorum soror, illud autem regnum, novis sectarum turbinibus agitatum flante finitimae Angliae vento, administratumque a filia Maria, Galliae Regina, quae tandem mulier et absens erat, tam graves excitaverat procellas, ut per vim sibi extorserit conscientiae licentiam ad futurum usque Concilium.[1]

[1] The degree of consent which the representatives of Francis and Mary gave to the establishment of the Reformation in Scotland does not seem to be known

[In a certain congregation of cardinals, the Pope announced his intention of not altering the meeting-place for the Council. This was firstly conducive to expedition, which daily appeared more and more necessary, considering the continual losses which religion was suffering. Thus the widowed Queen Regent of Scotland, the sister of the Guises, had died a few months ago, and that kingdom, under the gale that blew from neighbouring England, was thrown into confusion by new whirlwinds of heresy. It was now ruled by the regent's daughter, Mary the Queen of the French; but she after all was a woman and absent. And so that people had raised such grievous tempests that they had by force extorted licence for their consciences until the coming council."]

No 15

BRIEFS OF PIUS IV. TO MARY AS QUEEN OF FRANCE, 1559-1560

I. Pius IV. was elected on Christmas Day 1559.

II. 30 Dec. 1559.—The brief *Ad hoc apostolatus*. A congratulatory brief on his accession, and introduces the bearer, Julianô Medici (MSS. Barberini, xxxi. 10, fol. 6; Vat. Arch., Arm. xliv. vol. ii. p. 326). [*N.B.* This brief is [? irregularly] dated 1560, according to the style in which the new year began on Christmas Day.]

III. 24 Jan. 1560. *Discedentem a nobis*. A complimentary letter to be carried by the Cardinal of Guise, who was returning to France (Vat., Arm. lxviii.; *Ep. Pii* iv., fol. 29; Barberini, *ut supra*, fol. 9).

IV. 29 March 1560. *Cum mitteremus*. Letter of introduction for the new nuncio at Paris, Sebastiano Gualtieri, Bishop of Viterbo (Vat., *ut supra*; Barberini, fol. 22).

V. 21 April 1560. Commends Gabriel ab Emps (Vat., *ut sup.* fol. 282; Barberini *ibid.* fol. 27.)

(E. Bekker, *Schottisch-französische Frieden von Edinburgh*; *Giessener Studien*, No. iv. 1887, pp. 88, 89), and can only be conjectured from the 17th Article signed by the Lords Deputies on the 6th day of July 1560 (Keith, i. 306). The French perhaps hoped that the conditions granted would be accepted in the sense described above. If, however, the Pope thought that the Scots, either at the Treaty of Edinburgh or in the subsequent Parliament, had made any show of readiness to submit to a general council, he was surely ill-informed. Such an appeal had been made in November 1558, and is implied in Burghley's paper of August 1559 (Keith, i. 182, 369), but would have been quite inconsistent with the conduct of the Scottish reforming party at this juncture.

VI. *n. d.* [May]. Answer in consistory to the French ambassador of France and Scotland, sent to offer obedience at his accession. (Printed in Rinaldi, *Annales*, 1560, § 24: in MS., Vat., Arm. xliv. 10. fol. 5b, dated May 4; Barberini, *ut supra*, fol. 33.)

VII. [? 23 May 1560]. *Benedictam Solemni*, the brief to go with the 'Golden Rose,' which was presented on 22 August 1560 (*Foreign Calendar*, 1560-1, No. 446, § 11. This brief is partly printed in Rinaldi, *Annales*, 1561, § 76. The press-mark he gives is unfortunately no longer of any use as a reference, and I have not been able to discover its place in the Registers, nor do Mr. Bliss and Father Stevenson seem to have been more successful. This is regrettable, as Rinaldi only professes to give extracts, and his date is evidently inaccurate. *Die* 23 *Martii* 1561, *anno* 1, is an impossible combination, March 1561 falling in the second regnal year. As we know from our English State Papers (*supra*) that the presentation was in August 1560, we see that the number of the regnal year is right, and that of the Christian era wrong. But this lands us in fresh difficulties with the date of the month. The Pope states in his brief that the ordinary custom of blessing the rose on the Fourth Sunday in Lent had been 'lately' observed. This Sunday, however, fell on 24 March, whereas the date before us is 23 March. The simplest emendation I can offer is to substitute *Maii* for *Martii*. The 23 of May 1560 was the festival of the Ascension, a joyful feast, not unsuited to the issue of a brief like this. Moreover, there was a further propriety in sending the rose at this time, as it would have been handed over to her ambassador, who had just made to the Pope the usual profession of obedience. A further anomaly to be noticed in Rinaldi's edition is the omission in the address of Mary's French title. She is merely styled *Reginae Scotiae*, etc.

For a description of the rose, see Joseph Robertson, *Inventories*, p. 17. 'Une roze dor qui fut presente de la part du Pappe, a laquelle y a huit blanches et ung petit saphis au bout.' The learned author in the preface (p. xvii) seems to identify this rose with that given by Alexander VI. to James IV., but when mention is made in 1561 of 'a rose presented by the Pope,' it is more natural to suppose that the rose referred to was that which had been presented in the previous year. The date given in the *Statuta Ecc. Scoticanae*, i. clxv, is the impossible one printed by Rinaldi.

VIII. 18 December 1560. *Allata ad nos.* Condolence at the death of Francis II. (Vat., Arm. lxviii., *Ep. Pii* iv., i. 584; Barberini, *ut supra*, fol. 57. A few lines of this are printed in Rinaldi, *Annales*, 1560, § 83).

I have not met with any allusions to Mary's answers to these briefs.

SECTION III

THE RESTORATION OF COMMUNICATIONS WITH SCOTLAND

No. 16

INSTRUCTIONS FOR FILIPPO GHERIO, BISHOP OF ISCHIA, NUNCIO EXTRAORDINARY TO SPAIN

(Extract)

Vatican Archives, *Varia Politicorum*, vol. cxvi. fol. 385 b. (Draft.)

[*No date. December* 1560[1]]

Istruzione al Monsr. d'Ischia.

. . . . . .

Et perchè sarà necessario, mandare ancora ad intimare il Concilio in Inghilterra, et ad inuitare quella Regina; pertanto si desidera che S. M^tà^ dia quelli ricordi et aiuti che si aspettano dalla bontà sua, come da Principe Catholico et buono, et meglio informato delle cose di quel regno, che non può essere il Papa.

Acciochè S. M^tà^ possa meglio aiutare et consigliare quanto si ha da trattare con detta Regina d'Inghilterra, è bene che sappia, che il Cardinale di Loreno ha fatto intendere à Nostro Signore per mezzo del Nuntio suo che risede in Francia, che la Corona di Francia hauria assicurata la Regina d'Inghilterra

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[1] The date of this document is fixed by the events alluded to in it. The Abbate Girolamo Martinengo had received orders to go to England before the middle of December, Francis II. having died on the 5th. The last clause is added by the hand of Monsignor Tolomeo Galli, afterwards Secretary of State to Pope Gregory XIII. The object of the Bishop of Ischia's mission was to arrange for the opening of the Council. See R. de Hinojosa, *Diplomacia Pontificia*, i. 128.

dì non trauagliar mai il suo Regno, s'ella si uoleua sottomettere al Concilio. Et se bene le cose di Francia potriano pigliar nuoua forma per la morte del Re, nondimeno Nostro Signore hà uoluto che la Maestà Catholica sappia questo particolare, acciocchè possa farui sopra quel fundamento che le parerà conuenirsi secondo la natura delle persone et le occorrentie delle cose, non lasciando di metter in consideratione della M^ta^ Sua Catolica che il Cardinale di Loreno potrebbe hauer fatto questo officio più per irritar N. S^re^ contra la detta Regina, che per sincerità che habbia in questo suo concetto, ma in caso la Santità Sua non farebbe cosa alcuna mai in questo proposito, senza prima communicarla con la Maestà Sua Catolica.

. . . . . .

[INSTRUCTIONS for the BISHOP of ISCHIA. *n. d. December* 1560.[a]

. . . . . .

As it will be necessary to send to England also, to give notice of the Council and to invite the queen, it would be very desirable that his Majesty in the meanwhile should give such information and aid as is expected from his goodness, being, as he is, so Catholic and virtuous a prince, and better informed on the affairs of that country than the Pope can possibly be.

In order that his Majesty may be the better able to give this help and counsel as to treating with the said Queen of England, it would be well that he should know that the Cardinal of Lorraine, through the resident nuncio, has given the Pope to understand that the Crown of France would assure the Queen of England that it would never trouble her realm if she would submit to the council. And albeit the policy of France may take a new direction now that the king is dead, still his Holiness desires that his Majesty should be informed of this particular, so that he may on this information do what shall seem right, according to the characters of the parties and the progress of affairs. Do not forget to remind him that the Cardinal of Lorraine may have acted thus in order to irritate the Pope against the said queen, rather than out of sincerity in this his plan. In [any] case his Holiness will do nothing at all in this business without first communicating with his Majesty.]

No. 17

PROSPERO, COUNT ARCO, IMPERIAL AMBASSADOR AT ROME, TO THE EMPEROR FERDINAND

(Extract)

The original is at Vienna, Haus, Hof und Staats Archiv., § Romana. I follow Theodor von Sickel's *Zur Geschichte des Concils von Trient*, 1872, p. 161, No. xc.

[*Rome*, 11 *January* 1561]

Il Cardinal di Ferrara m' ha detto che volontieri vederia la regina di Scotia maritata in uno delli Ser^mi figli della M^ta V., et che quando piacesse alla M^ta V. questa parentella, ch' il papa non mancherebe d' interponere la sua authorita et ch' esso ancora s' affaticarebe perche havesse effetto, et ch' in questo negotio non seria necessario che la M^ta V. ne havesse alcuno travaglio, ma potrebe lasciar la cura di questa pratica (quando perho se ne contentasse) a S. S^ta et ad esso cardinale. Mi ragione de piu quanto si poteva sperare da questo maritagio, perche quando per il megio dil papa havesse effetto, si poteva sperare che S. S^ta fosse per aiutare la regina di Scotia a ricuperare il regno d'Inghelterra, il quale di ragione e di detta regina, et cio farebe con l'aiuto dil re Catolico et re Cristianissimo, per potere poi ridurre quel regno all' obedienza della chiesa Romana. Questo mi disse il cardinal di Ferrara, et poco dapoi il cardinal di Trento mi mando a dire, ch' il detto cardinale haveva ragionato seco quasi il medesmo. Il papa ancora m' ha detto che li giorni passati ne scrisse per il conte di Tendillia[1] al re Catolico, per sapere se lodava questa parentella. Se adesso parera alla M^ta V. ch' io deba intendere qualche cosa de piu dal cardinal di Ferrara, overo far alchun officio con S. S^ta, V. M^ta potra ordinarme quanto li parera piu al proposito, perche al cardinal di Ferrara, il quale mi ha fatto instansa ch' io scriva a V. M^ta, non ho voluto dire altro, se non ch' io scrivero quanto S. S^ria R^ma ha ragionato meco . . .

[Prospero d'Arco to the Emperor. *Rome*, 11 *Jan.* 1561.

The Cardinal of Ferrara [Hippolito d'Este] has said to me that he would be glad to see the Queen of Scotland married to one of their highnesses, your Majesty's sons. If this match should meet your

[1] I have inquiried of the archivist at Simancas, Señor Claudio Perez y Gredilla, whether this letter of the Conde de Tendilla could be found. He answered that he was unable to trace Tendilla's correspondence for the years 1560, 1561.

Majesty's approval, the Pope would not fail to use his authority as a negotiator, and the cardinal himself would spare no pains to bring about the result. There would be no need for your Majesty to fatigue yourself in the matter, but you could leave its management to the Pope and the cardinal, supposing you desire it should go forward.

He further discoursed on the hopes that might be founded on such a marriage. If it should be brought about by papal diplomacy, one might hope that the Pope would aid the Queen of Scots to recover the kingdom of England, which of right belongs to the said queen. This he would do with the aid of the Kings of Spain and France, in order afterwards to reduce that realm to the obedience of the Roman Church.

Such was Cardinal Ferrara's communication. Shortly afterwards the Cardinal of Trent [Madrucci] sent to say that the same cardinal had made similar proposals to him. Moreover the Pope has informed me that a few days ago he wrote through the Conde di Tendilla to the King of Spain to inquire if he approved that match.

If it should at present seem well to your Majesty that I should make further inquiries of the Cardinal of Ferrara, or treat with his Holiness, your Majesty can give me such orders as you think best. My only answer to the cardinal, who urged me to communicate with you, was that I would let you know all that had been said.]

Von Sickel summarises the rest of the correspondence on this subject as follows, pp. 161, 175:

'On the 29th of January (original letter at Arco, *E.*) the emperor answered that the ambassador should thank the Pope and the cardinal for their trouble. The undertaking, however, seemed for the present too precarious to enter deeply into it; but this he is at first only to confide to the Cardinal of Trent as a friend. On the other hand, the emperor procured information very shortly after from his envoy to France and Lorraine, Nicholas von Polweiler, both on the state of Scotland and on the feasibility of the plan suggested from Rome. This is proved by Polweiler's despatches of the 12th and 17th of April 1561, from the court of Nancy, now preserved in Vienna (*Religionsacten*).'

'On the 22nd of February the ambassador answers that he has declined the projects of the Scottish match. He adds that the Duke of Savoy's demands for help against Geneva are refused on all sides.'

No. 18

PIUS IV. TO MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

Original Membrane, British Museum, Additional Charters 14,507. Purchased at Mr. Dawson Turner's sale, 6 June 1859, lot 422/2. Registered in Rome, Barberini, xxxi. 10, fol. 66.

[6 *March* 1560-1]

.˙. Pivs · P̂P̂ · IIIIˢ .˙.

Charissima in Christo filia, salutem, et apostolicam benedictionem. Credimus ad Serenitatem tuam allatum esse: nos

de Venerabilium fratrum nostrorum Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinalium consilio, et assensu indixisse concilium oecumenicum, et generale in civitatem Tridentinam die sacratissimo resurrectionis dominicae, De favente, aperiendum. Quo remedio, superna adiuvante gratia, speramus Ecclesiam catholicam in commodiorem statum redactum iri, sicut etiam cognosces ex literarum exemplo, per quas illud indiximus: quod Serenitati tuae a Venerabili fratre Laurentio Episcopo Firmano Nuncio nostro tradi una cum his literis mandavimus. Nunc quod reliquos Reges, ac Principes christianos hortati sumus; idem hortamur Serenitatem tuam; ut sicut catholicam Reginam decet; tum curare velis; ut Prelati regni tui ad concilium conueniant; tum ipsa oratores mittas tuo nomine concilio interfuturos. Qui una cum cœterorum Principum, ac Regum oratoribus; ut mos est; sacrae synodo assistant: quemadmodum pro tuo in catholicam fidem studio te facturam esse confidimus.

Datum Romae apud sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die vi. Martii M.D.LXJ. Pontificatus Nostri Anno Secundo.

[*Countersigned*] ANT. FLORIBELLUS LAUELLINUS.

[*Addressed*] Charissimae in Christo filiae nostrae Maria Reginae Scotiae viduae Illustri.

[PIUS IV. to MARY QUEEN of SCOTS. 6 *March* 1561.

MOST dear daughter in Christ, Health and Apostolic Benediction! We believe that your Highness will have heard that we, by the counsel and consent of our venerable brothers the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, have indicted an ecumenical and general Council at the city of Trent, to be opened, with God's favour, on the feast of the Lord's Resurrection. By this remedy, with God's grace, we hope that the Catholic Church will be restored to better order, as you will learn from the copy of the letters indicting it, which we have ordered Laurence, Bishop of Fermo, our nuncio, to hand you together with these.

Now, therefore, we make to your Highness the same exhortation, which we have addressed to the other Christian kings and princes, that, as beseems a Catholic queen, you should both take care that the Prelates of your kingdom come to the Council, and also that you should yourself send ambassadors to take part in the Council in your name, and assist at the holy synod, together with the ambassadors of other princes and kings,

as the custom is, and we are confident that you, in your zeal for the Catholic faith, will do so.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, under the ring of the Fisherman, on the 6th day of March 1561, the second of our pontificate.]

No. 19

SUMMONS TO THE SCOTTISH BISHOPS TO ATTEND THE COUNCIL OF TRENT

Vatican Archives, *Varia Politicorum*, vol. xiv. fol. 274. Contemporary copy.

[6 *March* 1560-1]

Copia del Breve per Scotia et Nota de Vescovi.

VENERABILIS FRATER, etc. Cum nuper indixerimus de venerabilium Fratrum nostrorum S. R. E. Cardinalium consilio et assensu œcumenicum et generale Concilium in civitate Tridentina, Deo favente, celebrandum, sicut cognosces ex Bullae nostrae exemplo, quod cum his litteris ad te mitti jussimus, confidimus quidem te fidei et religioni tuae consulturum esse, sed tamen, quia tam necessario tempore maxime necessarium est episcopos undecumque ad Concilium convenire, hortandam duximus et monendam fraternitatem tuam, ut officii sui memor, minime praetereat, quin Deo et Ecclesiae tam necessario tempore operam suam navet, ut suo et reliquorum venerabilium [fratrum] omnibus ex partibus auxilio universalis Ecclesia tanto tempore afflicta erigi et in commodiorem statum redigi possit, sicut divina freti misericordia [fore] confidimus.

Dat. Romae apud S. Petrum, etc., die vi. Martii 1561, anno 2.

Nota dei Vescovi in Scotia à i quali non si è mandato Breve per il concilio.[1]

Brechenensis.	Cathanensis.
Moraviensis.	Sodorensis.
Rossensis.	Lismorensis, alias Insularum.
Candidae Casae.	Orchadensis.

[1] The letters of Thornton already printed account for the dioceses of Brechin, Ross, Galloway, and the Isles being considered vacant at Rome, and Caithness was held by an unordained bishop elect, Robert Stuart. The Bishops of Moray, Argyle, and the Orkneys had all been regularly provided to their sees (Maziere Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, 137, 161, 153), but James Hamilton of Argyle and

[COPY of the BRIEF for SCOTLAND and NOTE about the BISHOPS.

6 *March* 1560-1.

VENERABLE BROTHER, etc. By the advice and assent of our venerable brothers the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, we have of late summoned an ecumenical and general Council to be celebrated, with God's help, in the city of Trent, as you will see from the copy of our bull, which we have ordered to be sent to you along with this letter. You will, we doubt not, act in this matter in accordance with your faith and religion, and yet, as it is so very needful at this critical time that bishops should come to the Council from all countries, we think it well to exhort and warn you, brother, that mindful of your duty, you in no wise fail to labour in this crisis for God and the Church, so that the Church Universal, by your help and that of the rest of our venerable brothers of every land, may be consoled after her long affliction, and be restored to a state more happy than that which she enjoyed before, as we, relying on the mercy of God, are confident that she will.

Note of the bishops in Scotland to whom the brief of the Council has not been sent.[a]

Brechin.	Caithness.
Moray.	Sodor.
Ross.	Lismore, *alias* the Isles.
Galloway.	Orkneys.]

No. 20

POPE PIUS IV. TO QUEEN MARY

Vatican Archives, Arm. lxviii., *Epistolae Pii IV.* ii. 234., draft. Bib. Barberini, xxxi. 10, fol. 85.

[1 *July* 1561]

Charissime in Christo filie nostre Marie Francorum Regine Vidue.[1]

CHARISSIMA in Christo filia nostra, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Misimus dilectum filium nostrum Hipolytum Cardinalem de Ferraria, nostrum et Sedis Apostolice Legatum

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Adam Bothwell of the Orkneys had apparently already turned Protestant, while Patrick Hepburn of Moray, though he kept his faith, appears to have wavered for a time.—Robertson, *Statuta Ecclesiae Scoticanae*, i. clxiii. *n.*

The identification of Lismore with the Isles is not unworthy of notice. If it can be traced back to the bull of Innocent VIII. in January [? 1492], it will partly explain the confusion about the use of these names mentioned by Robertson, *ibid.* cxxii. *n.* 1.

[1] In the rough draft (Arm. xxxix. vol. lxiv. fol. 136) the address was first written *Mariae Reginae Francorum*, then altered as above.

ad ea vice nostra Regi Christianissimo, et inclyte Francorum nationi officia tali tempore prestanda, que et rerum istarum status postulat, et officio nostro, eximieque erga Regem, et populos illos charitati conveniant, sicut ex eo cognosces. Is Majestatem tuam viset, et nostris verbis diligenter salutabit, et Benedictione Apostolica impertiet, ut eam Reginam quam et Catholicam admodum, et devotam semper huic Sancte Sedi fuisse scimus, quamque in pristina sua pietate et hujus Sedis observantia constanter permansuram esse minime dubitamus. Quo nomine Majestatem tuam nos, sicut eximiam filiam in Domino diligentes, parati sumus, erimusque semper ad ea, que ad honorem, et dignitatem, et commodum tuum pertinebunt; sicut idem Legatus pluribus exponet, cujus orationi fidem Majestas tua habere velit.

Datum Rome, apud Sanctum Petrum, sub Annulo Piscatoris die primo Julii M.D.LXJ. Pontificatus nostri anno secundo.

[POPE PIUS IV. to QUEEN MARY. 1 *July* 1561.

To our most dear daughter in Christ, Mary, the widowed Queen of the French.

MOST dear daughter in Christ, health and Apostolic Benediction! We have sent our dear son Hippolito, Cardinal of Ferrara, as legate for ourselves, and the Apostolic See, in order that he in our stead may render those services to the most Christian king, and to the illustrious nation of the French, which at such a time the state of affairs there requires, and which beseem our office and our great love for that king and those peoples. This he will tell you. He will visit your Majesty, greet you assiduously with messages from us, and bestow on you the apostolic benediction, as on a queen whom we know to have ever been most Catholic and devoted to this holy See, and as on one who, we doubt not, will ever persevere constantly in her pristine piety and observance towards this See. As such your Majesty is especially beloved by us in the Lord like a daughter, and we are ready and always shall be, to [do] what may conduce to your honour, dignity, and convenience, as the same legate will explain to you at greater length.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, under the seal of the Fisherman, on the first day of July 1561, the second of our Pontificate.]

No. 21

DRAFT INSTRUCTIONS FOR CARDINAL HIPPOLITO D'ESTE, CALLED THE CARDINAL OF FERRARA, LEGATE FOR FRANCE

Vatican Archives, Arm. lxiv. No. 28, fol. 138. A volume of Cardinal Moroni's papers relating to England.

[*n. d.* probably *July*[1] 1561]

All' Ill^mo^ Cardinal di Ferrara, Legato in Francia.

SUA Santita si dignara commetter che con qualche buona occasione facci intender' alla Ser^ma^ regina madre et alli sig^ri^ gover^ri^ di quel re quanto sia d'importanza alla salute di quel regno il rimediare alle heresie et al scysma della presente regina d'Inghilterra, laquale per mera sua volonta et auttorita tiene oppressa la religione, et li molti Catholici che sono in quel suo regno. Gli dirà ancora li amorevoli officii che sua S^ta^ per due volte ha mandato fare verso della detta regina d'Ingh^ra^ accioche lei volesse riconoscere la vera religione, et che per tal conto fosse contenta di mandar' li suoi Theologi al General Concilio, et qualmente lei non ha voluto admetter' li Nuntii di sua Santita che potessero andar da lei a far' simil offitio, et che per l'ultime risposte[2] sue s' è potuto comprender', che per

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[1] Cardinal d'Este's original despatches from France (July 1561 to December 1562) are preserved at Modena,—*Roma*, vi. They are partly printed in Baluze-Mansi (*Miscellanea*, iv. 384 *et seq.*). There are some more complete MS. copies in the Vatican Archives, *e.g. Concilio di Trento*, 138; *Borghese*, ii. 472; *Varia Politicorum*, 131; also Corsini Library MS. No. 399, etc. The answers from Rome are registered *Nunziatura di Germania*, iv. ff. 101, etc. In all this correspondence, for the summary of which see No. 27 *infra*, it nowhere appears that the cardinal ever mentioned these instructions, much less took any steps in accordance with them. On the contrary, he was rather active in endeavouring to keep up friendly communications with Elizabeth, and these endeavours are praised in the answers sent back to him from Rome. See No. 27 *infra*, and compare *Spanish Calendar*, 1562, pp. 231, 271, 274.

It is indeed possible that these draft instructions were never actually approved. More probably, however, they represent what was the normal attitude of Rome before the cardinal's negotiations began, an attitude which was altered as the situation was better appreciated.

[2] By Elizabeth's *ultime risposte*, the answer given in council on Martinengo's mission, 5 May 1561, is probably meant.—*Foreign Calendar*, 1561-1562, p. 99.

via di persuasione non si può sperare che la sia mai per voler tornare all' unione della Santa Chiesa.

Rimanendo adunque il regno d'Inghª oppresso dalli heretici, si deve temere che li rebelli et heretici del regno di Francia et de gl' altri luoghi circonvicini haveranno continuamente commercio con essi, et saranno causa di nutrir' le heresie et ribellioni in tutti li stati attorno. Però desidera Sua Stª di poter' rimediar' à simili inconvenienti quanto più presto, et con li rimedii più urgenti et necessarii, li quali secondo il parer' suo sono che si debba pensar' di maritar' la Sermª regina di Scotia con alcun' principe Catholico et potente per poter consequire la successione del regno d'Inghrª, la quale giustamente le perviene dopo la presente regina Elisabetta, et trovandosi marito, il quale sia . . . Catholico et grato alle principi et nobili del regno d'Inghrª Sua Santità volientier' adoperara l'autorita sua, et farà ogni officio, accioche il detto matrimonio habbia l'effetto che si desidera. Et effettuandosi non mancarà Sua Santità d'accompagnar' le ragioni della detta Sermª regina di Scotia alla successione del regno d'Inghrª con tutti quei modi che saranno giudicati necessarii per poter reintegrare la religione Catholica in quel regno.

Quando adunque essi sigri siano di tal parere, Sua Stª si rimette nel giuditio loro nel voler far' elettione del personaggio che s'ha da proporre per marito alla detta regina di Scotia. Et pur che cio sia con buona volonta, o almeno senza manifesta offesa del re Catholico, Sua Stª se gli adherira volentieri, ne mancara d'adoperarsi in far' che la detta Catholica Mtª gli vogli consentire per beneficio della religione.

Detto monš Illmo di Ferrara aspettara d'intender' il parere della Sermª regina Madre et di quei Sigri sopra di tal propositione per poterne dar aviso à S. Stª, laquale intesa che haura la volontà loro potrà meglio deliberare intorno alli remedii necessarii per la riduttione di quel regno d'Inghrª all' unione della Santa Chiesa.

Se li detti Sigri diranno che al presente non sia tempo di dovere irritar' quella regina, per non vi esser' hora il modo di poter' sostentar' una impresa tale, se gli farà intendere che'l differire sarebbe causa di far' questa impresa più difficile, atteso che Sua Santità da molte parti è avisato che la maggior

parte delli Nobili di quel isola hanno per male il matrimonio che detta regina dissegna di fare con mylord Robert Dudle, alquale fu decapitato il padre come ribelle et usurpatore di quella corona, et si teme che essendo egli rè vorrà vindicar la morte del padre et estirpare la nobilta di quel regno.

S' ha similmente da temere che li populi Catholici, liquali sono pur assai . . . per la tardanza verrebbono à perder' il fervore della religione, et specialmente quando dal dicto matrimonio nascessero figlioli, et che fosse stabilita la successione di quella corona nella presente regina heretica.

[To the CARDINAL of FERRARA, LEGATE in FRANCE.

Probably 1 *July* 1561.

HIS Holiness will be pleased to entrust to you the following commission. When some convenient occasion arises, show her Highness the queen-mother and the lords-governors of the king how important it is for the salvation of France to provide a remedy for the heresies and schism of the present Queen of England, who, by her despotic authority, keeps down religion and the Catholics, who are numerous in her realm. You will also mention that the Pope has twice sent to show her loving offices, in order that she might acknowledge without constraint the true religion, and for its sake consent to send her theologians to the General Council. You will explain how she would not admit the Pope's nuncio, and that her last answers make it clear that there is not the least hope of her being brought by persuasion to consent to return to the unity of Holy Church.

The realm of England being thus oppressed by heresy, one may well fear that the rebels and heretics of France and other neighbouring states will constantly be communicating with it, and that thereby heresy and rebellion will be nourished in all these countries. Now the Pope desires to remedy such misfortunes as soon as possible, and with those measures that are most speedy and most clearly called for. He thinks, then, that some plan ought to be thought out for marrying the Queen of Scotland to some powerful Catholic prince, so as to be able to ensure the succession to the kingdom of England, which justly falls to her, after the present Queen Elizabeth. If a husband is found for her who is a Catholic, and agreeable to the greater and lesser nobles (*principi et nobili*) of the realm of England, the Pope will gladly use his authority and do all he may, in order that the said marriage may be accomplished, as is desired. When this is effected, he will not fail to follow up her claims to the English succession with all those measures which shall be judged necessary for the restoration of the Catholic religion in that realm.

Suppose then that those lords should be of the above opinion, the Pope leaves it to their judgment and decision to make the choice of the person to be proposed as husband for the Queen of Scotland, and provided that the matter pleases, or at least does not manifestly displease, the King of Spain, the Pope will gladly abide by their selection, and will not fail to exert himself to make the said King of Spain give full consent for the benefit of religion.

The said Cardinal Ferrara will wait to learn the opinion of the queen-mother and of the lords regarding this proposal, in order to be able to give information to his Holiness, who, after he has understood what they want, will be the better able to take into consideration the remedies necessary for the reduction of the kingdom of England to the unity of Holy Church.

If the said lords shall say that this is not the time in which one ought to irritate the Queen of England, as at present there is no means of executing such an enterprise, he will explain that delay will only make the undertaking more difficult, especially as the Pope is informed from many sides that the greater part of the nobility [and gentry] of that island take ill the marriage which the said queen designs to enter into with my Lord Robert Dudley. His father was beheaded as a rebel and usurper of the crown, and they fear that if he becomes king, he will want to avenge the death of his father, and extirpate the nobility of that kingdom.

There is also reason to fear that the Catholic part of the population, who are [dispirited] enough at the delay, will come to lose their fervour for religion, especially when children shall be born from the said marriage, and the succession to that crown shall have been established in the present heretical queen.]

No. 22

OFFICIAL SUMMARIES OF LETTERS FROM THE NUNCIO IN PARIS (Extracts)

Vatican Archives, *Concilio di Trento*, vol. cxxxviii., fol. 88 b. These summaries were drawn up by the secretaries for foreign correspondence from despatches now lost.

[21 *to* 30 *August* 1561]

A' 21 d' Agosto, di San Clud.

CHE la Regina di Scotia fece uela; et il Cardinale di Loreno gli da speranza che seguirà concordia et buona unione trà lei et quella d' Inghilterra.

Che l'Ambasciator di [1] non gli parlò mai piu altro sopra il particolare di Martinengo.

[1] Blank in MS.

Che ha inteso che la Regina di Scotia cede le sue ragioni à la d' Inghilterra in quel Regno: et la d'Inghilterra declara quella di Scotia sua erede quando essa mora senza figliuoli.'

Cifra, 26 Agosto.

Che il Cardinale di Loreno ha disputato con detto Theodoro Beza inanzi la Regina con gran scandalo di catolici, et ogn' uno dice d' hauer uinto il compagno.[1]

Cifra, 28 Agosto.

Che il Cardinale di Loreno gli ha raccontato tutto il successo del colloquio che fece con Theodoro, nel quale mostra che fù forzato da la Regina, et non uscì a dir cosa che non fosse palese ad altri: et se ne ritirò quanto prima potè.

A' 30 d' Agosto, di San Clud.

Che il Duca di Ghuisa gli ha detto che la cosa de le Regine di Scotia e d' Inghilterra è conclusa, se non stabilita. Et lui crede che non la publicano per non dar questa mala satisfattione à la Regina d' Inghilterra, &c. La quale ha fatto questo accordo ad arte, per iscusarsi se non si è opposta, come haueua brauato.

[The Bishop of Viterbo [Nuncio]. *Saint Cloud*, 21 *August* 1561.

That the Queen of Scotland has sailed, and the Cardinal of Lorraine gives him hopes that she and the Queen of England will henceforward maintain concord and union.

That the ambassador of [England] has not spoken again about Martinengo.

That he hears that the Queen of Scotland cedes to the Queen of England her rights to that kingdom, and that the Queen of England declares the Queen of Scotland her heir, if she dies without children.

26 *August.*

[*In cipher.*] That the Cardinal of Lorraine has disputed with one called Theodore Beza in the presence of the Queen [Mother], to the great scandal of the Catholics. Every one reports [him] to have conquered the fellow.[1]

28 *August.*

[*In cipher.*] That the Cardinal of Lorraine has recounted to him all

[1] The Venetian ambassadors sent similar reports (*Venetian Calendar*, pp. 334, 335). It should be noted that the sentence above is so much abbreviated that the opposite construction is perhaps not excluded: 'that the fellow has conquered.'

that happened at the conference with Theodore, showing that he was forced into it by the Queen [Mother]; that he never said anything except openly before others, and that he withdrew as soon as he could.

Saint Cloud, 30 August.

The Duke of Guise has told him that the affair of the Queens of Scotland and England is a settled thing, though not finally sanctioned, and that he thinks they do not publish it, in order not to displease the Queen of England, etc. She has made this accord artfully, to excuse herself for not having opposed, as she had threatened.]

No. 23

EXTRACTS FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE OF MONSIGNOR COMMENDONE WITH CARDINAL BORROMEO.

Rome, Bib. Barberini, lxii. vol. lviii., ff. 114-161, the original register, which will be called B. British Museum, Egerton 1077, 1078, fol. 149, an eighteenth century transcript, on Roman paper, which will be called E.

[5 *September to* 30 *December* 1561]

Questo che segue si mandi al Cardinal Borromeo con la medesima lettera di sopra in foglio a parte.

i. [*B fol.* 114; *E fol.* 149 *b*]—Da la Corte di Dania intendo il Re hauer sospetto che il matrimonio de la Regina di Scotia sopra il quale egli disegna, si concluda con uno de' figliuoli de la Cesarea Maestà. Al qual proposito io dirò riuerentemente a V. S. Ill^ma^ che forse non sarebbe se non grandemente utile l'impedir quello, et aiutar questo, perchè al rispetto del Regno di Scotia s' aggionge che la detta Regina ha per auentura miglior ragione sopra il Regno d'Inghilterra che la medesima Regina Isabella, di modo che quando un tal matrimonio succedesse al Re di Dania, oltre il perdersi affato la Scotia, potrebbe forse succedere un dì per tal uia grande accrescimento di forze ad un acerbissimo nemico de la Chiesa Catholica. Al' incontro quando ciò seguisse con un figliuolo de la Cesarea Maestà, non pur si manterrebbe la Scotia, ma sì potrebbe sperare più inanzi, essendo la Regina Isabella uenuta in odio de' grandi, per gli straordinari fauori fatti a Milord Ruberto, et essendo i populi oltre il canto [1] quasi tutti ancora catholici

[1] E has *lanssio* corrected to *Harisio*. Perhaps *Tamisio* was meant.

et similmente in Hibernia, lo stato de la quale Isola mi fu in Fiandra dimostrato tale da Hibernesi, che quando fosse un si fatto Re in Scotia si potrebbe sperare gran riuolutione a seruitio di Dio, et se non si facesse altro ne in Hibernia, ne in Inghilterra si porrebbe almeno un freno ala Regina Isabella di non sforzare, come ha cominciato, i suoi populi a la heresia, et si torrebbe gran parte de l'ardire, et de le speranze che questi Principi hanno per l'adherentia di si gran Regno, et insieme ciò importarebbe assai per le cose di Francia, et di Dania, non che altro. Potrebbe Nostro Signore secondo l'occasioni concedere ad un tal Re di Scotia l'inuestitura d'Hibernia, dal qual feudo è decaduta la presente Regina d'Inghilterra, et cosi mantenersi la sua superiorità, et parimente secondo l'occasioni potrebbe concedergli anco l'inuestitura sopra la medesima Inghilterra ricuperando le ragioni acquistate da la Sede Apostolica al tempo del Re Giouanni, et del Re Henrico II. et con tanto seruitio di Dio far tanto accrescimento ala Sede Apostolica et nel temporale, et nel spirituale, aiutando tre Regni, et remediando anco in gran parte agli disordini, et mouimenti di Germania, da la quale, come da prima, et principal radice del presente ueneno è proceduta, et tuttauia procede l'infettatione de l'altre prouincie, come ben conosce V. S. Ill^ma^ ne io lo scriuo se non constretto da la continua uista di molti mali, et del peruersissimo stato di questi paesi rimettendomi sempre humilmente al sapientissimo giuditio suo.

[Lubec] Ali 5 [di Settembre].

ii. [*B fol.* 116*b*; *E fol.* 152*b*]—Per altre lettere di Londra,[1] s'intende come il Conte d'Hartfort il quale sposò quella Miladi Catherina che fu poi presa, et messa in torre, di sua propria voluntà è ritornato di Francia in Inghilterra, et

[1] When Commendone cites letters from London he seems as a rule to be quoting the despatches of Don Alvaro de la Quadra, Bishop of Aquila, and Spanish ambassador in London, addressed to the Duchess of Parma and Cardinal Granvelle. Commendone alludes to this more than once, and a comparison of his letters with De la Quadra's shows that his obligations are considerable. The Bishop of Aquila's letters for this period are printed in Kervyn de Lettenhove's *Relations Politiques des Pays-Bas et de l'Angleterre*, ii. 619-650. The *Spanish Calendar* gives very few of them, apparently only those parts which supplement the ambassador's letters to King Philip.

subito è stato messo prigione, et che si dubita de la vita di lui, et de la moglie, la qual cosa portarebbe forse qualche maggior consideratione circa quello ch'io scrissi a li iiii., de la Regina di Scotia, perciochè questa Miladi Catherina è de la casa di Suffolch, et dopo la detta Regina di Scotia è la più propinqua a la successione del Regno. . . .

D'Anuersa, a li xxvi. de Settembre MDLXI.

iii. [*B fol.* 120; *E fol.* 156]—[Commendone hears rumours about Throckmorton's action at Poissy from some English Catholic exiles, and parenthetically adds :]

Throgmoarthon, il quale ne l'ultima guerra di Scotia avvisato dal Principe di Condè da secreti consigli di Francia contr'Inghilterra andò per la posta ad avvisarne la Regina, et feci munire Varuich, dove i Francesi dissegnavano di smontare. . . .

Di Brusselle, al i 3 d'Ottobre 1561.

iv. [*B fol.* 132; *E* 169]—La medesima regina come mi ha detto Monsignor Illustrissimo di Granvilla ha dato ordine, che si muniscono le frontiere verso la Scotia, temendo di qualche nuovo matrimonio di quella Regina, et gli avvisi di Londra de li undeci di questo portano che gli Hibernesi stavano molto constanti ne la religione, et si difendevano gagliardamente. . . .

Di Brusselle, a li 20 d'ottobre 1561.

v. [*B fol.* 134b; *E fol.* 173]—De la Regina d'Inghilterra s'intende che per mezzo di quel Trogmoarton suo Ambasciatore in Francia move, et fomenta quanto più può i presenti rumori, sin offerendo di far passare degl' Inglesi a favore degl' heretici, et forse hora munisce le frontiere di Scotia per riparar che di là non le potesse in un tal caso venir disturbo da la Regina di Scotia, Catholica et nipote de la casa di Guisa, da la qual Regina s' aspettava a Londra il Gran Prior di Francia suo zio, et altri Signori Francesi. . . .

Di Brusselle, a li 26 ottobre 1561.

vi. [*B fol.* 141; *E fol.* 179]—De Inghilterra è avviso come la Regina di Scotia continua di far dire la messa. et ogni di

v'interviene maggior numero de Signori. La partita del Duca di Sciatelrau, et del Conte d'Aran suo figliuolo di quella Corte fu principalmente per cagione d' una contesa particolare che hanno col Bastardo di Scotia, et non per causa de la religione. Essa Regina non ha sottoscrito ancora le capitolationi con Inghilterra, et allega di volerne prima il parere del Regno, onde la Regina d' Inghilterra è molto adirata contro Throgmoarton suo ambasciatore in Francia, il quale inanti la partita di quella Regina dal Regno di Francia diede questo negotio per concluso, tanto che hora la Regina d'Inghilterra dice cio esser stato cagione che la non habbia impedito il passo a la Regina di Scotia, come pretende d'hauer potuto fare, et vuole rivocare il sudetto Throgmoarton, et mandare in Francia un altro Ambasciatore, il quale è tenuto ancor peggiore, et più ostinato heretico di questo.[1] . . .

Di Brusselle, a li ix di Novembre MDLXI.

vii. [*B. fol.* 157 b.; *E. fol.* 193]—Con la medesima lettera di iiii. era un foglio a parte circa la Regina di Scotia, s' è poi hauuto noua, che iui li Signori principali consentano che la si mariti fuor del Regno, non già che questo fusse proposto o risoluto in publico consiglio, ma che s' era intesa a parte la uoluntà di molti. Hora sono auuisi di Francia come la Regina madre douea mandare un ambasciator in Scotia, il che forse può dar sospetto, che il Re di Nauarra per gratificare il Re di Dania habbia ciò procurato per trattare con tal mezzo matrimonio fra la Regina di Scotia et esso Re di Dania, similmente la uenuta di Monsignor di Vademon di Lorena a Brusselle ha fatto pensare che gli Signori di Guisa zij di questa Regina habbiano qualche dissegno di darla al Principe di Spagna, pur qui non si scuopre fin' hora cosa certa per auentura i detti Signori aspettano di uedere doue si conducano le cosi di Francia, per impiegar, et ualersi di tal matrimonio secondo i tempi. Ma l' indugia porta periculo che non sia poi in loro podestà di far

[1] These particulars about Throckmorton are not drawn from the letters in the *Relations Politiques*. His recall from Paris on account of ill-health was then under discussion, but he did not actually return for another two years. Mr. Thomas Dannet, however, had been named to succeed him, and Sir Thomas Smith was appointed soon after.—*Foreign Calendar*, 1561-1562, pp. 389-404.

a lor modo, ne con seruitio de la religione, massimamente se fosse uero, che in Edinburg città principale di Scotia gl' heretici fossero ritornati a predicare mal grado di quella Regina, come un gentilhuomo Inglese Catholico m' ha fatto sapere d' hauer nuoua, io uoglio sperare che non sia uero, poichè l'Ambasciatore del Re Catholico in Inghilterra[1] non da simili auuisi, anzi scrive, com' in Scotia ad essempio de la Regina molti si dimostrano Catholici et che essa Regina conserua bene l'autorità sua, et che s' haueua già fatto restituire una fortezza ch'era in mano del Duca di Scatelerau, il qual Duca è uno de' capi de gl' heretici. Tuttauia, o vera o nò che sia la noua de' predicatori di Edimburg sarebbe molto espediente che quella Regina pigliasse tosto partito di maritarsi in persona che potesse spiantar l' heresia di quel Regno, et aiutare gl' altri regni uicini, come al' incontro la Regina d' Inghilterra cerca di corrompere la Scotia, et ha già operato tanto, che iui contra la naturale, et perpetua nimista di Scozzesi et Inglesi molti sono fatti più partiali de la corona d' Inghilterra che di quella di Scotia. Il Bastardo di Scotia persona ecclesiastica fauorisce molto gl' heretici, desiderando d' appropriarsi i beni ecclesiastici, che possede, et ussurparne degl' altri et maritarsi, et nuoce assai a la religione, et più nocerebbe se fosse d' accordo col sudetto Duca di Scatelerau, con tutto ciò il numero de gl' heretici cresce iui di modo che gli Catholici temono che oltre la perdita de la uera religione, gli Inglesi per tal uia mettano il piede in Scotia, et già è stata espressamente auertita la Regina con un memoriale presentatoli da un de' Signori Catholici di quel regno.[2] Le quali cose io scriuo non per ricordare o lega o altra prouisione, sapendo che tutto quello che si potesse fare à beneficio publico sarà stato molto prima ueduto da la sapientia di Nostro Signore, ma fedelmente le narro ciò che qui ueggo, et intendo, et taluolta quel poco che

[1] The news that follows is taken from De la Quadra's letter of November 15 (Lettenhove, *Relations*, p. 642; Hume, *Spanish Calendar*, p. 217). Dumbarton was not actually surrendered till five months later. The statement that the duke was 'one of the leaders of the heretics' appears to be an addition of Commendone's. The 'news about the preachers at Edinburgh' is perhaps a version of the proclamation of August 25, establishing religion as it was at the time of her landing, 'until her Majesty take final order,' etc.—*Reg. of P. Council*, i. 266.

[2] De la Quadra adds the name Ontelet, *i.e.* Huntly.

posso conietturare et la supplico a perdonarmi de la troppa lunghezza. Ne l'altra mia pure d' oggi l' ho dato conto del disegno del mio uiaggio, e in questa l' aggiungerò che tanto miglior m' è parsa la uia di Franconia quanto che harò occasione d'intendere più fundatamente l'animo di molti principi che sono nella lega Franconica, et lo stato presente d' essa lega. Con il che, in bona gratia di V. S. Ill^ma^, raccomandandomi, bacio humilmente i santissimi piedi di Sua Beatitudine, a la qual il Signor Dio conceda lunga uita e perpetua felicità per sostegno di Santa Chiesa.

Di Louanio, alli 26 Novembre 1561.

viii. [*B fol.* 161; *E fol.* 196.]—Erano anco gionte in Londra due personaggi, un di Francia de la Regina-Madre, Monsignor di Floix, et uno del Duca di Savoia, Monsignor di Moretta, i quali uisitata la Regina d'Inghilterra uoleuano partire per Scotia, uanno separatamente . . . L'Agente del Re di Suetia . . . partira tosto, altri dicono che ci sia per andar in Francia, altri in Scotia a tentar, se per sorte questa altra pratica con quella Regina le potesse succedere. Ne essa, ne la casa di Guisa ui puo hauere inclinatione, pur se è vero che gl' heretici sieno tornati a predicare in Edimburg, citta principale del Regno a dispetto della Regina, si puo dubitare che non la constringano anco a qualche matrimonio d'heretico, il che Dio non voglia.

Di Brusselle, a li 30 di Novembre 1561.

[*Lubec, 5 September* 1561.

i. [A letter *a parte.*]—From the court of Denmark I hear that the king is afraid lest the Scottish queen, whom he had designed to marry, should be bestowed on one of the sons of the emperor. As to this point I will say to your Eminence with all due submission, that it may prove a matter of the greatest consequence to impede the one match and advance the other. For as regards Scottish affairs the Queen of Scotland has perhaps a better title to the kingdom of England than Queen Elizabeth herself, and so, if this marriage should fall to the King of Denmark, there might ensue, besides the final loss of Scotland, the growth to great power of a most bitter enemy of the Catholic Church. On the contrary, if the queen is married to a son of the emperor, not only would Scotland be preserved, but more might be hoped for hereafter, as Queen Elizabeth has come to be hated by her nobles, because of the extraordinary honours shown to Lord Robert; moreover, the people beyond the [? Thames"] are still all Catholics, and so are they in

Ireland also. The state of this island is such, as was proved to me by Irishmen when I was in Flanders, that if a king, such as I have above spoken of ruled in Scotland, a great change for the service of God might be expected. But even if nothing else resulted in Ireland or in England, it would at least be a curb on Queen Elizabeth, and prevent her from forcing her people into heresy as she has begun to do, and it would take away much of the ardour and expectations of the princes of this country, which is founded on the adhesion of so great a kingdom to their cause. It would also have very important effects on the affairs of France and Denmark, not to say on others.

The Pope might also, if occasion served, grant the investiture of Ireland to such a King of Scotland, the present Queen of England having fallen from her feudal rights, and his Holiness would thereby preserve his overlordship. Should a similar opportunity present itself, he might also concede him the investiture of England, and so recover the rights which the Apostolic See acquired in the time of King John and King Henry II. Hereby a great service would be done to God, the temporal and spiritual powers of the Holy See would be much increased, three kingdoms would be assisted, and the disorders and revolutions of Germany would be in great part remedied. It is from this source, as from the prime and principal root of the present plague, that the infection of other countries has spread, and is at present spreading. Your Eminence knows this well, and I only put it on record because the continual contemplation of the many ills and most desperate state of these countries constrains me to do so, while always humbly submitting to your most wise judgment.

Antwerp, 26 *September* 1561.

ii. . . . By other letters from London* we learn news of the Earl of Hertford, who married my Lady Catherine, and was afterwards arrested and sent to the Tower. He returned from France to England of his own accord, and was immediately put in prison. Fears are entertained for the lives of both of them, and this may perchance give greater importance to what I wrote on the fourth about the Queen of Scotland, for this Lady Catherine is of the house of Suffolk, and after the said Queen of Scotland, the next in succession to the throne.

Brussels, 3 *October* 1561.

iii. [Commendone hears from some English Catholic exiles rumours of Throckmorton's action at the colloquy of Poissy. As to Throckmorton he parenthetically remarks]: 'This man during the late war of Scotland, 'being warned by the Prince de Condé of the secret plans of France 'against England, went post-haste to inform the queen, and caused 'Varuich [? Harwich] to be fortified, where the French had intended to 'disembark.'

Brussels, 20 *October* 1561.

iv. Cardinal Granvelle informs me that the Queen of England has ordered the frontier towards Scotland to be fortified, as she fears what

may ensue from a new marriage of the Scottish queen. News from London of the 11th bears that the Irish are constant in religion, and defend themselves gallantly.

Brussels, 26 *October* 1561.

v. We hear that the Queen of England, by means of Throckmorton, her ambassador in France, is exciting and fomenting the present unrest as much as she can, even offering to send English troops to help the heretics. It seems as if she were strengthening her frontier towards Scotland, to prevent, in case of war, an inroad on the part of the Queen of Scots, who is Catholic and a kinswoman of the house of Guise. The queen's uncle, the Grand Prior of France, and the other French lords are expected in London [on their return] from the said queen.

Brussels, 9 *November* 1561.

vi. News comes from England that the Queen of Scotland continues having Mass said, at which there is present every day a greater number of lords. The departure from court of the Duke of Chatelherault [Sciatelrau] and of the Earl of Arran, his son, was chiefly on account of a private contention which they had with the bastard of Scotland, not for religion's sake. The queen has not yet subscribed the treaty with England, and says she must first find out what her subjects think of it. By consequence the Queen of England is much enraged against Throckmorton, her ambassador in France, who before the queen left that realm gave out that this affair was settled. So much so, that the Queen of England says that this was the reason why she did not prevent the Queen of Scotland's return, as she says she could have done. She wants to recall the said Throckmorton, and to send another ambassador to France, who is a still more obstinate heretic than the former.

Louvain, 26 *November* 1561.

vii. With my said letter of September the fourth, there was a separate sheet concerning the Queen of Scotland. News has since been received that the chief lords there consent to her marrying a foreigner, not that any proposal or resolution of the sort had been made in public council, but that the inclinations of many individuals had been ascertained. News now comes from France that the queen-mother is going to send an ambassador to Scotland. One may, perhaps, suspect that the King of Navarre has managed this to gratify the King of Denmark, and that it is meant to further his suit with the Queen of Scotland. In like manner the coming of Monsieur Vademon [? Vaudemont] from Lorraine to Brussels has given rise to the rumour that the house of Guise, uncles of this queen, have some intention of marrying her to the Prince of Spain. So far, however, nothing certain is known here. It may be that her said uncles are waiting to see how affairs fall out in France, and will make use and avail themselves of this match as time shall serve. But with delay comes the danger of their not being able to execute their plans hereafter, nor to assist religion. Especially would this be so if it

be true that the heretics, despite the queen, have begun to preach again at Edinburgh, the capital of Scotland. An English gentleman tells me he has news to that effect. I hope it may be untrue. The Spanish ambassador in England does not report it, but, on the contrary, writes that many, following the queen's example, had declared themselves Catholics, and that the queen maintained her authority successfully, having made the Duke of Chatelherault restore a castle that was in his power, the duke being one of the leaders of the heretics.

Any way, whether the news about the preachers at Edinburgh be true or not, it is most advisable that the queen should quickly make up her mind to marry some one who could uproot heresy from that kingdom, and be of assistance to the neighbouring countries, just as the Queen of England on her side endeavours to corrupt Scotland. Herein she has so far prevailed, that despite the inborn and continual feuds between Scots and English, many Scots are now more partial to the crown of England than to that of Scotland.

The bastard of Scotland, himself an ecclesiastical person, greatly favours the heretics, and desires to appropriate the Church property which he holds, to usurp more still, and to marry. He does religion much harm, and would do more if he acted in accord with the Duke of Chatelherault. Still the number of the heretics increases there in such sort, that Catholics fear that besides the loss of the true religion, the English will hereby get a footing in Scotland. Of this the queen has already been clearly warned by a memorial presented to her by one of the Catholic lords of that kingdom [*i.e.* Huntly].

I write these things, not by way of hinting at leagues or other measures, for I know that the wisdom of the Holy Father will foresee all things necessary for the public good. I do but tell you truly what I see and hear, and I occasionally add a brief conjecture. In my first letters of to-day I have communicated my plan for my return journey, and I here only add that part of my motive for chosing the route *via* Franconia was to sound more deeply the minds of many of the princes of the Franconian league and the present state of the league itself. With most humble salutations, etc. etc.

Brussels, 30 *November* 1561.

viii. Monsieur de Foix, sent by the queen-mother of France, and Monsignor Moretta from the Duke of Savoy, have reached London, and, after visiting the Queen of England, desired to go on to Scotland, but separately . . . The agent of the King of Sweden will leave . . . some say for France, some for Scotland, to see if the negotiation with that queen may succeed. Neither she nor the house of Guise can favour his offers, but if it be true that the heretics have recommenced preaching in Edinburgh, the principal city of the kingdom, in despite of the queen, it may well be feared that they may constrain her to some heretical marriage, which may God avert!]

News of Mary sent by the French Nuncio.

24 November 1561.

The following news of Mary, sent to Rome by the Nuncio in France, deserves to be added to the letters of Commendone. The Italian text has been published by J. Aymon (*Tous les Synodes nationaux réformés*, 1710, p. 16). I translate from an early transcript—Arch. Vat., *Bib. Pio.*, vol. cxxxiii. p. 18.

Monsignor Santa Croce to Cardinal Borromeo.

Poissy, 24 November 1561.

On the 15th I wrote to your eminence . . . Two days after there arrived at the court here the Grand Prior of France and Monsieur Damville, son of Monsieur the Constable. They came from Scotland, and brought news that the queen remains constant in the Catholic religion, and does as much as she can to remedy affairs in the kingdom. In particular they relate that one day as she was going to the Mass the candles were put out once or twice by certain heretics. The queen entered the chapel, and having been told what had happened, she called one of the barons, the most Lutheran and most powerful that was present, and ordered him to go himself and light the candles and take them to the altar, and she was immediately obeyed.

Moreover, that in a certain town three newly elected municipal magistrates [borgomastri] straightway made a ban to eject all the priests from that place. Her Majesty then caused those magistrates to be summoned, and after having threatened that she would have them hanged, she sent them out of her kingdom. She constantly acquires more authority and strength for the restoration of the old religion in that kingdom.[1]

No. 24

POPE PIUS IV. TO QUEEN MARY

Rome, Vat. Arch., Arm. lxviii., *Epistolae Pii iv.* Lib. i. fol. 584. Original draft. Also Bib. Barberini, xxxi. 10, fol. 95, etc. M. Philippson, *Règne de Marie Stuart*, ii. 37, has printed a large part of this brief.

[*Rome, St. Peter's, 3 Dec.* 1561]

Charissimae in Christo filiae nostrae Mariae Reginae Scotiae illustri.

Charissima in Christo filia nostra, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Cum pro commisso nobis a Domino pastoralis

[1] Before Mary's uncles left there had been disturbances at her Mass on 24 August and 14 September, described, but from an opposite point of view, by Randolph (*Foreign Calendar*, 1561-2, No. 455, and p. 354 *n.*; Keith, ii. 85; and Laing's *Knox*, ii. 270, 271; vi. 128). The second incident appears to be Mary's trial of strength with the town council of Edinburgh, 2 October 1561. See Hay Fleming, *Mary Queen of Scots*, pp. 53, 261.

officii munere Catholicos omnes reges ac principes, tanquam filios charissimos, diligamus, valde gaudemus in Domino cum optati de illis nuncii ad nos afferuntur. Itaque laetati admodum sumus et Deo gratias egimus audientes tuo in regnum reditu Catholicorum omnium animos recreatos fuisse, et tuam in Catholica fide constantiam istic, tanquam lucernam quandam super candelabrum positam elucere ad discutiendas errorum tenebras, quas occasione absentiae tuae Sathanae ministri multorum jam mentibus offuderant. Preclare id, quod nobis quibusdam litteris promiseras, præstitisti, et spei atque opinioni nostre respondisti.

Quia vero, non qui coeperit sed qui perseveraverit usque in finem, hic salvus erit, imitari in Fide Catholica retinenda constantissime persevera majores tuos, qui Christiani et Catholici admodum Reges fuerunt, et sicut ipsi Apostolicæ Sedi devotionem et pietatem debitam semper tribuerunt, ita hanc eandem Sedem piam ac benignam erga se Matrem omni tempore experti sunt. Quod si qua tibi difficultas objicietur, ne permoveare animo, sed sciens non coronari nisi qui legitime certaverit, difficultates omnes virtute et animi magnitudine supera. Nullius te periculi metus deterreat quin Sanctam fidem religionemque Catholicam, et Omnipotentis Dei honorem in Ipsius ecclesiis ecclesiasticisque personis tuendis defendas. Cujus honorem sacerdotesque defendes, Is vitam et regnum tuam tuebitur. Nunquam Is fideles servos suos deserit. Ut vetera et longinqua exempla prætereamus, nonne vidisti quot quantisque ex periculis paucis ante annis Ipsius Divina Majestas, piæ memoriæ Mariam Angliæ Reginam, tibi finitimam, omnibus destitutam auxiliis humanis, præpotenti sua dextera eripuerit ac liberaverit, et hostes ei suos summa cum gloria subjecerit? Namque nec ipsa timide causam Dei defendebat, nec cunctanter religionis Catholicæ hostibus resistebat. Aderit itidem pietati tuæ Divinum semper auxilium. Parata erunt præterea nostra et hujus Sanctae Sedis subsidia, nec spiritualia solum sed etiam temporalia; nec nostra tantum sed eorum omnium principum ac filiorum nostrorum qui in Apostolicæ Sedis devotione et obedientia permanent; apud quos quantum auctoritate valebimus tibi valebimus. Nec vero minori studio rerum tuarum defensionem, cum opus fuerit, suscipiemus, quam

si nostrae ipsorum res essent. Quamobrem confortare, charissima filia in Domino, et esto fortis ac constans, et de nobis omnia in necessitatibus tuis studia et officia tibi promitte, ac fideliter expecta quæ ab amantissimo patre expectanda sunt. Quem paternum erga te animum nostrum pluribus verbis tibi declarabit dilectus filius Nicolaus Gaudanus, Flander, Ordinis Societatis Jesu vocati professus, nobis valde probatus, qui nostro item nomine te admonebit de mittendis ad Œcumenicum et Generale Concilium jam Tridenti congregatum Oratoribus tuis more exemploque aliorum Christianorum Regum, et cum Oratoribus simul istius quoque regni Episcopis, saltem aliquibus. Ejus orationi ut fidem adhibeas et pro Sedis Apostolicæ reverentia benigne eum ut excipias et tractes, ipsosque Oratores mittere ne diutius differas, Serenitatem tuam hortamur et rogamus.

Datum Romæ, apud Sanctum Petrum sub Annulo Piscatoris, die iij Decembris M.D.LXJ. Pontificatus nostri anno Secundo.

[Pope Pius IV. to Queen Mary. *Rome*, 3 *December* 1561.

To our most dear daughter in Christ, Mary, the illustrious queen of Scotland.

Most dear daughter in Christ, greeting and apostolic benediction! As befits the pastoral office confided to us by the Lord, we love all Catholic kings and princes as most dear sons, and greatly do we rejoice when we hear that news about them which we desire. Wherefore right glad were we, and thankful unto God, at hearing that the courage of the Catholics had been restored by your return to your kingdom, where your constancy in the Catholic faith shone, like a light set in a candlestick, and was dispelling those shadows of error with which the ministers of Satan, taking advantage of your absence, had already overspread the minds of many. Signally has that service been performed, which you had promised us by letter, signally have you verified the hopes and the high thoughts we conceived of you.

But because not he who begins but he who perseveres unto the end shall be saved, therefore persevere with the utmost constancy in imitating your forefathers, those most Christian, Catholic kings, in their tenacity to the Catholic faith. As they ever showed to the Apostolic See due devotion and affection, so did they ever find that See acting towards them as an affectionate kindly mother. If hindrances are thrown in your way, waver not in your resolution. You know that he is not crowned who has not striven lawfully, wherefore conquer every obstacle by valour and greatness of soul. Let no fear of any danger scare you from the defence of the holy faith, the Catholic religion, the honour of God

Almighty, which you are contending for while protecting His churches and His clergy. He will ward your life and realm, if you will guard His honour and His priests. Never will He fail His faithful servants.

To say nothing of the distant past, did you not see how, a few years since, His Divine Majesty rescued with most mighty hand from out of dangers great and many your neighbour, Mary of pious memory, then Queen of England. Though she was destitute of all human aid, He set her free, and overthrew her enemies in a way that brought her great glory. She surely did not defend the cause of God timidly, nor hesitate in withstanding the foes of the Catholic religion. As in her case so in yours, the divine assistance will ever respond to your devotedness.

Our assistance also, and that of this Holy See, both spiritual and temporal, shall be ready, and not ours only, but that also of all princes and of all our sons, who remain devout and obedient to the See Apostolic. Whatever authority we have with them shall be yours. We shall undertake the guardianship of your interests, when need arises, not less zealously than if they were our own. Courage, then, most dear daughter in the Lord, be firm and constant! In all your needs assure yourself of our readiness and good offices; count confidently on whatever can be expected from a most affectionate father.

This paternal mind of ours towards you will be explained by word of mouth at greater length by our dear son, Nicholas de Gouda, a Fleming, prefessed of the order called the Society of Jesus, a man whom we very highly esteem. He will also warn you in our name to send your ambassadors to the œcumenical and general Council already gathered at Trent, after the manner and example of other Christian kings. With the ambassadors the bishops also of your realm should come, at least some of them. In conclusion, we urge and pray your Majesty, to give our messenger your confidence, to receive and treat him with kindness out of respect for the Apostolic See, and to delay no longer the mission of your envoys.

Given in Rome, at St. Peter's, under the seal of the Fisherman, on the third day of December 1561, the second of our pontificate.]

No. 25

FATHER ALONZO SALMERON, VICAR GENERAL OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS, TO FATHER NICHOLAS DE GOUDA

Archives of the Society of Jesus: '*Germania, Flandria, Gallia, ab* 1561 *ad* 1565.' fol. 31b, the original register.

[*Rome*, 16 *December* 1561]

(Olandia, P. N. Gaudano.) Pax Christi.

INTENDENDO la Santita de N. S. Papa Pio esser la Regina de Scotia donna molto da bene et Catholica et volendo

mandar per visitarla di suo nome, et confortarla a perseverare nella nostra Religione qualche persona religiosa et dotta, ha pensato servirse piu tosto della Compagnia nostra che de altri. Et percio ci ha fatta far grande instantia accioche in opra tanto pia et importante elegessimo subito una persona al proposito. Unde havendo noi a dar per questo effetto in ogni modo qualcuno di buone parti, et vedendo che per la grande penuria che la Compagnia adesso ha de operarii, che non si trovava niuno al proposito, et da altro canto entendendo per letere del Pe. Adriano che V.R. si trovava meglio della sua indispositione, perche predicava in Olandia, mi son rissoluto col parere di questi altri Padri della consulta ad eligere la R.V. per questa impresa. La quale con bono animo dovera pigliare questa missione et disaggio per honor del Sr. Iddio et bene universale della Chiesa et particolarmente di quello regno di Scotia, poiche vede che al Papa non si poteva mancare, et che non ci era altro che si havesse potuto mandare. Che ci si fosse stato, sia certa V.R. che non gli haveriamo data questa faticha. Et sappia che non ha bastato far entender a Sua Sta. che non havevamo huomo al proposito, et che V.R., che sola ci occorreva atta, stava piena di indispositioni. Lei adunque si metta in ordine provedendosi di vestimenti honesti et honorevoli et d'ogni altra cosa che li paia necessaria, in modo che vada bene accommodata, accio che con le tali commodita si refrigeri in parte la molestia del camino et il dissaggio di lasciar la habitatione propria. Et accio che possa far questo, si mandano a V.R. de parte del Papa ducento scudi d'oro, li quali le dara el Pe. Verardo, Provinciale, percioche a lui si drizza la copia di cambio. Potra et V.R. pigliarse un coadiutore da Lovanio o de altro luocho della Provincia di Fiandra, che sia forte, accio lo possa servire et agiutare nelle sue indispositioni, et anche de alcuna apparencia accio possa accompagnare la R.V., et anche saper far qualche ambasciata, quando occorriesse mandarlo ad una persona o altra, et al Provinciale si scrive che dia a V.R. il tal compagno a sua elettione. Qui si manda un breve di Sua Sta. drizzato a lei, nel quale potra vedere la mente sua et quel che havera da fare con la Regina et con altri in quel regno. Si mandano anche altri brevi drizzati alla Regina et ad altre persone, alcuni de quali vengono senza soprascrittione, accio che V.R. possa sopra-

scriverli a chi giudicara lei che sian persone tali che giovara dar li detti brevi. Et questo si e fatto, perche qui non si tiene notitia di tutti quelli personaggi di quel Regno et di quelli che possano agiutare le cose della Religione. Il tempo che V.R. havera di fermarsi in Scotia sara da due o tre mesi in circa, et poi si potra ritornare. Li V.R. non si lasci mancare le sue commodita, et tratasi bene, accio si conservi sano ad gloriam Dei, et possa far qualche servitio a Iddio. Et mancandogli danari potra pigliarne in presto o in ogni altro modo che se gli offeriscano, purche si facci senza desedificatione del prossimo. Non mi resta altro che dire in questa, se non che con tutta questa casa et collegio ci raccommandiamo molto nelli orazioni et sacrificii de V.R. et que non si manchera di far il medesimo per lei. Il Collegio di Roma va molto inanzi et so che V.R. si pigliaria gran consolatione di vederlo. Siamo in Roma della Compagnia a poco meno de 300. Iddio N. S. si serva di tutti, et ci dia gratia sempre di sentir et far sua santissima volonta.

Di Roma, a 16 di Decembre 1561.

[Father Alonzo Salmeron to Father Nicholas de Gouda.
Rome, 16 *December* 1561.

(To Holland, To Father Nicolas de Gouda.) Pax Christi.

His Holiness Pope Pius hearing that the Queen of Scotland is a very estimable lady and an excellent Catholic, and wishing to send some religious and learned person to visit her in his name, and strengthen her to persevere in our religion, has been pleased to avail himself of our Society rather than of others. He has therefore caused much pressure to be brought to bear upon us, in order that we might at once choose a fit person for so holy and important a work. We are thus forced to provide a person well fitted for the post, and yet could find no one suitable, owing to the great lack of labourers in the Society at present.

Hearing on the other hand by letter from Father Adrian, that your reverence is recovered from your indisposition (for you are preaching in Holland), I have resolved, with the consent of the other fathers consultors, to choose you out for this undertaking. You must accept this hard mission with a brave heart, for the honour of our Lord God, for the general good of the Church, and particularly for the good of the kingdom of Scotland, for as you see we could not fail the Pope, and there was none other that could be sent. Had there been such an one, your reverence may be sure we would not have given you this labour.

Know too that it was not enough to inform his Holiness that we had no fit subjects, and that your reverence, the only such person we could think of, was then in very ill health. Make ready therefore; provide

yourself with seemly and dignified clothing, and with all other things that seem to you necessary, that so you may go well appointed, and have such comforts as may lighten in part the fatigues of the journey and the discomfort of leaving home. And that you may be enabled to do this, we send you two hundred gold scudi from the Pope, which Father Everard [Mercurian] the Provincial will give you, as the letter of exchange is addressed to him. Your reverence may take a lay-brother from Louvain or any other house in the Province of Flanders. Choose a strong man, that he may serve and help you in your illnesses, and one of good presence, that he may accompany you and also be fit to carry a message, should the necessity arise of sending him to some great man or other. The Provincial is being written to, that he may give you such a companion at your choice. A brief of his Holiness addressed to you is being sent from hence, in which you will be able to see his mind, and what you will have to do with the queen and others in that realm. Other briefs are also being sent, addressed to the queen and to other persons, some of which will come without superscriptions, that your reverence may address them to such persons as you shall think well to give them. This has been done, because no one here has knowledge of all the men of influence in that kingdom, nor of those who can help the cause of religion. The time that your reverence will have to remain in Scotland will be from about two to three months, after which you may return. When there do not let yourself be in want of comforts, and treat yourself well, that you may keep your health *ad gloriam Dei*, and may be able to do God some service. If you should want money you could obtain some by borrowing, or by any other means that offers itself to you, so long as no disedification is given to our neighbour. There remains nothing more for me to say on this matter, but to recommend myself with all this house and college to the prayers and sacrifices of your reverence, and we will not fail to do the same for you. The college in Rome is advancing rapidly, and to see it would, I am sure, give your reverence great consolation. We are little less than three hundred of the Society in Rome. May the Lord our God make use of all, and make us always know and do His most holy will.]

No. 26

FATHER ALONZO SALMERON TO FATHER EVERARD MERCURIAN, PROVINCIAL OF LOWER GERMANY

Source as No. 25, *supra*, fol. 32.

[*Rome*, 16 *December* 1561]

(Fiandra, Provinciale.) Pax Christi.

Con la presente mando a V.R. alcuni brevi di Sua Sta., li

quali tutti se haveranno a dare al P. D. Gaudano che ha d'andare in Scotia per ordine di Sua Sta., si come potra lei vedere nella alligata letera che io gli scrivo, la qual va aperta. V.R., havuto che havera questo plico, dovera quanto prima partirse la volta Burscella o Lovanio, dove per huomo a posta (se altro messaggiero certo non si offerisca) si mandara a chiamare a se il detto P. D. Gaudano, al quale dia tutto il spaccio che per lui si manda, animandolo a pigliare volontieri questa faticha. Et perche, come V.R. sa, egli e sottoposto a molte et varie indispositioni, sara necessario che V.R. l'agiuti a proveder di tutte le cose che per tal viaggio gli saranno necessarie, in modo che vada bene accommodato et honestamente vestito; et insieme lo provegga di un compagno, qual a detto Padre piaccera, et giudicara V.R. sia al proposito per lui. Si ben V.R. lasciasse le cose di Maguntia o Trevere imperfette, non lasci de andar a far questo servitio, per che dapoi potra ritornare, et in Lovanio o Burscella in questo mezzo non perdera V.R. il tempo, per che havera da procurare con lo Illmo de Arras la missione de nostra Compagnia, havendoli il Papa sopra cio scritto caldamente, si come V.R. havera visto per il breve che questi giorni adietro gli e stato mandato, accio che in persona lui stessa andassea ad presentarglielo. Et oltra di cio puo essere che li sopragiunga in detti lochi presto il Pe. N. General. Qui ci ha fatto dar Sua Sta. 200 scudi di oro accio che le rimettesimo per via de banco al detto P. Gaudano, per che con quelli si possa sustentare et provedere delle cose necessarie in questa missione. Ma perche di Colonia intendo si doveria mandar a Roma maggiore somma, bisognera che la R.V. pigli detti 200 scudi del P. Leonardo, et se egli non li havesse, da qualche altra persona, in presto o in altro modo meglio che lei parera (perche il P. Leonardo con sua commodita li potra restituire), et che li dia al detto Padre Nicolao. Non di meno si manda qui dentro una polizza di cambio, o letera di credito, accioche in evento che il P. Leonardo non potessi sborsar questi denari, non si manchi in cosa di tanto importantia dal canto nostro. E vero che se si mancasse da parte del P. Leonardo (il che vero non vogliamo credere) ritorneria a questo Collegio di Roma molto incommodo, perche sta assai pieno di gente et con poca provisione etiandio delle

cose necessarie, et non haviamo pagati qui questi 200 scudi al Mercadante, che ci ha dato la letera di credito, ma bisogneria pagarglieli, se V.R. gli pigliasse dal suo correspondente in Fiandra, et il peggio sarebbe che non so se le haveremo per quando veria l'aviso, benche speriamo che Dio non ci mancara. Non mi occorre dir altro in questa, se non che con tutta questa casa et Collegio molto mi raccomando nelle orazioni et sacrificii di V.R.

Di Roma, a 16 di Decembre 1561.

[FATHER ALONZO SALMERON to FATHER EVERARD MERCURIAN.

Rome, 16 *December* 1561.

(To Flanders, To the Provincial.) Pax Christi.

WITH this present letter I send to your reverence some briefs of his Holiness, which have all to be given to Fr. Doctor de Gouda who has to go to Scotland by his Holiness' order, as you may read in the enclosed letter I write to him, which goes open. On the receipt of this packet you must start as soon as possible for Brussels or Louvain, whence by special messenger, if you have no other sure means of communication, you will summon the said Fr. Doctor de Gouda, to whom give the entire despatch directed to him, encouraging him to embrace this laborious mission cheerfully. As your reverence knows that he is subject to many ailments of different sorts, you will have to help him to provide everything he may require for such a journey, and see that he starts well appointed and suitably dressed. Provide him also with a companion who will please him, and whom you think fitting. Even though you should have to interrupt your business at Mayence or Treves, do not fail to go and execute this commission. You will be able to return later, and in the meanwhile you will not be losing time, for in Louvain or Brussels you will have to treat of our Society's mission with Cardinal Granvelle. The Pope has written to him about it warmly, as your reverence will have seen from the brief which was sent you a few days ago, that you might go yourself to present it in person. Besides this, it may be that a short time hence our Father General [Laynez] will join you there. His Holiness has had two hundred gold scudi given to us, that we might remit them by bank to the said Father de Gouda for his support and necessary outfit for that mission.

But because I hear that a larger sum is due to come from Cologne to Rome, your reverence must draw the two hundred scudi from Father Leonard, and should he not have them, then borrow them from some one else, on loan, or as you shall think best (for Father Leonard can restore them at his convenience), and give them to the said Father Nicholas. As a further precaution, a bill of exchange or letter of credit is sent herewith, so that in case Father Leonard could not disburse this money, we may not be wanting on our side in an affair of so much importance. It is true that if Father

Leonard on his part were to fail us, which I will not believe, much inconvenience would ensue to this college of Rome, for the house is very full, and our provisions, even of strict necessities, are scant. We have not paid the two hundred scudi to the merchant who gave us the letter of credit, but we should have to do so if your reverence were to draw from his correspondent in Flanders. The worst of it would be, that I do not know whether we should have them by the time the notice came, although, we may hope, God will not fail us. I have nothing else to say at present, save that with all this house and college I greatly recommend myself to the prayers and sacrifices of your reverence.

From Rome, 16 December 1561.]

No. 27

CARDINAL D'ESTE'S CORRESPONDENCE IN 1562 RELATING TO SCOTLAND

From the sources, partly published, described in the note to No. 21, *supra*.

Cardinal d'Este's letters from Paris begin 20 October 1561. Early in November he was joined by Monsieur di Moretta, who had been entrusted with a negotiation for a marriage between the Duke Alfonso of Ferrara, Cardinal d'Este's nephew, and Queen Elizabeth. It appears that he was also commissioned to see whether a match with Scotland might be possible, but this is obscure.[1] The Cardinal Legate, either to make use of a favourable opening or to provide Moretta with a second string to his bow, further entrusted him with a commission to treat with both queens about sending bishops and envoys to the Council of Trent. The precise terms of this commission do not appear, but its general tenor may be gathered from the following correspondence, which should be contrasted with the letters from the Spanish ambassador on the same subject.—*Spanish Calendar*, 1558-67, pp. 231, 271, 274.

The subordination of Scottish to English affairs in the minds of the correspondents should be noticed. It would seem that they often thought it unnecessary to distinguish between the two. There are passages in the letters which clearly refer to Elizabeth only. These are omitted here, but all references in which Scottish affairs are probably included under English have been indicated.

[1] 'Monsieur de Moret . . . was sent only from the Duke of Savoy to congratulate her safe return, to signify unto her the ingrossment of the Duke's wife, and to confirm her what he could in her opinion touching religion, which he did both in word and deed. . . . I perceive that he was well taken with by the Queen, very welcome to the Marquis, better liked than Monsieur de Fois among all the French. There accompanied him always Monsieur de Croc. . . . If any matter there be of Monsieur de Nemours, it is rather in credit than in writing. When any purpose falleth in of marriage, she saith that "she will none other husband but the Queen of England."'—Randolph to Cecil, 17 December 1561; Keith, *History*, ii. 125.

CARDINAL BORROMEO TO CARDINAL D'ESTE (*In cipher*)

Rome, 3 *January*, 1561-2

THE Pope is pleased to hear of the negotiation you have commenced in England, etc. [Nothing specific about Scotland.]—MS., Arch. Vat. *Nunziatura di Germania*, iv. 128.

CARDINAL D'ESTE TO CARDINAL BORROMEO

St. Germain, 17 *January*

I WILL not omit to forward to you herewith the letter which Mons. di Moretta has sent me of late from England, etc.—Printed, *S. Baluzii Miscellanea, aucta etc. opera J. D. Mansi, Archiepiscopi Lucensis Lucae*, 1764, iv. 381 a.

SAME TO SAME

St. Germain, 30 *January*

IT was a pleasure to me to hear that the Pope approved my idea of the negotiation in England. . . . Mons. di Moretta is now returned. Nichetto[1] will give you information of the news he has brought.—Printed, Baluze-Mansi, iv. 385 a.

SAME TO SAME

St. Germain, 23 *February*

[AFTER describing his endeavours to keep up negotiations with England]: As regards the Queen of Scotland, I am still expecting the coming of Monsieur de Guise to court to induce her to send to the Council. Joined together, our persuasions should have much force with her. You shall be kept constantly informed of what occurs—Printed, Baluze-Mansi, iv. 390 b.

CARDINAL BORROMEO TO CARDINAL D'ESTE

Rome, 15 *March* 1561-2

THE Pope has heard with great pleasure what you wrote about Mons. di Moretta. If that queen acts as she has promised, etc. [Nothing about Mary.] Your Eminence will find copies of the briefs for the two queens tied up with this.[2]

[1] This sentence illustrates the custom prevalent during the wars of religion of not consigning important messages to paper, but leaving them to be delivered orally by trusted agents. This partly explains why matters of importance are often but little noticed in this correspondence.

[2] The briefs are printed in full *infra*, No. 31.

[A warning is given against compromising the Pope's dignity while dealing with Elizabeth, and the warning is repeated in the next note of April 6.]—MS., Arch. Vat. *Nunz. di Germ.* iv. 152, 154.

CARDINAL D'ESTE TO CARDINAL BORROMEO

Paris, 8 *April*, 1562

THE two briefs for the Queens of England and Scotland have been received. The Pope may rest assured that they will not be used in any way that may compromise his dignity. As to the Queen of Scotland, I think I can promise that she will take part in the Council. Not that she will be able to send many prelates, nor that . . . [*name omitted, perhaps* '*Scotland*'] will give consent, being wholly averse, so much so that Mass is nowhere said except in the queen's own palace. But she will surely send some one to represent her, and this will at least prove her good resolution of living in that religion which her ancestors held. And so one cannot help hoping much assistance [from her] towards an easier settlement in time of the affairs of religion in that kingdom. I do not despair that she of England may do the same, etc.—Printed, Baluze-Mansi, iv. 401 a.

MONSIGNOR SANTA CROCE (RESIDENT NUNCIO) TO SAME

Paris, 23 *April*

THE Queen of Scotland will send to the Council for certain, as I hear from a good source. An answer is expected from her of England.—MS., Arch. Vat.; *Bib. Pio*, 133, fol. 124.

CARDINAL D'ESTE TO SAME

Paris, 28 *April*

[THE English ambassador presses that the Council may be delayed till the German Protestants have time to answer.] —Printed, Baluze-Mansi, iv. 403 a.

CARDINAL BORROMEO TO CARDINAL D'ESTE

Rome, 9 *May*

[THE Pope will be most pleased if your dealings with Elizabeth and Mary succeed. He will delay the Council, and welcome (*accarezzara*) the Protestants].—MS., Arch. Vat. *Nunz. di Germ.*, iv. 157.

CARDINAL D'ESTE TO CARDINAL BORROMEO

Vincennes, 3 *June*

As for the Queens of England and Scotland, I think it better not to press them much, now that troubles (*rumori*) have arisen in this kingdom. I am sure that their attention is at present taken up with watching the outcome of affairs here, the happy termination of which will undoubtedly make a very favourable impression on their plans. Then I will shew them once more such attentions as shall seem necessary.—Printed, Baluze-Mansi, iv. 414 b.

SAME TO SAME

Vincennes, 22 *June*

I WROTE to say that I had postponed treating with the Queens of England and of Scotland, because I judged that they were awaiting the outcome of events in France. And I must now inform you that this reason restrains me still.—Printed, Baluze-Mansi, iv. 422 b.

After this no further mention of Scottish affairs in the letters either of the Legate, or in those of the nuncio, or in the answers from Rome.

No. 28

MONS. COMMENDONE TO CARDINAL BORROMEO

Bib. Barberini and British Museum, *ut supra*, No. 23, B, fol. 170; E, 220.

[*Ligny*, 1 *January* 1561-2]

. . . . . .

DI Scotia mi disse [il Cardinal di Lorrena] di hauer riceuuto da la Regina sua nepote una lettera per Nostro Signore ne la quale essa s'offerisce a S. Beatitudine prontissima a uoler più tosto morire che partirsi da l'obbedientia di S. S^{ta} et de la Sede Apostolica, et soggiunse come da se, ch'egli harebbe molto caro che questa Regina fosse ben consolata con un breue di Nostro Signore. Entro poi piu inante a parlare di detta Regina, come, eccettuata la causa de la religione, è molto amata, et temuta nel Regno, et amata anco da gl' Inghlesi, et che la medesima Regina d'Inghilterra l'ama, di modo che la uuol dichiarare Principessa, et herede d'Inghilterra, et che ultimamente ritornando di Scotia il gran Prior suo fratello, fu raccolto

da la Regina d'Inghilterra honoratissimamente, sebene per inante essa Regina haueua dimostrato poco buono animo uerso la casa di Guisa. In Scotia è restato l'altro fratello del Cardinale ch' è il Marchese del Buff, si per compagnia di quella Regina, si per che le sia alcuno appresso per ogni caso che potesse accorrere, et qui il Cardinale mi disse, Pensate quali sono gli nobili di Scotia quanto a la religione che un' agente de la Regina tiene appresso di me è Caluiniano, et non lo nasconde.[1]

. . . . . .

Questo che segue si mandò con la sopra scritta lettera in foglio a parte.

Nela lettera d' hoggi ho taciuto alcune cose, le quali scriuo a parte. Il Cardinal di Lorena mi ha fatto molte interrogationi circa gli due Arciduchi figliuoli de l'Imperatore così de le qualità loro, come di quanto sieno per hauere in loro parte, et dopo in lungo ragionamento mi disse che la Cesarea Maestà dimandaua la Regina di Scotia per uno di loro,[2] et che n'haueua già scritto a S. S. Ill^ma^, simili dimande mi fece il Duca di Guisa, ma di più il Cardinale m' interrogò minutissimamente de li Re di Dania, et di Suetia, dicendo che l'uno, et l'altro la dimanda, et che quel di Dania faria molto per lei, et che quei Regni starebbono molto ben' uniti, ma che il rispetto de la religione fa che nè la Regina u' inclina, nè egli la consigliaria, et che sapeua bene che senza lui la non si risoluarebbe. Mossi poi ragionamento del Principe di Spagna, et disse fra l'altre, queste formali parole, Non pare che sia molto sano, nè so se il padre lo uolesse mettere hora in questi intrichi. Con la qual parola d' *intrichi* mostraua ch' egli col pensiero ua

[1] Sir James Stuart of Doune, Commendator of Inch-Colme, called Lord St. Colme, returned to Paris soon after, and gave Throckmorton an account of his negotiations, which the latter forwarded to England, 8 January 1562 (*Foreign Calendar*, 1561-2, No. 789). Randolph, 30 January (*ibid.* No. 855) got hold of the strange idea that St. Colme thought the Cardinal had persuaded Mary to 'embrace the religion of England.'

[2] 'Or, madame, il faut que vous sachiez aussi que l'empereur a ici envoyé vers nous le sieur de Polviller pour nous parler du mariage de l'archiduc son fils et la reine d'Écosse à qui nous avons fait toute honnête réponse, remettant tout à la dite reine ; car le fait lui touche.'—The Duke of Guise and Cardinal of Lorraine to Queen Catherine, 27 January, 1561-2, Bib. Rouen, f. Leber, B, No. 5720; printed.—A Chéruel, *Marie Stuart et Catherine de Médicis*, 1858, p. 34.

più inante che a fare un Re di Scotia[1] come poi dimostrò piu apertamente facendo un discorso de lo stato di christianità, et de la importantia, et consequentia del matrimonio di questa Regina, quasi con le medesime ragioni, et disegni che già sono stati scritti a V. S. Ill^ma^ di Lubeca, et di Fiandra, in somma ei giudica più che necessario che quanto prima si pigli partito contra gl' heretici, affermando expressamente che se si tarda uno, o due anni al più non si potrà pur pensare al rimedio, et qui si stese molto circa a le cose di Francia, et con molti particulari. . . . A proposito de la buona uoluntà de la Regina d'Inghilterra uerso la Regina di Scotia in uolerla dichiarar Principessa, et herede, mi disse, Noi habbiamo per buona uia che questa Regina d'Inghilterra non è per uiuere lungamente. Io da altri intendeuo in Fiandra che la suole far uolentieri de l'ammalata; et lo fa forse in pruoua, afine di persuadere ciascuno ad aspettar patientamente la morte sua, et non tentare cose nuoue contra di lei, et al medesimo fine sarà forse consigliata a dar questa intentione a la Regina di Scotia. Essa Regina d'Inghilterra sta aspettando con desiderio qualche mal esito de le cose di Francia, et se bene la non si dimostra piu tanto Caluiniana come prima, basta a lei che i Catholici sieno abbattuti in quel Regno, che poi si tiene per sicura.

Quanto a la lettera de la Regina di Scotia per Nostro Signore, io uo conietturando che o uero hora la dimandi, o sia tosto per dimandare a S. Beatitudine gratia d' hauer in man sua i beni ecclesiastici di Scotia. Il cardinale m' ha detto che in quel Regno non sono quasi più rettori di beneficij, et che le chiese sono come in abbandono, et che la Regina è stata consigliata a pigliarsi questi beni, altrimenti che gli nobili gl' usurparanno, ma ch'essa non ui consente. Mostraua però S. S. Ill^ma^ essere d'opinione, che la gli douesse pigliare come in

[1] The French ambassador in Spain seems to have suspected that the cardinal still hoped for the marriage of Mary with the Prince of Spain, and desired that the government of Flanders should be settled on Don Carlos at the marriage settlement (Louis Paris, *Négociations sous François II.*, p. 784, no date). It is clear from the present letter and the Abbate di S. Saluto's given below (p. 111), that the Cardinal of Lorraine quite understood that, for the time at least, the match was out of the question owing to Philip's objections.

deposito, et con obligo di renderne poi conto, principalmente per liberarsi dal periculo che gl' heretici non gli pigliono, et gli facciano poi guerra con questi medesimi beni, li quali mi disse ch'importano circa $\frac{m}{100}$ scudi d'intrata.

. . . . . .

[M. COMMENDONE to CARDINAL BORROMEO. *Ligny*, 1 *Jan.* 1561-2

[AFTER relating what the Cardinal of Lorraine had recounted about France:] From Scotland, he said to me that he had received from his niece the queen a letter for the Pope, in which she makes him professions of the greatest readiness rather to die than swerve from obedience to his Holiness and to the Apostolic See. He added, as of his own accord, that he would be most pleased if the queen had the great consolation of a brief from the Pope. Afterwards he went into further particulars regarding the said queen, showing how (except in what regarded religion) she was much loved and much feared throughout the kingdom. The English also were attached to her; even the Queen of England loves her, insomuch that she would declare her princess and heir of England. Just lately, too, his brother [Francis], the Grand Prior [of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem], was most honourably entertained by the Queen of England on his return from Scotland, though she had hitherto shown little goodwill towards the House of Guise. The other brother of the cardinal, the Marquis D'Elbœuf, remains in Scotland, both to keep that queen company and to assist her in the various emergencies that may befall. Here the cardinal said, 'Just think what sort of folk the nobles of Scotland are in the matter of religion, when the agent whom the queen keeps here in my suite is a Calvinist, and makes no secret of it.' . . .

(*That which follows was sent with the above letter on a separate sheet.*)

In my letter of to-day I omitted some things, which I write of separately. The Cardinal of Lorraine made many inquiries of me about the two archdukes, the sons of the emperor, about their qualities, and how great their portions would be. After a long discourse, he said that the emperor had asked for the Queen of Scotland for one of them, and had already written to him, the cardinal, about it; the Duke of Guise made similar inquiries of me. The cardinal put the most minute questions about the Kings of Denmark and of Sweden, saying that both the one and the other had asked for her, and that the King of Denmark would do much for her, and that those two realms would do very well united together, but that religious reasons prevented the queen from favouring the suit, and did not allow him to counsel it. He was quite sure that she would not come to any determination without him. After that he began talking of the Prince of Spain, and amongst other things uttered these precise words, 'He does not seem to be very strong. I do not know whether his father would at present like to set him amid these garboyles.' By the word 'garboyles' [*intrichi*] he showed that he was thinking of something more

than making a king of Scotland, as he afterwards showed more plainly in discoursing of the state of Christendom, and the important consequences to follow from this queen's marriage. Herein he used almost the same arguments and conjectures as those which were sent to you from Lubeck and Flanders. In fine he judges that it is absolutely necessary that some plan of action against the heretics be taken immediately, affirming absolutely that if one or two years more are wasted, it will be impossible even to think of a remedy. He then dilated on the affairs of France, descending into many particulars. He then questioned me about the Rhinegrave. . . .

As regarded the friendliness of the Queen of England for the Queen of Scotland and her wish to declare her princess and heir, he said, 'We have it on good authority that this Queen of England will not live long.' When I was in Flanders I heard from other sources that she is fond of acting the invalid; perhaps she does so to make other people wait patiently for her death, and attempt no revolution against her, and she may perhaps have been advised to allege these intentions towards the Queen of Scotland with the same object. The Queen of England desires and hopes for some misfortune to France, and albeit she does not show herself so Calvinistic as she did at first, she is satisfied if the Catholics of that realm are weak, for she then holds her position as secure.

As to the Queen of Scots' letter to the Pope, I am inclined to conjecture that she is either now asking, or will soon ask his Holiness to grant her powers to take possession of all the ecclesiastical property in Scotland. The cardinal told me that in that kingdom there were hardly any rectors of benefices left, that the churches are, as it were, abandoned, and that the queen has been advised to take possession of these goods, as otherwise the nobles will usurp them, but she will not do so. The cardinal, however, seemed to be of opinion that she ought to take it as a trust, with the obligation of giving an account of it afterwards, and this principally to be free from the danger of the heretics seizing it and then making war against her with these very goods, which, he informed me, yield a revenue of about 100,000 scudi. . . .]

No. 29

POPE PIUS IV. TO QUEEN MARY

The original text has been already accurately printed in Rinaldi's Continuation of Baronius's *Annales Ecclesiastici*, anno 1562, § 182. There are also large extracts in Robertson's *Statuta Ecclesiae Scoticanae*, I. p. clxvi. *n.* I have translated from the MS. in Vatican Archives, Arm. lxviii., *Epistolae Pii iv.*, ii. 237. Other copies, Barberini, xxxi. 10, 101, and Arm. xliv. 11, No. 180.

[*Rome*, 12 *January* 1561-2]

Most dear daughter in Christ, greeting and Apostolic Benediction!

Albeit we lately despatched thither our beloved son, Nicholas de Gouda, a priest of the Society of Jesus, a man by us most highly esteemed, to visit you and bear our letters and our commands, yet impelled by the latest and most welcome news [*recentibus et optatissimis de te nuntiis*] concerning you, we have thought well to renew our good offices by letter.

The news we hear of you is this, that as soon as you re-entered your realm, you began straightway [*continuo*][1] to take pains to set up anew religion, which had been there cast down, and the Catholic faith, and prepared to retain your people in the unity of the Catholic Church, and in obedience to this Holy See.

This pious zeal and religious solicitude of yours can in no wise be praised enough. Nobly do you prove yourself mindful of your father's blood and of your mother's race. Admirably do you understand wherein lies the secret of the stability and intangibility of kingdoms, to wit in the worship and fear of Him, 'through whom kings reign,' in whose hand it lies to give and take crowns and kingdoms. We congratulate you as you deserve, dearest daughter, on the grace God gives you. Who does not see that the gift is His? Who doubts that this is a singular favour of Divine benignity? Meanwhile we mingle our congratulations with gratitude to God for this, that amid our very great cares, our pangs of heart and affliction for the distracted state of the Church, this exalted piety of yours brings us no slight relief. Weary not in so holy and salutary a work. Labour all you can to purge your kingdom from heresies. Let no difficulties, no hindrances deter you. God's assistance has already begun to show itself on your side. Be sure that every day it will be closer to you, for God's cause it is which you are defending. If He never deserts those who hope in Him, how much less will He abandon those who labour for His holy faith and religion. What more brilliant triumph can there be than to face with fortitude him who wages an incessant war against the human race, who harasses the Catholic Church, who is the author of heresies and schism?

[1] Philippson seems to have read this word as *clandestine.—Règne de Marie Stuart*, ii. 38.

What nobler than to protect and defend the cause of God against him, to pluck up and cast out the heresies which, by means of his emissaries, he has disseminated? Surely if he, who has brought back even one who is straying to the way of salvation, will receive so great a reward from the Lord, what rewards may not you reckon upon, as prepared for you in heaven, who with all zeal and diligence provide for the salvation of so many people? The boundless and inexhaustible goodness of God is wont not only to reward most abundantly in the next life the pious deeds of His servants, but even in this to repay them amply with temporal prosperity.

While we applaud your other good deeds, we very strongly approve of this, that, as we have heard, you have resolved to send the bishops of your kingdom with your ambassador to the Council. If they have not yet gone, we exhort your Highness and entreat you to send them as soon as possible. By this time, so great a number of bishops has met at Trent, and so many others, now on their way, are soon, please God, to arrive, that the time is now ripe to take in hand the holy and salutary work for the sake of which the Council has been called together to God's praise and glory.

It remains that your Highness should count upon receiving from our good will all that a dear daughter can expect from a most kind father. We have ever loved you and been prone to praise you, but now that we have learned what praiseworthy things you have done since your return to your kingdom, such has been the increase of our old affection, such our growing interest in your fortunes, that we fancy neither could ever grow greater. May our merciful and Almighty God, my dearest daughter in Christ, who has gifted you with so pious a mind, deign to preserve and increase it, and to grant you, after a long and happy rule over a temporal and earthly kingdom, to come to the enjoyment of the glory and beatitude of that kingdom which is heavenly and eternal.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, under the seal of the Fisherman, on the 12th day of January 1562, the third of our Pontificate.

No. 30

MONS. COMMENDONE TO CARDINAL BORROMEO

Sources as in No. 23. B, fol. 176: E, fol. 225.

[*Ehrenbreitstein*, 21 *January* 1561-2]

Hoggi in Herenbrait Stehin appresso Monsignor Arcivescouo di Treuere ho ritrouato il Padre Euerardo Prouinciale de' Jesuiti ne la Germania inferiore, dal quale ho inteso la commissione data da Nostro Signore al padre Gaudano per la Regina di Scotia con molta mia consolatione, specialmente perchè la somma benignità di S. Beatitudine habbia preuenuto, et fatto ancora più di quello che il Cardinal di Lorena mi mostrò di desiderare da S. S^{ta}, secondo ch' io scrissi a V. S. Ill^{ma} al primo di questo, et in uero non si sarebbe potuto trouar forma migliore di uisitar quella Regina, et di giouare a quel Regno che per mezzo d'uno di questi padri fra quali il detto Gaudano è di molta bontà, et dottrina, et oltra questo molto amabile et modesto. Al Prouinciale io ho communicato alune cose che ho inteso di quel Regno, et l'ho exhortato a mandare insieme col Gaudano alcuno de la compagnia il quale non solo sapia bene la lingua Francese, sicchè egli possa seruire fedelmente d' interprete con la Regina, ma che sia buono ad inuestigare ancora, et conoscere quanto gl' è stato imposto ne l'instruttione,[1] et specialmente in che periculo sieno i beni ecclesiastici di quel Regno, de' quali scrissi similmente al primo di questo a la S. V. Ill^{ma} perchè esso Gaudano, quanto ho potuto conoscere in alcuni di, ch' è stato meco in Brusselle, m' è parso persona tutta spirituale, et poco atto ad intendere, et scoprir bene lo stato di quel Regno. Et se bene questo Padre Prouinciale m'ha detto che cercaranno con ogni diligentia d'un tale, io però dubito grandemente che non sieno per trouarlo, se non u' andasse esso medesimo, che è buono, et prudente, et attiuo assai, et possede bene la lingua Francese. Ne questo sarebbe con molto incommodo de la Compagnia de' Jesuite, perchè ouero egli ritornarebbe tosto insieme col

[1] These 'instructions,' which are presumably the same as 'the letter of Cardinal Amulio,' mentioned below (No. 38), are not now forthcoming. We may, however, be sure that the various points contained in them will have been handled in de Gouda's report (No. 38, *infra*).

Gaudano, o senza lui, quando la Regina ritenesse appresso di se esso Gaudano, et cosi in un mese o poco più sarebbe di ritorno in Fiandra, et di la potrebbe scriuere a pieno, et sicuramente quanto hauesse inteso di quel Regno. E ben uero che per il carico ch' ei tiene al presente di Prouinciale io non ueggo come si possa sperare ch' ei uada, se Nostro Signore non commandasse che cio le sia commesso da' suoi superiori, et quando cio piacesse a S. Beatitudine la commissione potrebbe uenire in tempo, perchè douendo loro andare per mare di Fiandra in Scotia senza toccare l'Inghilterra sarà difficile che trouino passaggio inante la Pasqua. . . .

Di Herenbraistehin, a li xxi de Genaro MD.LXII.

[MONSIGNOR COMMENDONE to CARDINAL BORROMEO.

Ehrenbreitstein, 21 *January* 1561-2.

AT Ehrenbreitstein to-day, in the house of the Archbishop of Treves, I met Father Everard [Mercurian], Provincial of the Jesuits of Lower Germany. From him I heard of the commission on behalf of the Queen of Scotland, which our Lord the Pope has given to Father de Gouda. I was greatly rejoiced, especially to find that his Holiness' kindness had anticipated and far exceeded that which the Cardinal of Lorraine told me that he wished for from his Holiness, as I wrote to you by my letter of the first. Really no better way could have been found of communicating with that queen, or of assisting that realm than by making use of one of these fathers, amongst whom the said de Gouda is noted for his goodness and his learning. He is, moreover, most amiable and unassuming. I informed the Provincial of some particulars concerning that country which I had heard, and I urged him to send with de Gouda one of the Society, who knew French well, so as to be able to interpret for him faithfully with the queen, and who should also be fit to make further investigations and to comprehend the points laid down in the instructions, and especially that on the danger to ecclesiastical property there, another of the topics which I handled in my letter of the first instant. My reason is that, so far as I could judge during the few days in which he was with me at Brussels, Father de Gouda seemed to me a person wholly given to spiritual matters, and not the man to find out accurately the state of the country. And albeit the Father Provincial has assured me that they would search for such an one with all diligence, yet I much doubt whether they will find one, unless he goes himself. He is an excellent man, prudent and very active, and knows French well. Nor would this cause the company of the Jesuits much inconvenience, for he would return soon with de Gouda or without him, if the queen wanted to keep him by her. In a month or so he would be back in Flanders, whence he could write fully and

safely all that he heard of that kingdom. It is true that being charged as he is with the office of Provincial, I do not see much hopes of his going, unless the Pope gives orders that his superiors should send him. If his Holiness should decide to do so there will be time enough for the order to come. For as they have to go by sea from Flanders to Scotland without touching England, they will hardly find a passage before Easter.]

No. 31

POPE PIUS IV. TO QUEEN ELIZABETH AND QUEEN MARY

Vatican Archives, Arm. lxviii. *Epistolae Pii iv.*, ii. fol. 325.

[15 *March* 1561-2]

Charissimæ in Christo filiæ nostræ Elisabettæ, Angliæ Reginæ Illustri.

CHARISSIMA in Christo filia nostra, salutem, etc. Dilecto filio Hippolyto Sanctæ Mariæ in Aquiro Diacono Cardinali, de Ferraria vocato, nostræ et Apostolicæ Sedis in regno Francorum Legato, mandata quædam ad Serenitatem dedimus. Ejus litteris, sive nuncio, quem ad te mittet, fidem ut habeas, perinde ac nostris ipsorum litteris nuntiove habitura esses, eandem Serenitatem tuam hortamur et rogamus. Datæ Romæ, apud Sanctum Petrum, etc., die xv Martii, 1562, anno 3°.

[*Countersigned*] ANT. FLOREBELLUS LAUELLINUS.

Mariæ Scotiæ Reginæ Illustri, eodem exemplo.

[*Endorsed*] Reginæ Angliæ, Reginæ Scotiæ, ut fidem habeant nuncio, litterisve Cardinalis Ferrar̃. Legati in Francia.

[PIUS IV. to QUEEN ELIZABETH. 15 *March* 1561-2.

To our most dear daughter in Christ, Elizabeth, the illustrious Queen of England.

MOST dear daughter in Christ, greeting, etc. We have given certain commissions, which concern your Serenity, to our dear son Hippolitus, Cardinal Deacon of the church of Sta. Maria in Aquiro, styled the Cardinal of Ferrara, legate for us and our Apostolic See to the realm of France. We exhort and entreat your Serenity to give that credence to

the letter or the messenger he will send you which you would give to our own letters or nuncio.

Given at Rome, at Saint Peter's, etc., the 15th day of March, 1562, the third of our Pontificate.

[*Countersigned*] ANTONIUS FLOREBELLUS LAUELLINUS.

To Mary, the most illustrious Queen of Scotland, in the same form.]

No. 32

NEWS OF SCOTLAND

From a transcript by the late Father J. Stevenson, S.J., who notes that his exemplar was an 'original or contemporary copy in the Archives of the Society of Jesus. One page.' I was not able to find this original, of which the book-title and page are not stated.

[*No date or place; probably April*, 1562]

[1] HEBDOMADA Sancta Passionis[1] omnes episcopi totius regni Scotiæ per hereticos prius expulsi, similiter abbates et in universum omnes ecclesiastici suis sedibus, abbatiis ac beneficiis sunt restituti,[2] exceptis his qui horum tumultuum tempore, hæreticis consentientes Catholicæ fidei publice renunciarunt. In quibus est præcipuus abbas quidam Collorosei,[3] qui prop-

[1] In 1562 Passion Sunday fell on 15 March. Mary was then at St Andrews; she seems to have kept Easter there for the first three years of her reign.—D. Hay Fleming, *Mary Queen of Scots* (1897), pp. 518-527.

[2] The fact underlying this optimistic exaggeration was probably the confirmation to the bishops, etc., of two-thirds of their benefices. The Privy Council Register at this date is defective, but it seems as though the actual division, between what the old clergy could keep and what they would have to give up, must have been settled at this time.

[3] There is some difficulty in reconciling this statement with other things that are recorded of this abbot. In the confirmations (made 31 May 1565) of the alienations of monastic property which he had made in 1560 and 1561, it is stated that he parted with it *pro ecclesiastica libertate conservanda illis periculosis Lutheranisque diebus* (*Register of Great Seal*, No. 1632). Such words in such a place are noteworthy, and should tell in favour of the abbot's constancy. Entries in the *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, xix. 350, 485, show that he and his convent received compensation from the crown for the loss of their revenues from 3 November 1561, up to the time of Mary's downfall.

On the other hand, the name of William Colville, abbot of Culross, is found on the list of the lords of the Articles in August 1560 (Keith, *History*, iii. 5). He also signed the Act of Privy Council approving the Book of Discipline, 27 January 1561.—Laing's *Knox*, ii. 258.

It may of course be that the abbot changed with the times, but it is also possible that there were two persons who bore the title of abbot, viz., a real abbot, who ruled the monks, and a commendatory abbot, who held the revenues, and that both bore the same name, being members of the house of Colville. David

terea quod præter alios insaniret decreto ipsiusmet reginæ sua abbatia est privatus, ejusque subditis sub gravissimis pœnis inhibitum est ne in ullis fructibus dictæ abbatiæ solvendis illi obediant. Insuper restituti sunt doctores theologi suis fundationibus, quas antea in Universitatibus[1] possidebant, maxime licet reclamantibus et id multum impedire conantibus his hereticis qui apud reginam plurimum posse videbantur, inter quos fuit dominus Jacobus reginæ frater, licet illegitimus, qui antea fuerat hæreticorum fautor, et templorum ac monasteriorum vastator; qui tamen reginæ consiliis ac persuasionibus non multum abest a fide Catholica, cui civilia quædam munera commisit.[2]

[2] Status autem civilis antea per tumultuantes perturbatus in pacem incredibilem redactus est, adeo ut latrones quidam ac fures qui confinia Angliæ et Scotiæ occupant, quique ob locorum munitionem quam plurimum damni, etiam pacis tempore, utrique regno inferant, nunquam tamen ab ullo fere principe domari potuerunt, nunc tamen eo redacti sunt, ut

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Laing shows that this very thing had happened here twenty years previously (*ibid.* ii. 598). Perhaps there is some confusion with one of the two Robert Colvilles of Cleish.—Row, *History of the Kirk*, p. 449; *Exchequer Rolls*, xx. 51.

[1] Mary was then residing at St. Andrews, and so would have been able to protect the University professors with more facility, but the historians of St. Andrews do not furnish us with details. In the previous year the Catholics had suffered considerably (Laing's *Knox*, ii. 138; D. Hay Fleming, *Register of St. Andrew's Kirk Session*, I. xvii, and 169-171), while after this time Catholicism seems to have maintained itself with some success till Mary's fall. Principal Lee goes so far as to say: 'Till then [*i.e.*, the Parliament of 1567] all the universities had continued under the patronage of the Popish archbishops, and few of the teachers had renounced the creed of the Church of Rome' (*Lectures on the History of the Church of Scotland*, 1860, i. 269 *n.*). Cf. C. J. Lyon, *History of St. Andrews*, 1843, 317; Cosmo Innes, *Sketches of Early Scottish History*, 1861, 276-279.

[2] The simplest explanation of this strange statement appears to be that it is founded on some exaggeration of Knox or his friends. Knox declared that 'the hole blame' for Mary's Mass and its consequences 'lyeth on the necks of . . . my Lord James and Ledingthon' (Laing's *Knox*, vi. 132), and Randolph writes: 'This unconstant people . . . imagines that the Lord James groweth cold' (Keith, ii. 11). Now writers, such as the compiler of this news-sheet, are wont to consider every concession of an adversary as a certain truth, and his statement here only expresses the Protestant idea from an opposite point of view. By the words *civilia munera*, etc., he may wish to indicate that the Lord James, although he actually had so much power, held as yet none of the great permanent offices of state.

viginti et uno ex illis patibulis affixis, reliqui obsides dederint se in posterum futuros reginæ et justitiæ obedientes.[1] Animadversum est insuper in varios maleficos, non obstantibus quibuscumque in adversam partem solicitantium precibus. Breviter, domina regina ea prudentia per gratiam Dei res suas moderatur ut cum omnibus tam bonis quam malis (in quos adhuc non satis pacatis rebus propter illorum potentiam animadvertere non potest) sese affabilem præbeat. Propositum tamen suum de restituenda pace et disciplina, tam ecclesiastica quam civili, et sapienter cum optimis quibusdam consiliariis tractat et exequitur diligenter.[2] Mandavit insuper ut de monasteriorum fructibus, religiosis et monachis, in his quæ ad necessitatem vitæ pertinent, satisfiat, quousque reedificatis monasteriis in pristinam disciplinam et monasticam vivendi consuetudinem restitui possint.[3]

[3] Dicitur reverendissimi Cardinalis de Guisa consiliarius[4]

[1] During the raid of Jedburgh (13 Nov. to 2 Dec. 1561), eighteen thieves were drowned and six hanged.—Hill Burton, *History of Scotland* (1873), iv. 46.

[2] The writer is presumably alluding to men like Henry Sinclair, Bishop of Ross, who was made member of the Privy Council 14 November 1561. The Bishop of Dunblane and other Catholic doctors were also that day present (Keith, ii. 114). The Earl of Huntly was at first fairly regular in his attendance.

[3] The following incidental notices of pensions paid to expelled monks may be recorded here, in default of the order referred to in the text, which, if it ever existed, does not seem to have been as yet made public.

In the years 1562, 1563, 'L. 1,018 is given by the Queen to so many Friars; and L. 754, 3s. 11d., is given to a certain number of Nuns.' So Keith, iii. 385, quoting from 'the Collectors Books of the Thirds of Benefices.' He adds that the names of the friars and nuns are mentioned in the record, though he does not print them or state their number. If the pensions were assigned at the same rate as that which the Privy Council ordered the Commendator of Newbattle to allot to four surviving members of that abbey, viz., twenty pounds per annum (*ibid.* p. 389), the Crown grant would have sufficed for sixty-six persons. In the returns of the Controller from 31 October 1565 to 1 November 1566 (*Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, xix. 351), the queen was still paying out L. 71, 9s. 4d., for the same purposes.

Prior Forman, in his suit to recover two-thirds of the fruits of the Charterhouse at Perth, says that the queen 'had commandit oft and sindrie times hir said comptrollar to answer the said Dene Adame of the frutes of the said place (Keith, iii. 388). See *infra*, No. 38, p. 121, *n.* 2.

[4] Philibert, Sieur du Croc, who signed himself Le Croc, the trusted intermediary of Cardinal Lorraine in his negotiations with Mary, was in Scotland from early in November till the close of the year 1561. A short account of him and his negotiations was published by L. Sandret in the *Revue Historique Nobiliaire*, September 1869, and afterwards reprinted.

circa festum Omnium Sanctorum ad reginam Scotiæ accessisse. Accepimus præterea ducem de Condei, regis Navarræ fratrem, hæreticorum defensorem, misisse quosdam[1] ad hereticos Scotiæ ut adversum reginam piam Scotiæ conspirarent, qui post festum Paschæ in quadam conjuratione eam interficere conabantur. Re autem cognita, regina per quatuor horas ante tempus seditionis constitutum eorum conatus repressit, multis interfectis, præcipuis ducibus captis, inter quos est frater archiepiscopi Sancti Andreæ, qui post mortem reginæ, nullo hærede relicto, succederet.[2]

[4] De ejus nuptiis nihil certi cognosci potest, nisi quod rumor quidam vagetur inter quosdam nobiles regni de ejus futuro matrimonio cum Carolo Hispaniarum principe. [5] Denique Catholici omnes hanc occasionem nacti animum arripiunt, adeo ut quidam mediocriter doctus hereticorum patriarcham, quem vocant Knokes, provocare fuerit ausus, eique proposuerit 80 articulos, in quorum primo petit ut suæ doctrinæ successionem declaret, doceatque unde et a quo episcopatu accipiens, hanc quam sibi arrogat docendi authoritatem acceperit.[3] Cujus rei indignitate perculsus indies magis ac magis animum despondere incipit, maxime cum videat se libellis famosis quos

[1] Paul de Foix visited Mary at the same time on behalf of the French Crown. As he was a relative of the Queen of Navarre, and had suffered as a suspected Huguenot during the period of Guise preponderance, it was generally believed that he would work in the Protestant interests (cf. the letter of Throckmorton, *Foreign Calendar*, 26 November 1561). Randolph records that he conferred with Arran about returning to France (Keith, ii. 131; cf. 122). His official despatches appear to be lost.—Teulet, *Relations*, ii. 174 *n.*, and Bashet's *Transcripts*, R.O.

[2] The imprisonment of the Earls of Arran and Bothwell on charges of treason took place on the last day of March 1562. The statement that 'many were killed' is, however, not correct, and the further error is made of confusing the Earl of Arran with his father the Duke of Chastelherault, who had been declared next heir to the throne.

[3] These articles correspond to the thirty-third and thirty-fourth of Ninian Winzet's *Fourscoirthre Questions*, but they come first in the *Secund Tractate* addressed to Knox on the 3rd of March 1562. Four days earlier Randolph refers to these *Fourscoirthre Questions*, but ascribes them to Quintin Kennedy, abbot of Crosraguel (*Foreign Calendar*, p. 539), and Mr. J. K. Hewison, in his admirable edition of the *Tractates*, etc. (*Scottish Text Society*, 1888-1889, p. xcii), seems inclined to admit the simultaneous existence of two books so singular as Ninian's rather than question Randolph's accuracy in giving Kennedy's name.

Pasquinos vocant, passim per vicos affixis, non sine suo merito traduci,[1] cumque videant [*sic*] populum a sua doctrina deficientem, rarum admodum in concionibus convenire. Nam ipsamet regina suis omnibus familiaribus strictissime inhibuit ne vel curiositatis gratia talibus concionibus intersint. Cujus sanctissimis conatibus et optimis cœptis, ut Deus ex immensa sua misericordia pro gloria Nominis sui et Ecclesiæ tranquillitate faveat, orent omnes Christifideles.

[*Endorsed*] 1562. Nove di Scotia.

[News of Scotland. *April* 1562.

[1] In holy Passion Week all the bishops of the whole realm of Scotland, who had been expelled by heretics, were restored to their sees, so too were abbots to their abbeys, and in general all ecclesiastics to their benefices, excepting those who during the period of the present tumults, yielding to heretics, have publicly renounced the Catholic faith.[a] Amongst these the chief was a certain Abbot of Culross, who has been deprived of his abbey by a decree of the queen herself, because of his extraordinary fanaticism; and his subjects have been forbidden, under the severest penalties, to pay him any fruits of the said abbey.[a] Moreover, doctors in theology have been restored to the foundations which they previously possessed in the Universities, in spite of the great clamours and many attempts at resistance on the part of those heretics who were thought to be most powerful with the queen.[a] Amongst these was the Lord James, brother to the queen, but illegitimate: he had previously been a favourer of heretics and a devastator of churches and monasteries, but now, owing to the queen's counsels and persuasions, he is not far from the Catholic faith. She has committed to him certain civil functions.[a]

[2] The state of the country, previously disturbed by rebellions, has settled down into one of incredible peace. Thus the robbers and thieves who infest the borders of England and Scotland, and who, protected by their strong places, even during times of peace do a great deal of damage to both realms, and have hardly ever yet been mastered by any prince—have now, however, been so far subdued that twenty-one of them were hanged, while the rest gave hostages that for the future they

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[1] Winzet, at the beginning of his *Thrid Tractat*, lamented 'the seditious calking of the buith durris of certaine Catholiks in Edinburgh at the command of the reulars thairof on Pasche Monday last passit [March 30], and quhow at that nycht at euin the durris of certaine Caluinians wes calket also with sum notes of dishonour' (ed. Hewison, i. 23: Keith; iii. 430). In his *Secund Tractate*, Winzet speaks of 'wrythingis put forthe contrare zow or zours without subscriptioun,' but denies that he was ever 'participant of sic wrythings to this hour.'

would obey the queen and the law." Punishment has, moreover, been inflicted on various evil-doers, notwithstanding all the prayers of those who solicited favour for them. In brief, our lady the queen manages her affairs by God's grace so prudently that she shows herself affable to all, both good and bad, for she cannot yet proceed against the latter because of their power and the still imperfectly settled state of affairs. Still she takes wise counsel with certain excellent men about her proposed restoration of peace and good order both ecclesiastical and civil, and diligently executes their advice. Moreover, she has given orders that enough should be paid out of the fruits of the monasteries to supply monks and religious with the necessaries of life, until such time as the monasteries be rebuilt and ancient discipline and the usages of monastic life be restored."

[3] The councillors of the Most Reverend Cardinal of Guise [*i.e.* Lorraine], it is said, visited the queen about Allhallow-tide. We hear also that the Duke of Condé, the brother of the King of Navarre, and defender of the heretics, has sent certain persons" to the heretics of Scotland to conspire against the gentle queen, and that they were conspiring to kill her after Easter. But the queen, hearing of the matter, crushed the attempt four hours before the time fixed for the rising. Many were killed, and the chief leaders captured. Among these is the brother of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, who would succeed to the crown if the queen dies without heirs."

[4] There is no certain information yet about her marriage. Among certain nobles of her kingdom the rumour is going about that she will marry Prince Charles of Spain.

[5] In fine, the good time has inspirited all Catholics, in so much that a certain moderately learned person has dared to challenge the heretical patriarch, whose name is Knox, offering him eighty articles, in the first of which he asks him to declare the derivation of his doctrine, and to set forth whence and from what line of bishops he received the authority to teach which he arrogates to himself." Fearing lest he thus suffer loss of dignity he begins to lose heart daily more and more, especially as he finds himself taken off," as he deserves, by defamatory bills, called pasquins, pasted up about the street. He notices, too, how the people are falling away from his teaching, and that only very few attend his preaching. The queen herself has most strictly forbidden all her household to be present at such sermons, even for curiosity's sake. May all good Christians pray that God of His immense mercy may favour her most pious endeavours and admirable work begun for the glory of His Name and the peace of the Church.]

No. 33

FATHER VICAR-GENERAL ALONZO SALMERON TO FATHER DE GOUDA

From the Register, *Germ. Fland. Gall.*, 1561-1565, fol. 45. Archives S.J.

[*Rome*, 2 *May* 1562]

(P. Gaudano.) Pax Christi.

Per lettere del Pe. Everardo con molta sconsolatione nostra habbiamo inteso, che V. R. non e stata chiamata piu presto per far la mission che S. Sta. gli ha comesso a la Regina di Scotia. Et gia che non e fatta, et ne scrivono che aspettavano V. R. in Lovanio, desideriamo che subito, vista la presente, pigliando la compagnia chel Pe. Everardo gli dara si conferisca in Scotia per far l'ufficio che S. Sta. desidera con la Regina, che pensiamo che si potra fare dentro d' un mese poco piu o manco, et a questo si sforzara quanto sia possibile. Et se arivando in Scotia trovasse le cose cosi turbate come si dice et scrive il Pe. Everardo, con andar in Scotia et gli vedendo la possibilita di potere arivare alla Regina tornarre [*sic*] si potera sodisfare a S. Sta. scrivendoli del stato di quello Regno, ben che credemo anchor che siano alcune turbationi, non saran di tanta importantia che prohibiscano di arrivar alla Regina, essendo lei Catholica.

Molto la preghiamo che con ogni diligentia confidendosi in nostro Signore et nella opera di S. Sta. et della Compagnia si mette subito in viaggio, sperando che d' una maniera o d' altra Sua Divina Maesta dara bon esitto a questa missione, pigliata per suo santo servitio. Non dico altra per questa se non che mi raccomando con tutti questi Padri nelle orationi di V.R.

Di Roma, li 2.di Maggio 1562.

[Father Alonzo Salmeron to Father de Gouda.

Rome, 2 *May* 1562.

(To Father de Gouda.)

We were greatly annoyed at hearing through Father Everard [Mercurian]'s letter that you were not summoned sooner to make the mission to the Queen of Scotland which his Holiness committed to you. Seeing that this was omitted, and that they now write that they have been expecting your reverence in Louvain, we wish you at once, at the sight of this present letter, to take the companion that Father Everard will allot you, and betake yourself to Scotland, to execute the office towards the queen

which his Holiness desires. This, we think, may be settled in a month, a little more or less, and you will exert yourself in its discharge to the utmost of your power. If on your arrival in Scotland you should find everything as disturbed as rumour says, and Father Everard writes—after you have actually gone to Scotland, seen for yourself the possibilities of approaching the queen, and returned—his Holiness will be satisfied with your writing him a report on the state of that kingdom.

Although we believe that there are still some disturbances, they will not be so serious as to prevent your obtaining access to the queen, as she is a Catholic. We strongly urge you to start on your way instantly and to apply yourself with all diligence to the work both of the Holy See and of the Society, confiding in our Lord, and hoping that in one way or another His Divine Majesty will bring to a happy conclusion this mission undertaken for His holy service. I say no more in this letter, save that I recommend myself with all our fathers here to your reverence's prayers.

From Rome, 2 May 1562.]

No. 34

FATHER VICAR-GENERAL ALONZO SALMERON TO FATHER EVERARD MERCURIAN

From the Register, *Germ. Fland. Gall.*, 1561-1565, fol. 45. Archives S.J.

[*Rome*, 2 *May*, 1562]

(Alemagna, Provinciale.) Pax Christi.

Molti giorni sono che aspettamo con grande desiderio di intender il successo della legatione del Padre Gaudano per Scotia, pensando haver con la primera lettera alcuna bona nova con la qualle potessimo sodisfare a S. Sta. al Illmo. Cardinale de Amulio che molto lo desiderava. Ma in luogho di questo havemo ricevuto una sua di tre de Aprile che ne ha datta assai sconsolatione et admiratione della negligenza che s' e usata ; non essendo fin all' hora messa in essecutione questa missione. Et dir che a 24 di Genaro haveva scritto sopra le difficolta che ci erano et aspettar risolutione di quella lettera fin alli 3 de Aprile senza haver moltiplicate le lettere accio che potessimo sapere le tali difficulta, ci ha causato maggior admiratione. Tanto piu sapendo lei che gli lettere si sogliono perdere. Per una altra banda havendo ordine de S. Sta. et di qua di Roma, che subito havuto il dispacio si mandasse a chiamare il Pe. Gaudano, et si mandasse in Scotia ; a che proposito scrivere a Roma et aspettare risposta non essendoci precipue causa tanto urgente che havesse

differir il ordine dato con tanta efficacia; perche qua in Roma s'e parlato a Rmo. Comendon, et dice che lui non dette tal parer che non si andasse subito, ma diedi alcuni avisi per meglio far questa legatione. Per tanto gia che l'erore e fatto V. R. senza piu induggiare mandi il detto Pe. Gaudano in Scotia . . .[1]

Di Roma, li 2. di Maggio 1562.

Avisi V. R. se piglio li 200 scudi del mercandante et se non li piglio rimande a Roma le quitanze.

[FATHER ALONZO SALMERON to FATHER EVERARD MERCURIAN.

Rome, 2 *May* 1562.

(Germany. To the Provincial.)

WE waited for many days with great desire to hear of the progress of Father de Gouda's embassy to Scotland, hoping to receive by the first post some good news with which we might satisfy his Holiness and Cardinal de Amulio, who much desired it. But instead of this we now have one of yours of the 3rd April, which has caused us no little vexation and astonishment at the negligence that has been shown in the execution of this mission up to the present. To allege that on the 24th of January you wrote about the difficulties that there were, and then waited until the 3rd of April for an answer, without having multiplied your letters so that we might understand those difficulties, this has caused us greater astonishment still. All the more as you know that letters are constantly getting lost. Once more, after receiving orders both from his Holiness and from Rome, that immediately on the receipt of the despatch you should summon Father de Gouda, and send him to Scotland, what object was there in writing to Rome, and awaiting an answer, especially when no such urgent cause was evident as to justify delaying the orders given with such instance? Here in Rome the Cardinal Commendone has been spoken to, and he says that he never expressed any such opinion as that the start should not be made at once, but gave some information as to how the embassy might be better executed.

Anyhow, now that the error has been committed, send the said Father de Gouda to Scotland without any more delay. . . .

. . . From Rome, 2 May 1562.

Inform us whether you have drawn the 200 crowns from the merchant; if you have not, send back the bill to Rome.]

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[1] The writer repeats in almost the same terms the directions already given in the previous letters, Nos. 25, 26 *ante*.

No. 35

FATHER NICHOLAS DE GOUDA TO FATHER SALMERON

Archives S.J., *Epistolae Germaniae*, vol. iii. fol. 122. Original holograph. No address.

[*Louvain, 6 June* 1562]

Reverende in Christo Pater. Pax Christi.

Literas R.V. binas, eiusdem plane argumenti et eodem die, nempe 2. Maii, ad me datas accepi, alteras heri, alteras paulo ante, quibus mox respondi, in dies e Tornaco expectari hic adventum P. Everardi, qui acceptis R. V. literis mox huc advolavit et totus occupatur ut me, quantum fieri poterit, citissime itineri accingat. Alioquin et ipse scripsisset nunc R. V. Et iam fere omnia parata sunt. Duo mihi aderunt sacerdotes, unus Societatis, Gallus seu Francus, P. Ioannes Riuatus, alter vero Scotus honesta familia natus, qui suam operam Patri [Provinciali] ultro obtulit, et secum statuit ingredi Societatem. Per hunc spero nos, Deo propitio, habituros accessum ad Reginam, et si quid forte nobis deesset, curabit illic suppeditari.

Dabimus omnem operam ut negotium nobis iniunctum, duce Christo, curetur diligenter, et de singulis, quantum fieri poterit, citissime certiorem faciemus R. V. Hoc unum oramus et obsecramus, ut hoc tanti momenti negotium, arduum sane ac periculosum, ac meis longe impar viribus, R. V. suis et reliquorum Patrum ac Fratrum precibus et sacrificiis, et assidue Deo commendet et ardenter. Quod quidem iam pridem a me susceptum fuisset, si citius ex urbe allatum fuisset responsum ad literas quas hac de re frequentes diversis temporibus scripsit P. Everardus, qui nullam movisset dubitationem nisi ab alio iusta ratione motus fuisset. Qui etiam ad me, cum adhuc essem in Hollandia, frequenter dedit literas, quibus me subito evocabat, sed quid in caussa fuerit, quod ego illas non acceperim ex literis meis uno abhinc mense ad V. R. datas, quas nunc Romam pervenisse confido, facile intelliges. Tertio abhinc die, hinc, duce Christo, versus Zelandiam proficiscemur. Comitabitur saltem Antuerpiam usque Rdus. P. Everardus,

curaturus diligenter ne quid huic negotio deesse videatur, et ut scilicet intelligat rationem traiiciendi, de qua et aliis omnibus ipsemet Pater, ubi nos dimiserit, latius ad R.V. est scripturus. De cetero commendamus nos iterum atque iterum precibus Patrum et Fratrum, quos ad unum omnes reverenter in Domino salutamus.

Lovanii, 6. Iunii, an. 1562.

R. V. filius indignus NICOLAUS GAUDANUS.

[*In another hand*] Li 200 Δ^{di} non si sonno presi dal mercadante, et con questa si rimanda la carta che prima fu mandata per detto mercadante, ma il Pe. Leonardo le ha dati.

[*Attached on a slip*] Sunt duo mulieres in patria mea Gauda iam annosae, qui cum essent iuniores ambae, voverunt ingredi Religionem; iam senio confectae inhabiles sunt nec possunt recipi. Itaque humiliter petunt absolutionem a Sede Apostolica in foro conscientiae, quia res occulta est. Oro R. V. ut hanc illis gratiam impetret.

NICOLAUS GAUDANUS.

[FATHER NICHOLAS DE GOUDA to FATHER ALFONSO SALMERON.

6 *June* 1562.

REVEREND Father in Christ. Pax Christi.

I have received two letters from you of precisely the same tenor, and dated on the same day, *i.e.* the second of May. The one came yesterday, and the other a little while before; to which I at once answered that Father Everard [Mercurian] was daily expected from Tournay. He hastened hither at once on the receipt of your reverence's letter, and is wholly employed in making preparations with all possible speed for my journey. Otherwise he too would have written to you to-day. And now almost all is ready. There will be two priests with me. One of the Society, Father John Rivat, a native of France. The other a Scot of good family [Edmund Hay], who volunteered his services to Father [Provincial], and who has resolved to enter the Society. Through his agency I hope, please God, that we shall gain access to the Queen, and that the wants which we may have when we get there may be supplied.

We will take all possible pains that the business enjoined be most carefully executed with Christ's help, and we will inform your reverence of every particular as rapidly as possible. For one thing only do we ask and earnestly pray, that so momentous, arduous, and perilous an undertaking, and one so far beyond my powers, should be assiduously and ardently commended to God by your reverence through your own

prayers and holy sacrifices, and through those of the other fathers and brothers.

I should long ago have commenced work, if a more speedy answer had come from Rome to the many letters which Father Everard wrote at various times. Indeed, he would have raised no difficulty at all, had not a third person shown him good reason for so doing. He also wrote frequently to me, while I was still in Holland, bidding me come at once; but from my letter dated a month ago, which will have reached Rome by this, I trust you will easily understand what the reason was, why I never received them.

Three days hence, with Christ's help, we shall start for Zealand. Reverend Father Everard will accompany us at least as far as Antwerp, and will take every care that all that is necessary shall be supplied. He will especially inform himself about the sea journey, about which and all things else he will write to you more at length, when he has bid us good-bye.

For the rest we commend ourselves again and again to the prayers of our fathers and brothers, one and all of whom we respectfully salute in the Lord.

From Louvain, 6 of June 1562.

Your reverence's unworthy son, NICHOLAS DE GOUDA.

[*In another hand*] The two hundred scudi were not borrowed from the merchant, and herewith I send you back the bill, which was sent for him. Father Leonard disbursed the money.

[*Attached on a slip*] There are two women, now in years, in my native town Gouda, who, when young, made vows to enter religious life. Old age has by this incapacitated them from being received. They therefore humbly beg from the Apostolic See absolution *in foro conscientiae*, as the matter is secret. I beg your reverence to obtain this favour for them. NICHOLAS DE GOUDA.

The following extract from a letter of Father Adriaenssens, generally Latinized into Adriani, may be added here:

FATHER ADRIAN ADRIANI TO FATHER SALMERON
(Extract from the same codex, fol. 120)

[*Louvain*, 13 *June* 1562]

[FATHER de Gouda went off *magno et laeto animo*, eight or nine days after the receipt of your letter, which we sent on to Tournay the moment it arrived. Father Provincial went too with the companion, who was to go with de Gouda, while we looked out for a passage.] 'Our two fathers were joined by a third person, a Scottish priest, a trustworthy, learned person,

twenty-eight years of age, son of a confessor [of the faith]. He and another distinguished young gentleman, also the son of a confessor, had resolved to go to Rome next September, if God so disposed, and to join the Society. While both of these cousins are well educated, the former [Edmund Hay] is unusually eloquent, prudent, and amiable, and has a noble bearing.[1] The latter [William Crichton] left for Scotland a short while ago, to put his affairs there into order. I am much delighted to think that Father de Gouda will have such friends in Scotland. Both of them have acquaintances in the queen's court, and have spoken with her and with others.

'Our party had just arrived in a hurry at Antwerp from this place, when lo, a messenger suddenly comes to say that their vessel was ready to join the fleet of Scottish ships. They therefore were off again before they had had a mouthful of food; and when next day they came up to the Scottish fleet, behold their vessel had already weighed anchor, and they had to get a boat to join her, and in this case also they had to start fasting, such need was there for haste.' [Our servant, whom we sent to see them off, has returned with this report. We expect Father Laynez here to-day.]

Louvain, the Ides of June 1562.

No. 36

POPE PIUS IV. TO FATHER EVERARD MERCURIAN, with accompanying letter from FATHER FRANCIS BORGIA.

[*Rome*, 4 *to* 8 *June* 1562]

1. SOURCES.—Vat. Arch., Arm. xliv. tom. xi. ep. 285; another copy, Arm. lviii.; *Epistolae Pii iv.*, ii. 387; another, Archives S.J., *Brevia Rescripta, etc.*, No. 69. Father Borgia's letter is in the latter archives. *German. Fland., etc.*, iii. 50. These codices are all official registers.

[1] Adiuncti socio tertio Scoto sacerdote, viro probo et docto ac filio confessoris 28 annorum, qui cum quodam alio insigni ac nobili juvene, filio quoque confessoris, mense Septembri sequente statuerant, Deo volente, ire Romam et se Societati adiungere. Nepotes sunt inter se et ambo docti, juvenis vero ille valde eloquens prudens et amabilis seu liberali facie.

Edmund Hay's mother was Margaret, daughter of —— Crichton of Ruthven, his father was Peter Hay of Megginch.—Crawford, *Officers of State in Scotland* (1726), p. 157. See also No. 38, p. 119, *n* 2.

II. PREVIOUS CORRESPONDENCE.

(*a*) The following letters did not eventually affect the course of the negotiation, because de Gouda had started before their arrival, No. 35 *ante*.

(*b*) Other reasons for sending Mercurian, besides those specified in the brief, may be easily surmised from the impatience of delay alluded to in Nos. 33 and 34, and from the advice given by Commendone in No. 30.

(*c*) The brief to Mary which Mercurian was to carry has been printed by Rinaldi, *Annales*, 1562, § 183, with trifling abbreviations. The original sources are the same as those for the brief to Mercurian. There is no need to print a translation of it here, as it does not differ except verbally from the following.

Dilecto filio Everardo Mercuriano, S. Theologiæ Magistro, Societatis Jesu in Flandria Præposito Provinciali, Pius Papa Quartus.

DILECTE fili, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Constitueramus superiori anno mittere dilectum filium Nicolaum Gaudanum, S. J. professum,[1] ad charissimam in Christo filiam nostram, reginam Scotiæ illustrem, ejus visitandæ causa, et nonnulla præterea relaturum, de quibus cognosces ex litteris et mandatis quæ ille acceperat. Quia vero eum gravi morbo impeditum fuisse accepimus, quo minus illuc se conferre posset, impulsi testimonio quod a gravibus viris habuimus de probitate, religione ac doctrina tua, ejus loco mittendum te esse duximus cum eisdem mandatis ac facultatibus quas illi dederamus. Volumus autem ut Ser^mæ reginæ non solum litteras quas hoc tempore ei scripsimus sed etiam illas superiores reddas, quarum exemplum habebis.

Suscipe igitur, dilecte fili, hujus itineris laborem prompto et alacri animo divini obsequii et hujus sanctæ sedis causa, et ita mandatum nostrum exequi stude ut operam, diligentiam et devotionem tuam in Domino collaudare debeamus, sicut te facturum esse confidimus.

Datum Romæ, apud S. Petrum sub Annulo Piscatoris, die quarto Junii M.D.lxij. Pontificatus nostri anno tertio.

[*Countersigned*] ANT^S FLOREBELLUS LAVELL^S.

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[1] In MS. professor.

[POPE PIUS IV. to FATHER EVERARD MERCURIAN.

Rome, 3 to 8 June 1562.

Pope Pius the Fourth to our dear son Everard Mercurian, Master of Theology, Provincial of the Society of Jesus in Flanders.

BELOVED son, greeting and apostolic benediction! We had arranged last year to send Nicholas de Gouda, professed[a] of the Society of Jesus, to our most dear daughter in Christ, the illustrious Queen of Scotland, to visit her and to take word of certain things, which you will understand from the letters and commissions which he has received. But whereas we have heard that he has been hindered by a severe illness from betaking himself thither, we have decided to send you in his place, with the same commissions and faculties which we had given to him, to which decision we have been drawn by the testimony we have received of your honesty, religion, and learning from men of weight and influence. Our will therefore is that you deliver to the Queen of Scotland not only the letter which we write to her at this time, but also our late letter, of which you will have an exemplar.

Undertake then, beloved son, with prompt and ready mind, the fatigue of this journey for the service of God and the sake of this Holy See, and endeavour so to execute our command, that we may have the pleasant duty of praising in the Lord your pains, diligence, and devotion. That you will so act, we have the fullest confidence.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, under the seal of the Fisherman, the fourth day of June 1562, the third year of our Pontificate.

[*Countersigned*] ANTONIUS FLOREBELLUS LAVELLINUS.

FATHER FRANCIS BORGIA[1] TO FATHER EVERARD MERCURIAN.

[*Rome*, 8 *June* 1562]

(Fiandra, Provinciale.) Pax Christi, etc.

PER tre vie questi di passati e stato scritto a V. R. sopra la andata del P. Gaudano in Scotia et ci persuadiamo che al meno qualcheduna di quelle tre lettere sarano pervenute alle sue mani, et che anche il Pe. Gaudano al arivare di questa sara gia partito per quello Regno. Nondimeno esendo stato referito a S. Sta. quel che V. R. scrive circha alla persona di detto Padre Gaudano, cioe, che era mal disposito, etc., il Papa et etiam il Cardinale Amulio sono statti di parere, che se gli

[1] Since the letter of May 2, *ante*, Father Salmeron had been summoned to the Council of Trent, and Father (now better known as Saint) Francis Borgia had succeeded him as Vicar-General, in the absence of the Father General Laynez from Rome.

scriva che, in caso che detto Padre Gaudano non fuse partito, vada V. R. istessa in Scotia a far quel medesimo ufitio che era stato imposto a lui. Et per tal efetto se li mandano adesso due brevi di S. Sta., uno drizzato a lei et uno altro a la Regina. V. R. aduonque senza indugiare si meta in viagio per quel Regno, pigliando uno compagno, che a lui miglior parera, et porti seco il breve, che qui va per la Regina, et anche li brevi per certi principi o Signori che furono mandati prima et gli haveva a portare seco il Padre Gaudano, perche non importa che siano vechii, et che facino mentione di detto Padre Gaudano, conciosiache nel breve della Regina si scrivano le cause perche egli non va, et lei certificara quelli Signori a cui sono indrizzati.

Sel Pe. Gaudano fuse partito, non achadera che la R. V. pigli questa faticha. E vero che, se ben lui fuse partito, et nel camino si fuse amalato, in modo che non potese passare oltra alla Regina, bisognara tuttavia che la R. V. vi vadi. Et hor sia andato il Pe. Gaudano et hor vada V. R., vedera di scrivere a Roma per diverse vie il sucesso di questa missione, tanto qui a noi, come al Illmo. Cardinale Amulio, acio si possa referire a S. Sta.

Habbiamo nova che nostro Padre Generale partendo di Pariggi se ne veniva a Trento per via di Fiandra, di manera che pensiamo che V. R. si sia abocceato seco, et parlato con lui. Il che desideriamo intendere presto per sue lettere. Di qua stiamo bene et in grande numero et ci raccomandiamo tutti molto nelle orationi di V. R. et di tutti gli altri della sua Provincia.

Di Roma, li 8 di Giugno 1562.

Avendo V. R. ad andare, scriva avanti la sua partita della ricevuta di questo plico et qualmente di bono animo fa la obedientia di S. Sta., etc.

[FATHER FRANCIS BORGIA[*] to FATHER EVERARD MERCURIAN.

Rome, 8 *June* 1562

(To Flanders, to the Provincial.) Pax Christi, etc.

DURING the last few days letters have been sent to your reverence by three different routes about the journey of Father de Gouda to Scotland, and we are persuaded that one at least of these three letters has reached

your hands, and that by the time you receive this Father de Gouda will have already started for Scotland. However, as your information about Father de Gouda's bad health has been reported to his Holiness, the Pope and Cardinal Amulio are of opinion that I should write to your reverence to go to Scotland yourself, in case Father de Gouda has not already gone, and undertake the charge laid upon him, for which purpose two briefs of his Holiness are now sent you, one addressed to yourself and the other to the queen. Your reverence therefore will without delay start for Scotland, choosing as your companion any father who shall seem to you most suitable. You will take with you the briefs for the queen sent herewith, and the other briefs for certain great nobles or lords which were sent before, and which Father de Gouda had to carry with him.

That they are old and make mention of him will not matter. The reasons of his not coming are mentioned in the brief to the queen, and you will inform those lords to whom briefs are addressed.

If Father de Gouda should be gone, your reverence will not need to take this trouble. But should he have gone, and fallen sick on the road, so as not to be able to go on to the queen, your reverence must absolutely go. Whether he be gone, or whether your reverence goes, you must look to it to write to Rome by diverse routes of the success of this mission, both to us and to Cardinal Amulio, so that his Holiness may be informed.

We have news that our Father General on leaving Paris was journeying towards Trent by way of Flanders, so that we believe your reverence will have conferred with him in person. We desire information about this by letter immediately. Here all are well, and our numbers are great. We all recommend ourselves much to the prayers of your reverence and to those of all others of your province.

Rome, 8 June 1562.

If your reverence has to go, write before you leave to acknowledge the receipt of this packet, and with what good will you obey the Holy Father, etc.]

No. 37

MONSIGNOR VINCENZO PARPAGLIA, ABBATE DI SAN SALUTO, TO CARDINAL BORROMEO

Vat. Arch., *Concilio di Trento*, vol. cxxxviii. fol. 136. Official summary.

[*Paris*, 24 *July* 1562]

CHE le Regine d' Inghilterra, et di Scotia non si abboccheranno più,[1] si come sin al' hora si era detto, che fariano neli

[1] The articles for the postponement of the interview are dated 15 July 1562. —*Foreign Calendar*, 1562, No. 321.

loro confini, per stabillir dela successione di l'uno et l'altro regno, caso che una di loro uenisse à mancar senza figliuoli.

Che ciò è proceduto da la paura che la Regina d'Inghilterra hà hauuta, che non fusse per succeder qualche nouità da li Catolici ogni uolta ch' ella si absentasse da la città di Londra in questi tempi che la Francia è tutta in arme.

Che l'Ambasciator di Portugallo,[1] il quale tornò pochi dì sono da uisitar quella Regina, gli hà detto, che hauendola lui esshortata à maritarsi con Mylord Roberto gentil'huomo di rare qualità, ella gli rispose, che quando si resoluesse à uoler sposar alcun del suo Regno non inclineria in altro che in detto Mylord, ma chel tempo la consigliaria.

Che tarda detta Regina à maritarsi per uoler ueder prima doue quella di Scotia si mariterà, dubitando che il Rè di Spagna non gli dia il figluolo pel succedere ancora nel suo Regno.

Che in tal caso, se questo matrimonio hauesse effetto, essa Regina d' Inghilterra penseria di maritarsi col Rè di Suetia ò con altri deli Protestanti, che potesse resistere à la potentia del Principe di Spagna.

Che per uia del Cardinal di Loreno si è inteso che il Rè di Spagna non hà per hora alcuna inclinatione à detto matrimonio.

Che ha inteso che detta Regina di Scotia è stata in prattica di maritarsi col figluolo del Conte di Lynois Scozzese fuoruscito di molti anni, il quale con il padre et con la madre è tenuto prigione[2] in Inghilterra per questa causa.

Che in somma detto Ambasciatore gli ha detto che quel Regno d'Inghilterra stà molto perplesso, aspettando l'essito dele cose di Francia, il quale quando sia come noi desideramo, potria essere che li Catolici di quel Regno, quali sono più che non si crede, facessero qualche solleuatione.

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[1] The name of this Portuguese ambassador is nowhere given in the *Calendars*, though his negotiations are fully set forth.

[2] Darnley had been confined to the house of Sir Robert Sackville in November 1561. His father was in the Tower, his mother in ward at Shene.—T. F. Henderson, *Dictionary of National Biography*, *sub voce*, Stewart, Henry.

[MONSIGNOR PARPAGLIA to CARDINAL BORROMEO.

[*Paris*] 24 *July* 1562.

THAT the Queens of England and Scotland are not going to have a conference, as heretofore it was reported that they would near their frontiers, in order to settle the succession of the two kingdoms, in case one of them should die without children.

That this was due to the fear felt by the Queen of England lest the Catholics should revolt if she left London in these times when all France is in arms.

That the Portuguese ambassador, who returned from visiting that queen a few days ago, has said that when he exhorted her to marry Lord Robert, a gentleman of rare merits, she answered that if ever she made up her mind to marry one of her subjects, she would not choose any other but the said lord, but that time should be her councillor.

That the said queen postpones her marriage, from her desire to see first how the Queen of Scotland would marry, being in fear lest the King of Spain give her his son, in order to acquire the succession to her realm.

That in this event the Queen of England thinks of marrying the King of Sweden, or some other Protestant, who might be able to resist the power of the Prince of Spain.

That by means of the Cardinal of Lorraine he hears that the King of Spain has not at present any inclination to the said match.

That he has heard that the said Queen of Scotland has been negotiating about marriage with the son of the Earl of Lennox, a Scot, who has been in exile for many years. On this account he is now kept in confinement in England with his father and his mother.

In fine, the said ambassador told him that England was in much perplexity, and awaited the issue of the affairs of France. If they turn out as we desire, it may be that the Catholics of that country will rise. They are more numerous than is commonly thought.]

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SECTION IV

REPORTS ON DE GOUDA'S MISSION

No. 38

FATHER NICHOLAS DE GOUDA TO THE FATHER GENERAL, JAMES LAYNEZ

Archives S.J., *Epistolae Germaniae*, vol. iii. ff. 96-101. Original holograph. Printed together with extracts from de Gouda's next letters in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, July 1880, xix. 83.

[*Mayence*, 30 *September* 1562]

Admodum Reverende in Christo Pater. Pax Christi.

[1] Cum in Hollandia agerem circa festum Paschae, feria tertia hebdomadae sanctae, allatae mihi sunt literae Reverendi Patris Everardi Provincialis, quibus me evocabat Lovanium. Quo cum venissem, ostendit mihi literas Reverendi Patris Salmeron, Generalis Vicarii, una cum Brevi apostolico, et literis Reverendissimi Cardinalis Amulii; quibus mihi iniungebatur, ut in Scotiam irem, allaturus Reginae, Episcopis et nonnullis illius Regni proceribus brevia Apostolica, quae ad me missa erant.

Quid autem in caussa fuerit, cur non statim post transmissas ad me literas eo me contulerim, sed in mensem usque Iunii expectaverim, et meis et Reverendi Patris Provincialis literis tum ad ipsum Cardinalem, tum ad Patrem Generalem Vicarium datis, aliquoties significatum est, ut supervacaneum sit illa hic repetere. Itaque nunc ea tantum hic referam, quae in hac nostra missione acta sunt, praesertim cum iis ad quos missi sumus, deinde illorum ac totius regni statum paucis aperiam. Ex quibus praeter alia et hoc facile intelliget Reverentia vestra cur non licuerit prius vel ad Cardinalem vel ad Reverentiam vestram scribere et rerum nostrarum certiorem facere.

[2] Imprimis Dei Optimi Maximi, qui omnia disponit suaviter,

singulari gratia factum est, ut cum adhuc essem Lovanii et me itineri accingerem, novae mihi vires praeter meam ac multorum expectationem adderentur, deinde ut Sacerdos quidam Scotus accederet, Edmundus nomine, Sacrae Theologiae baccalaureus, qui non modo se comitem ac ducem itineris in Scotiam usque ultro obtulit, sed etiam toto tempore quo ibi versati sumus, mira charitate ac studio nobis adfuit, sine cuius aut alterius similis opera hoc nostrum negotium non potuissemus conficere. Cum igitur hoc viro velut angelo Raphaele duce venissemus primum in Zeelandiam decimo Iunii, mox eadem Dei providentia et gratia navim Scoticam invenimus, quae eodem pene momento quo illuc venimus solvebat, ita ut haereticis Scotis, qui partim in litore partim in navi de nobis nescio quid suspicabantur, non liceret per temporis angustiam multa de nobis inquirere et cursum nostrum impedire, quod utique fecissent, si caussam nostrae profectionis intellexissent. [3] Itaque duce Christo navim conscendimus, mare ingredimur decimo Iunii vento satis secundo illo quidem die. Altero autem tanta oborta est tempestas, ut pene submergeremur, sed Dominus Iesus sua nos bonitate per R. V. et Societatis preces liberavit, ac novem dierum spatio salvos et incolumes in Scotiam perduxit; pridie vero quam navi egrederemur, vehementer de nobis suspicari coeperunt Scoti, qui non pauci aderant haeretici, et curiosius de nobis interrogare M. Edmundum, ut quinam essemus, et qua gratia illuc veniremus intelligerent. At ille cum stomacho quodam: 'Quid mihi,' inquit, 'cum illis, aetatem habent, respondeant pro se,' ac ita mansimus incogniti. [4] Cum autem appulissemus in ipso portu,[1] secreto nos duxit M. Edmundus in domum cognatae suae, ubi eadem pene hora commode Dominus Iesus ad nos misit quendam fidelem Reginae Servitorem, M. Stephanum,[2] Scotum, per quem statim Reginae significavimus nostrum adventum, rogantes ubi et quo habitu, peregrinorum an ecclesiastico, ad se venire vellet; sed ante-

[1] He landed at Leith. So Father Crichton's *Memoir*, and Randolph's letter of 5 July, correcting his first statement of 26 June.—*Infra*, No. 40, pp. 141, 144.

[2] Stephen Wilson. It would seem that he was Crichton's imprudent friend, who spoke too publicly of the new-comers. See Crichton's *Memoir*.—*Infra*, No. 40, p. 144.

quam certum ab ea responsum acciperemus, totum illic mensem ac plus eo expectandum fuit. Quae quidem dilatio etsi ob varia negotia, quibus Regina interpellabatur, acciderit,[1] mihi tamen divina quadam dispensatione contigisse videtur. Nam ego interea dolore pedum, quo multis diebus laborabam, liberatus sum, et tibia altera, quae mihi infortunio quodam vi tempestatis in navi laesa fuit, curata est. Interim tamen omnem dedimus operam tum per litteras ad Reginam datas, tum per nuntios et maxime per M. Edmundum, ut Reginam conveniremus, quam et ipsemet Edmundus accessit et colloquendi facultatem impetravit. Ceterum cum de modo colloquendi inter se agerent (non enim expedire videbatur, ut publice coram eius consiliariis[2] literae Pontificis legerentur, et ea quae in mandatis habebam proponerentur, eo quod omnes sint haeretici, et Sedis Apostolicae hostes capitales) visum est Reginae, ut secreto mecum ageret. Quamobrem etiam iussit M. Edmundo et M. Stephano, ut me ad se clam adducerent Edinburgum, Regni Metropolim; eo enim intra paucos dies erat ventura. [5] Interea fama per totum Regnum spargitur advenisse Nuntium summi Pontificis, qua fama haeretici, ac tota ipsorum congregatio adeo perturbata est atque indignata, ut qui ipsorum caput est et primarius in civitate Regia concionator, nomine Ioannes Knox, Scotus natione, in singulis pene concionibus suis in Pontificem tamquam Antichristum, inque eius Nuntium, quem nunc diabolicum nunc ipsius Baal ac Beelzebub Nuntium appellabat, mirum in modum debaccharetur, ac universum populum una cum Regni proceribus, qui semper eius concionibus magno numero ac pompa intersunt, concitare niteretur adversus nos,

[1] Mary was at Dunfermline on 10 June, and then at Stirling till the middle of July. She left Edinburgh again on the 11th of August for a northern tour, and did not return before de Gouda sailed. See Mary's 'Itinerary,' in the appendix to D. Hay Fleming's *Mary, Queen of Scots* (1897), p. 519. Her difficulties in giving 'a definite answer' are sufficiently explained by Randolph.—*Infra*, pp. 140, 141.

[2] That Mary had at first thought of discussing the subject of the embassy in council is clear from Randolph's letters: M. de Foix also heard of this (Teulet, *Relations*, ii. 188). De la Quadra's information of the same date is not so accurate (K. de Lettenhove, *Relations Politiques*, iii. 70). There is nothing in the Council Register (sederunt of 30 July 1562) to show that the matter was eventually touched upon there.

quin et adversus ipsam Reginam,[1] quod tales in suum Regnum admitteret et audiret, qui purum evangelium, quod illis tandem illuxisset, corrumpere niterentur. Unde factum est ut multi nobis graviter minarentur, nec liceret iam nobis tuto prodire in publicum. Quamobrem nos duxit M. Edmundus in domum parentum suorum,[2] a quibus humanissime excepti duobus fere mensibus apud illos latuimus. Qui etiam, cum ad Reginam iremus, propter pericula et insidias quas nobis metuebant tres adiunxerunt nobis equites, qui nos per viam salvos Edinburgum ad Reginam ducerent.[3] [6] Cum igitur venissemus Edinburgum, dimissis equitibus, per campos et moenia civitatis duce M. Stephano non sine periculo in domum Eleemosynarii[4] Reginae venimus, qui licet paulo ante non

[1] There were yet other reasons for religious ferment at this moment. (1) Preparations were being made for the fourth General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, which met at Edinburgh, 29 June to 4 July, 1562 (*Booke of the Universal Kirk, ed.* Peterkin, 1839; *Acts, etc., of General Assemblies*, Maitland Club, 1839, pp. 13-24; Keith, iii. 51, etc.). No explicit mention of the nuncio's coming is made in these imperfect records, but the allusion to those who sought for dispensation from Rome (Laing's *Knox*, ii. 342) may have reference to him, as the object of his mission might easily have been imagined to be like that of Cardinal Pole a few years before. The references to the queen were such that Lethington refused to present the address to the Crown until it was modified (*ibid.* ii. 344). (2) It must be remembered that the Protestant party was then especially excited by news of various events in France, such as the massacre of Vassy, which were leading to the renewal of the wars of religion. The stories recorded by Buchanan were presumably founded on reports which really circulated at this time.—*Rerum Scoticarum Historiae* (*ed.* Ruddiman, Leyden, 1725), p. 603.

[2] From Randolph's letter of 26 June it seems that de Gouda had already passed through Dundee to the house of Peter Hay, Bailie of Errol, *i.e.* to Megginch (*supra*, p. 106 *n.*). He was known to friend and foe as a staunch Catholic. So both Father Adrian Adriani (*supra*, p. 106) and Randolph (*infra*, pp. 140, 141). In December 1565 he was still maintaining his position.—James Tyrie to his brother David; Laing's *Knox*, VI. ii. 511.

[3] According to Randolph's letter of 1 August, 'he was very secretly convoide over the water to Edenbourge by [William Levingston] the Lard of Kilsythe.'—*Infra*, p. 142.

[4] There is a list of Mary's household at this time in the Bodleian Library, 2, Δ, 461, apparently connected with the payment of her dowry. It is entitled 'Meneuz de Panneterie, Eschanconnerie, Cuisine, Fructerie et Fourriere de la maison de la royne descoce, douairiere de france, commencans le premier jour de juillet M.VᶜLXII. et finissans le dernier jour doctobre ensuyant audict an . . . [faict par Monsieur de Pinguillon . . . a Esterlin, 6 Juillet, 1562].' On p. 5, among the 'gentilhommes servans,' are counted 'ung aulmosnier, ung chappellain, un clerc de chapelle,' but the names are not given.

parum ob metum haereticorum detrectaret nos hospitio excipere, tamen in gratiam Reginae ac Summi Pontificis tandem nos excepit et mox Reginae nos adesse significavit. Quae ut omnia secreto ageret, iussit nos altero die, videlicet 24 Iulii, ipso profesto divi Iacobi,[1] ad aulam suam adduci per dictum Eleemosynarium in cubiculum quoddam secretum, idque eo tempore quo eius aulici concioni praedicti haeretici intererant, ne quis nostri colloquii conscius esset. Ac ego quidem solus primum ad Reginam admissus sum; quam cum reverenter nomine Pontificis salutassem, et causam, propter quam illuc missus essem, paucis proposuissem, eique literas Suae Sanctitatis tradidissem, respondit se quidem ea, quae latino sermone proposueram, intellexisse, sed non ita commode posse ad omnia respondere latine. Quo audito rogavi, num ei placeret, ut intromitterentur ad colloquium M. Ioannes Riuatus, confrater meus, Francus, et M. Edmundus, Scotus, qui ante fores parati expectabant,[2] per quos ut fideles interpretes, quicquid vellet, commode posset proponere. Ubi annuit, mox illi sunt ingressi, et statim Regina se convertit ad M. Edmundum ut suum Scotum, quem antea noverat, et Scotice respondere coepit. Summa autem responsi haec est.[3] [7] Primum se excusavit, quod non alio modo maioreve honore Nuntium Pontificis exciperet ob perturbatissimum Regni statum. Deinde cum literas seu Breve Apostolicum legisset, respondit se optare, ut Summus Pontifex magis spectet promptam eius voluntatem, quam ea quae ab ipsa facta sint, ex quo in Regnum rediit. Suam etiam Sanctitatem cupit intelligere quam perturbatum suum Regnum invenerit. In quo ut conservet scintillam fidei et semina catholica, seipsam nimirum et eos, qui orthodoxae Religioni etiam nunc adhaerent, se multa coactam et invitam ferre, quae alioqui nollet. Quod vero ad Mariam Angliae Reginam in Christo defunctam attinet,

[1] De Gouda's chronology seems to be better than Randolph's here. The latter gives 'Thursday the 24th' as the date of de Gouda's coming to Edinburgh, whereas Thursday was the 23rd. Week-day sermons on Wednesdays and Fridays were usual in large towns at this period.—Principal Lee, *Lectures on the History of the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1860), p. 211 *n.*

[2] Philippson states that one of the four Maries was keeping watch outside, but he gives no authority for his statement.—*Règne de Marie Stuart*, ii. 40.

[3] See No. 45, *infra*.

cuius exemplo eam suis literis Summus Pontifex hortabatur ad defensionem fidei, respondit, longe diversam esse rationem tam in ipsa Regina quam in ipso Regno eiusque proceribus. De Concilio autem Tridentino, ut eo curet quosdam e suis transmitti, respondit, se cum episcopis acturam, qua ratione id fieri possit, quamquam in hoc rerum statu parum felicem speraret successum. De se demum affirmavit, malle se mox obire mortem quam fidem catholicam deserere. [8] Et haec prima eius responsio ad principale negotium a nobis propositum ac Breve Apostolicum. Cum autem viderem eam premi temporis angustia et ob illorum qui concioni intererant reditum, non tunc licebat quicquam aliud de Religione proponere. Quamobrem velut consilium ab ea petens, proposui de literis Summi Pontificis ad Episcopos datis, qua ratione illis commode reddi possent, an videlicet quosdam ad se vocare vellet, an potius ut ego ipse singulos adirem. Respondit fieri non posse, ut illis per me literae redderentur. Mox adiecit, id sine tumultu fieri non posse. Metuebat enim ab haereticis tumultum excitatum iri, si Pontificis literae redderentur Episcopis. Tum ego: 'Mihi tamen commissum est, ut eis literas traderem.' Iterum respondit, id fieri non posse 'nisi forte uni, inquit, reddantur.' Is erat Episcopus Rossensis, praeses Concilii sive Parlamenti, qui tum aderat in Civitate. Ad quem et ipsa Regina eodem die suum misit secretarium, ut me ad colloquium admitteret. Ceterum quid ille responderit, postea dicetur commodius. [9] Aliud igitur proposui Reginae, si bonum illi videretur, me velle alloqui fratrem suum, D. Jacobum, comitem de Mar (is enim, licet nothus sit, totum paene Regnum gubernat) eique caussam meae legationis velle proponere, ne quid sinistri de me suspicaretur, quasi quicquam vel adversus ipsum vel alios Regni proceres molirer. Respondit, se illi propositurum, an me velit ad colloquium admittere; sed nihil postmodum ea de re audivi. Et sane (prout postea comperi) non expediebat me in ejus conspectum venire; adeo sunt amaro et obstinato animo adversus Pontificem. Posthac petii velut salvum conductum seu securitatem tantisper dum in illo Regno agerem. Respondit, neminem (ut putabat) publice mihi quicquam mali illaturum. Si quid clam et privatim ab improbis fiat, sese ne per justitiam quidem id

impedire posse. Deinde addidit. 'Si agerem, magis vos proderem, ac maius periculum vobis ut jam cognitis immineret. Nunc vero velut incogniti tutius potestis latere. Proinde ne exeatis, inquit, in publicum, sed continete vos in secreto quodam cubiculo.' [10] Postremo dixi, me voluisse quidem cum illa agere, si ratio temporis pateretur, de modo iuvandi suum populum, qui tam misere nunc seducitur. Et quia tempus non erat prolixius agendi (quod oportebat nos dimissos esse antequam aulici, eius scilicet frater cum suis, e concione redirent), breviter dixi, facillimum ac convenientissimum inter cetera modum esse illum, quem sequeretur ipse imperator ac plurimi principes tum saeculares tum ecclesiastici, inter quos est Reverendissimus Cardinalis Lotharingiae,[1] eius avunculus: nimirum ut collegium aliquod institueretur, in quo ad manum haberet pios et doctos viros, qui et populum et ipsam iuventutem, Reipublicae seminarium, catholice ac pie instituerent. Respondit uno verbo, id fieri posse suo tempore, nunc vero pro hoc rerum statu non posse. His ita peractis, nos dimisit. [11] Paulo post eodem die misit ad me suum Secretarium,[2] rogans quaenam illa sint, quae praeterea vellem ipsi proponere. Respondi duo esse praecipue, quae tum quidem verbo indicavi Secretario, postea vero literis ipsi Reginae latius explicavi. Alterum est, me quidem cogitasse, antequam in Scotiam venissem, ut illam variis rationibus, exemplis et scripturarum testimoniis in vera et orthodoxa Religione confirmarem. Ceterum posteaquam veni in Scotiam, tam multa me a viris fide dignis audivisse de eius in fide constantia et singulari pietate, ut supervacaneum indicarem, si id agere vellem. Quin potius me rogare illam, ut serio cogitet, quam multa bona (quae scripto explicavi) ex hac eius in fide constantia sequerentur, et gauderet de tam singulari gratiae dono sibi a Deo collato ac in eo perseveraret. Alterum vero dixi hoc

[1] For Cardinal Lorraine's many foundations, see J. J. Guillemin, *Le Cardinal de Lorraine* (Paris, 1847), pp. 445, etc. The dates, however, which Guillemin assigns to these foundations (perhaps reckoned by the charters of foundations rather than by the commencement of teaching) are all subsequent to the date of this letter.

[2] Lethington's answer to Randolph (see *infra*, p. 143) regarding the objects of de Gouda's mission, corresponds approximately to these messages sent through 'the secretary.' Still it is quite possible, and even probable, that the intermediary was Raulet.

esse, quod voluissem latius illi explicare piam Pii Pontificis mentem, voluntatem et singularem eius amorem, quo afficitur tum erga ipsius Reginae Maiestatem, tum erga totum Scotiae Regnum, cuius pacem, tranquillitatem et salutem singulariter amat ac promovere studet, quemadmodum et omnium Christianorum et totius Ecclesiae Catholicae, cuius fidem, unitatem, pacem ac salutem summa cura ac diligentia ut verus ecclesiae pastor ac supremus Christi in Terris Vicarius, conservare ac promovere studet. [12] Postea iterum ad me misit Regina suum Secretarium, postulans sibi tradi literas Pontificis ad Episcopos datas, se vero curaturam, ut Episcopis suo tempore redderentur; quas ei tradidi ea lege, ut in suis ad Pontificem literis significaret, se illas in suam fidem recepisse, ac per me Episcopis reddi non potuisse. Quod libenter fecit. Nam mihi ipsas literas apertas legendas tradidit,[1] et cum lectae essent a M. Edmundo et M. Ioanne, confratre meo, subsignatas clausit. Et haec fere summa est eorum, Reverende Pater, quae cum Regina sunt acta. Nunc quid cum Episcopis et quibusdam illius Regni proceribus sit actum, paucis dicam.

[13] Cum igitur ad Episcopum Rossensem (ut ante dicere coepi) misisset Regina suum Secretarium, ut mecum ageret, respondit Episcopus, seipsum ad Reginam venturum et cum ipsa ea de re acturum. Ad quam cum mox a prandio eiusdem diei venisset, dixit se nullo modo audere mecum agere. 'Si enim ad me (inquit) veniret Nuntius Pontificis quocumque loco, quocumque tempore, quocumque demum habitu, et ego cum eo agerem, certus sum quod intra 24 horas domus mea devastaretur, et ego me ac mea omnia maximo periculo exponerem.' Quod cum mihi ab Eleemosynario Reginae significaretur, conatus sum literis illi explicare ea, quorum gratia ad illum missus essem, rogans ut vel mihi vel potius Summo Pontifici responderet. At cum nihil responderet, denuo ad illum scripsi literas, quas per priorem Carthusiae,[2]

[1] These words imply that de Gouda had more than one interview with the queen.

[2] Adam Forman, last prior of the Domus Vallis Virtutum, near Perth, 'retired with his brethren to Errol' (Spottiswoode, *Religious Houses in Scotland* (Edin. 1824), p. 430). It may have been here that de Gouda came to know him. 'Dene Adam' brought a complaint against the queen's comptroller for the non-payment of the third of the rents of his priory. It came before privy council, 14 and 29 December 1563, and, apparently, 18 January 1564. Nothing appears to have been then settled, so far as the records bear (*Register*, pp. 250, 253,

virum doctum et pium, qui saeculari veste indutus illic sollicitat apud Reginam, ut bona sui monasterii ab haereticis direpta aliqua saltem ex parte restituantur—per hunc, inquam, priorem denuo literas misi ad Episcopum; cui cum literae redderentur, respondit: 'Non gratam mihi (inquit) rem facis.' Cum autem prior instaret, ut literis meis responderet, vel potius ad Pontificem scriberet, respondit: 'Quid faciam? Non audeo respondere. Quis adferet literas? Quid, si inciderent in manus haereticorum? Nec poterit (inquit) evadere Nuntius, quin literae inspiciantur.' Proinde rogabat priorem, ut ipsum apud me excusaret; propter administrationem iustitiae[1] et alia nescio quae negotia impediri ipsum, quominus posset scribere. Hoc de illo. [14] Erat tunc temporis in eadem civitate Episcopus Dumblanensis, cuius cognatus, nomine Guilielmus Chesolmus,[2] iam coadjutor institutus, se Romae voluit Societati adiungere. Ad hunc episcopum non accessi eo tempore, quo conatus sum adire Rossensem; sed post octo dies, cum se inde in suam Civitatem et Episcopatum recepisset, in quo videbar mihi tuto posse cum illo agere, rogavi quemdam eius cognatum ut me ad illum duceret (aberat enim itinere unius fere diei). Quo cum venissem mutato plane habitu ac veluti famuli ipsius officium agens, ita ut a nemine tamquam Nuntius possem agnosci, non tamen ausus est me ad colloquium admittere, eadem de caussa, qua recusavit Rossensis Episcopus. [15] Ex his duobus Episcopis, de quibus prae caeteris fere aliquid sperare licebat, coepi colligere quid de ceteris futurum esset, si eos adire voluissem. Licet enim Regina (ut ante dixi) indicasset, illis literas seu Brevia apostolica per me reddi non posse, in qua sententia etiam alii catholici et boni viri fuerunt, tentassem tamen vel secreto illos adire et de negotio mihi commisso coram communicare. Sed cum hoc non liceret,

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Keith, iii. 388), but he finally obtained, before the time of Mary's fall, three pensions, amounting in all to £60, 16s. 8d.—*Calendar of Exchequer Rolls*, xix. 352.

[1] Henry Sinclair, Bishop of Ross, was Lord President of the Court of Session. —Keith, *Catalogue of Scottish Bishops* (1824), p. 193; *History*, ii. 223 *n*.

[2] The provision of William Chisholm II. to the coadjutorship of Dunblane, with the right of succession to his uncle, William Chisholm I., dated 2 June 1561, is printed in Maziere Brady, *Episcopal Succession* (Rome, 1876) p. 140. The bull for his institution is preserved in the Advocates' Library.

conatus sum per literas significare ea, quorum gratia illuc missus essem. Itaque scripsi ad reliquos Episcopos (non omnes tamen, duo enim sunt haeretici, et duae Sedes vacant,[1] nempe Candidae Casae et Brechienensis; sunt tamen illic nominati). E quibus duo mihi responderunt, videlicet Archiepiscopus S. Andreae literis quidem ad me datis, et Episcopus Dunkeldensis literis etiam ad Pontificem datis; quas cum his mitto ad P. V. [16] Dunkeldensis autem etiam ausus est solus prae caeteris me ad colloquium admittere; sed ea lege et conditione, ut me fingerem famulum cuiusdam trapezitae, qui ab illo debitam pecuniam exigeret, ne vel ab eius familia agnoscerer, licet agat nunc in insula quadam ab hominibus satis seiuncta. Qui etiam me prandio excepit, sed ita ut toto prandio nihil nisi de pecunia tractaretur.[2] Sic enim inter nos convenerat. Ex his facile intelligit R. V., quid cum illis bonis viris de negotio Religionis agi potuerit. Et haec quidem de Episcopis.

[17] Quod ad proceres seu consiliarios attinet, sciet R. V., nullum Reginae adesse consiliarium catholicum. Omnia enim fere per haereticos in aula Reginae et totius Regni gubernatione tractantur, quamquam sint multi Nobiles et Comites catholici, sed hi ab aula et publica administratione abstinent propter haereticorum vim et tyrannidem. Cum autem inquirerem, quibus potissimum Brevia Apostolica reddi possent, tres[3] mihi praecipue sunt commendati; quibus per fidelem nuntium (non enim mihi ipsi eos adire licebat) illa transmisi, una cum litteris meis, quibus mentem et benevolentiam Summi Pontificis erga ipsos et totum Scotiae Regnum explicavi, a quibus etiam expecto responsum per M. Edmundum mihi transmittendum.

[18] Hactenus quid cum Regina, Episcopis et nonnullis comitibus actum sit, diximus. Nunc de eorundem ac totius

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[1] Elsewhere de Gouda speaks of the bishops as 'bona ex parte Catholici,' and 'majore ex parte Catholici.' Presumably then, 'two' should be taken loosely, *e.g.* for 'a couple.' In point of fact there were seven sees, which were either canonically vacant or were filled by Protestants. See *ante*, No. 19, and James Scott, *Protestant Reformers in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1810), p. 88.

[2] In private, however, the nuncio was able to discharge the business he had come to transact, as Crichton, who was present, tells us. The island, he adds, was in a lake.—*Infra*, p. 145.

[3] Huntly, as will appear, was one of these.—*Infra*, p. 154.

Regni statu, praesertim quod ad Religionem attinet, nonnihil dicemus.

Est profecto misera ac miseranda rerum facies illis, si religionem spectemus. Nam omnia paene[1] monasteria eversa sunt, quaedam etiam funditus deleta, templa et altaria diruta, omnia sacra profanata, Christi et Sanctorum imagines confractae et reiectae. Nullum toto Regno celebratur officium ecclesiasticum, nullum missae sacrificium offertur publice praeterquam in solius Reginae Sacello. Nulla etiam sacramenta publice administrantur more Catholico. Nec parvulos quidem baptizare licet nisi haereticorum more idque praescripto ab eis tempore, die videlicet Dominico, ita ut multi parvuli sine baptismo moriantur.[2] Illi, quos vocant ministros, partim sunt Monachi apostatae, partim laici et plebeii, prorsus indocti et abiectae conditionis homines, sutores, calciarii, pelliones et id genus alii, qui singulis suis concionibus horribili temeritate debacchantur in Summum Pontificem, in Sacrosanctum Missae sacrificium, Sanctorum invocationem, cultum imaginum, ac missam idololatriam vocant, et alia id genus impia dogmata, quae hic longum esset recensere, simplici ac rudi populo tradere non cessant. Et tantus est istorum hominum furor et insania, ut

[1] The statement that '*nearly* all the monasteries are dissolved' certainly sounds strange considering the time at which it is made, full two years after the complete collapse of the external organisation of the ancient Church of Scotland. Monastic life, one would have thought, would no longer have been a possibility, at least not without exciting much comment. This, however, is no valid reason for doubting de Gouda's statement, for he certainiy does not write in the optimistic tone affected by the author of document No. 32, *ante*, and indications may be found (p. 96, *n.* 3) which go to support his assertion, and to those already mentioned the following may be added. The *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland* (xix. 351, 352) seem to point to the continued corporate existence of the convents of Culross, St. Andrews, Scone, Cambuskenneth, and the Charterhouse of Perth. That is, they continued to draw pensions as bodies corporate until Mary's fall, and many did so even later. See also Crichton's and de Gouda's words on the desolation of the monasteries, Appendix III., No. 24, iv., and § 23, *infra*. The following extract from a letter of the Duke of Bedford's should also find a place here, though the authority of his statements on this subject may be questioned: 'The Queen has solemnly with all the old wonted toys invested a nun and placed her in the Abbey of Haddington.'—Bedford to Cecil, Berwick, 4 April 1566, *Foreign Calendar*, 1566-8, No. 255.

[2] 'Baptisme may be ministrat whensoever the word is preached; but we think t more expedient, that it be ministered upoun the Sunday, or upoun the day of prayeris, onlie after the sermon; partlie to remove this gross errour by the which

non solum Sanctorum imagines abjecerint, sed etiam sanctissimorum Patrum volumina incendio tradiderint, ita ut nec oecumenicis Conciliis nec traditionibus Apostolicis ullus relictus sit locus: sola sacra Scriptura apud ipsos valet, quam suo arbitratu pervertunt, et in sensum alienissimum trahunt contra dogmata Ecclesiae. Illi vero quos superintendentes appellant visitant quidem diligenter ecclesias, quas vi et tyrannide, exclusis legitimis Pastoribus, occupant, [19] sed ita, ut non solum miserum populum iam seductum in impia doctrina confirment, sed plerosque alios, etiam sacerdotes a vera Religione abducant. Non procul ab eo loco, ubi eram hospitio exceptus, tres sacerdotes uno die orthodoxae Religioni abrenuntiarunt publice, cum illic adessem. Ex his superintendentibus (ut vocant) unus,[1] et quidem primarius inter ipsos Theologiae doctor, Monachus, septuaginta plus minus annos natus, publice duxit uxorem, cum illic essem, ut videlicet non tantum verbis, sed etiam exemplis confirment suam doctrinam, quam passim e suggestu vociferantur contra votum castitatis. Miris praeterea technis isti miserum populum conantur seducere. [20] Illi autem qui magistratum gerunt, sic suo funguntur officio, ut etiam in caussis forensibus interrogent homines, num sint catholici seu papistae (ut ipsi loquuntur), an vero de ipsorum congregatione sint. Et si intellexerint, eos catholicos esse, eorum caussa vel prorsus negligitur, vel tarde admodum expeditur. [21] Porro Regni proceres suam quidem Reginam agnoscere videntur, sed ita ut ipsi suo uti jure non permittant. Variis enim modis illam oppugnant et in suam sententiam pertrahere nituntur; cui etiam multa licet falsa persuadentur, ac subinde minis Anglorum deterrent; praesertim si quid tentare seu agere velit pro fidei defensione, persuadent, Anglos denuo

many deceaved think that children be damned yf thay die without Baptisme: and partlie to mak the people assist the administratioun of that sacrament with greater reverence than thei do.'—*The Buke of Discipline*, § ix.; Laing's *Knox*, ii. 239.

[1] This description seems to tally with that given of John Winram, Superintendent of Fife, in Hew Scott's *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae* (1866), vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 831. He had 'belonged to the Augustinian Monastery of St. Andrews,' and was 'a Doctor of Theology before 1551.' 'He married, prior to 17 July 1564, Margaret Stewart, relict of —— Ayton of Kinaldy,' and 'died 28 September 1582, aged 90,' so that he would have been seventy when de Gouda wrote. For the rest Dr. Scott does not give a favourable picture of the man, and doubts 'if he was not actuated by a sordid and selfish spirit as much as by a love of truth.'

Scotiam invasuros, quemadmodum abhinc triennio factum est, cum mater ejus piae memoriae per Gallos, quos ad se vocaverat, haereticos exturbare vellet. Quid hic quaeso agat pia domina juvencula, in deliciis enutrita et vix annos viginti nata, et sola, destituta omni praesidio humano et consilio bono, adeo ut etiam eius confessarius,[1] paulo antequam inde discederem, eam reliquerit et in Franciam redierit cum aliquot domesticis Reginae catholicis, ac nunc paene sola sit relicta in medio haereticorum, quorum conatibus tamen pro viribus resistit, quantum potest. Sed quantis in periculis pia domina versetur, quivis facile potest intelligere. Interim proceres Regni nimium abutentes suae Reginae bonitate et clementia, agunt quod volunt, curiose observantes, ne quis ad Reginam accedat, quin caussam inquirant, si res sint alicuius momenti, nisi secreto admodum fiat, ut nobis usu venit.

[22] Et horum quidem studia ac impios conatus vident Episcopi, qui bona ex parte sunt catholici. Sed eo nunc res rediit, ut si maxime velint, non possint istorum impietati resistere. Quod unius Dunkeldensis Episcopi exemplum satis declarat. Is enim cum circa festum Paschae proxime praeteritum, sacramenta Ecclesiae more Catholico administrare ac populum suum per Catholicum concionatorem docere vellet, tam graviter est apud Reginam accusatus tamquam publici decreti violator, ut ab incepto etiam jussu Reginae coactus sit

[1] On 11 August 1562, Monsieur Pinguillion, with seventeen other persons, started from Scotland to return to France. Randolph sent a list of their names to Cecil, which is now at the Record Office (*Scotland*, vii. 71). Opposite the name of 'Monsieur Benedicti' Randolph has written '[Doctor] of Sorbonne,' words which have been clipped in the binding. For his own sake, as well as for his connection with Mary, a word or two must be added about the remarkable future that was still before M. René Benoist. As Randolph rightly said, he was already a Doctor of the Sorbonne, and before graduating there had taken a degree at Anger, and had passed some time as a curé in the country. In Scotland his short stay had been an active one. His literary work during this period has been accurately described by J. K. Hewison in his Introduction to Winzet's *Tractates*, etc. (*Scottish Text Society*, 1888, p. xxxiii, etc.) After his return to France he became one of the most popular priests in Paris, and was commonly called *Le Pape des Halles*. King Henry III. at one time made him *Lecteur Royal en Théologie*, but he resigned the post in order to devote himself more fully to his parish, and succeeded all through the excitement of the wars of La Ligue in maintaining the reputation of a sympathiser with both sides, and this, in time, brought him the opportunity of doing the great work of his life. On 11 June,

desistere; publico enim decreto,[1] quod nescio quo astu in ipso paene ingressu Reginae in Regnum ediderunt illi proceres, est sancitum et uno jam anno confirmatum, ut nihil mutaretur in Religione, sed omnia in eo statu permanerent, usque ad publicam parlamenti congregationem, quo fuerunt, cum Regina rediit. Itaque silent Episcopi et sibi vivunt, ut taceam plerosque iis praesidiis destitutos esse, quibus valeant hostibus resistere et stare in die praelii, [23] praeter unum Episcopi Dumblanensis coadiutorem, cuius et supra memini. Is enim, etsi tantum sit coadiutor institutus, vivo adhuc suo Episcopo, virum tamen se praebet insignem, tum in publicis concionibus, tum privatis exhortationibus, quibus multos in fide confirmat, ac omnino se talem exhibet, uti ab omnibus bonis iure ametur atque praedicetur. Sunt praeter hunc et alii quidam Catholici concionatores, sed rari admodum, et ii fere tales, qui articulos nunc controversos vel non audeant attingere vel commode non possint explicare. Sunt et nonnulli religiosi, sed pauci admodum, et hi vel incertis vagantur sedibus, vel apud suos amicos se continent in habitu seculari. Sunt etiam nonnulli sacerdotes, sed tales, ut a laicis non facile discernas externo habitu. Sunt praeterea nobiles quidam et divites Catholici, qui subinde missam audiunt, sed clam et privatim domi suae, ita ut nulla sit illis libertas publice profitendi ea, quae verae et orthodoxae sunt Religionis, nisi se suaque omnia extremo

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1593, Henry IV. sent to summon him to his camp, and though he at first hesitated to approach the relapsed and excommunicated Huguenot, he nevertheless obeyed the second summons, and soon received back the king into the Catholic Church. No one who is conversant with the history of Christianity can doubt that this conversion was one of the great turning-points in the religious history of the world.

He lived on till the 7th of March 1608, having reached his eighty-eighth year. His royal convert had desired to promote him to a bishopric, but the Pope would not consent, partly perhaps in displeasure at the precipitancy with which he had acted in reconciling Henry, but more probably because of his edition of an annotated Bible in French, the text of which he had borrowed from a Calvinistic version. His other publications are extremely numerous, reaching a total of one hundred and fifty, but many of them appear to be editions of single sermons.—Niceron, *Mémoires* (1740), xli. 1-49.

[1] The proclamation to maintain religion in the state it was at her return, 'quhill the States of hir realme may be assemblit, and that hir Majestie have takin finall ordour,' was dated 25 August 1561.—*Registers of Privy Council*, p. 266; Keith, iii. 40; Laing's *Knox*, ii. 272.

periculo velint exponere. Quod autem ad ipsum vulgus et communem populum attinet, sunt equidem multi admodum catholici, sed mira servitute premuntur ab adversariis, quamobrem saepenumero suspirant ac ingemiscunt expectantes redemptionem Israel; qui et magna spe aluntur se tandem aliquando liberatos iri, dum vident suam Reginam adeo constantem in fide Catholica et orthodoxae Religioni tam pie faventem. Illi vero, qui e populo fallaciis haereticorum seducti sunt, paulatim intelligunt, se vana spe lactatos et falsa libertatis promissione deceptos esse, ita ut bona sit spes, universum populum haud difficile reduci posse ad catholicam fidem; ceterum qua ratione, mox dicam, si prius ex bonorum et Catholicorum sententia indicavero, quae sit tantorum malorum quae supra attigimus caussa. [24] Ea autem haec est, nempe quod sublata sit electio ordinaria in collatione abbatiarum et similium dignitatum; quod beneficia ecclesiastica passim conferantur vel pueris vel prorsus indignis, quibus nihil minus cordi est, quam honor Dei vel officium Ecclesiae; quod unus et idem multa possidet beneficia etiam sub eodem tecto. Cuiusdam enim praelati filius in ecclesia sui patris archidiaconus est et bis canonicus. Accedit impura nimis et scandalosa sacerdotum et clericorum vita; denique crassa nimis negligentia praelatorum, qui eo nunc miseriae redacti sunt, ut, si maxime velint, non possint ea quae sui sunt muneris exequi; tantus est haereticorum furor et audacia. Nolo hic recensere horum praelatorum vitam et exempla et quos sibi deligant successores: profecto tales, ut non sit mirum, lupos gregem Domini invadere sub talibus Pastoribus ac omnia devastare.

[25] Sed his omissis, dicam paucis, ex bonorum virorum sententia, qua ratione Regnum illud juvari possit ac veteri Religioni restitui.

Ac primo quidem necessarium esse iudicant, ut Regina catholico et potenti nubat marito, qui sua authoritate et potentia fidei hostes coerceat, cum nullis rationibus seu argumentis se flecti patiantur. Deinde curandum, ut Regina Catholicos et prudentes habeat consiliarios. Praeterea ut instituantur veri Episcopi et praelati, quibus officium Ecclesiae et salus populi sit cordi. Mittantur etiam viri graves cum potestate et authoritate a Sede Apostolica, qui de vita praelatorum et pastorum

inquirant eosque reforment vel etiam, si opus sit, ab officio removeant. Instituatur denique Collegium aliquod, in quo ad manum sint viri docti et pii, qui et populum et juventutem, Reipublicae seminarium, catholice et pie doceant. Hoc quoque existimant curandum esse per Philippum Regem Hispaniarum, ne quid moliantur Angli adversus Scotiae Reginam. Nam hoc solo metu eam deterrent eius Consiliarii ac Regni priores haeretici, ne se haereticorum congregationi opponat aut ea quae orthodoxae Religionis sunt promoveat, quamquam illi religio maxime sit cordi, sed ut ante dixi, sancta animi sui desideria perficere non potest, eo quod sola sit et omni paene humano praesidio destituta. Quod si adesset, non dubium, quin hoc regnum mox restitueretur orthodoxae fidei,[1] cum plurimi sint in eo Catholici non tantum plebeij, sed etiam nobiles ac potentes nec adeo multi sint aut potentes adversarii; qui etiam sibi non parum timent a Catholico ac potenti Principe, ac fere vident suum Regnum in tanto furore et impietate diu subsistere non posse.

[26] Sed finem faciam, si prius indicavero, quid passi sint parentes D. Edmundi, deinde quo pacto inde simus reversi in Flandriam.

Tanta igitur minati sunt adversarii tum ipsi Edmundo, quod eo nos duxisset, tum eius parentibus, quod nos hospitio excepissent, ut coactus sim ad Reginam scribere eamque rogare, ne facile credat calumniis et mendaciis, si quae ad illam contra parentes Edmundi deferrentur. Quid vero nobis sint minati, longum esset dicere. Hoc tantum referam, quod a viris fide dignis audivi, omnes paene portus fuisse obsessos, ne illaesi

[1] These words may be compared with Randolph's, who views the situation from the contrary standpoint:

'Ther is no thinge more assured but that the contynuance of thys masse, the slacknes of punishment of offenders daylie against suche ordinances as are made for the suppressinge of papystrie, shalbe an entrye to bring in agayne as myche wickednes as ever was usede. Thys is ofte spoken, thys is maynie tymes called upon; the Godlye notwithstandinge goe to wrache, the meschevous stande and prevaile in dispyte of God and his Worde.'—Randolph to Cecil, 3 December, 1562, J. Stevenson, *Selections*, Maitland Club, 1837, p. 108. This was after the fall of Huntly at Corrichie. In July Knox thought the recovery of Catholicism such that he significantly threatened, 'that the godlie mon begyn whair thai left . . . albeit that nothing be more odiouse to thame then tumultis and domesticall discord.'—Laing's *Knox*, ii. 342.

cum literis discederemus, ita ut magna arte et industria sint usi M. Edmundus et eius cognatus, M. Guilielmus (qui ambo se societati iam adiunxerunt) ut tuto illinc discederemus. Itaque me tamquam nautam vestiunt, et cum nauta sic paciscuntur, ut aliquot miliaribus a portu per scapham in mari navim conscenderemus atque ab Edmundo separaremur. Itaque mansit illic ad tempus dux nostri itineris M. Edmundus, tum ut nos tutius discederemus, tum ut praedam haud poenitendam aliquot juvenum quam venatus erat, colligeret ac secum adduceret, ut apud nos catholice instituantur. Ne tamen soli veniremus, eius cognatus, M. Guilielmus, se comitem ac ducem praebet in reditu, tantamque nobis charitatem ostendit, ut difficile sit explicare. [27] Itaque paratis omnibus, duce Christo e Scotia solvimus, navim flandricam ingredimur 3 Septembris, ac 13 eiusdem mensis venimus Antwerpiam salvi et incolumes Dei gratia. Inde mox properantes Lovanium venimus eodem die, ubi non invento P. Provinciali mox concessimus Coloniam atque inde Moguntiam, ubi inventis Patribus Reverendo Patre Natale et Patre provinciali non parum in Domino recreati sumus.

Et hactenus de nostra in Scotiam profectione et reditu quaedam diximus. Sunt alia particularia, quae verbis commodius quam literis explicari possunt; quae et ipse M. Edmundus et M. Guilielmus, quos in dies expecto, plenius referre poterunt.

De cetero Christum Optimum Maximum precor, ut quod per supremum suum in terris Vicarium coepit in Regina eiusque Regno consolando, per eundem Pontificem perficiat ad sanctissimum nominis sui honorem suique populi salutem. Idem pientissimus Jesus R. P. V. nobis et Ecclesiae suae diu servet incolumem. Vale.

Moguntiae pridie Kalendas Octobris 1562.

R. P. V. filius indignus, NICOLAUS GOUDANUS.

[*Addressed*] Admodum R^do^ in Christo Patri M. Jacobo Laynez praeposito Generali Societatis Jesu, Tridenti.

[FATHER DE GOUDA to FATHER LAYNEZ. 30 *September* 1562.

[1] VERY Reverend Father in Christ. Pax Christi.

While I was in Holland at Easter-tide I received, on Tuesday in Holy

Week [March 24] a letter from Father Everard [Mercurian], the Provincial, calling me to Louvain. On my arrival he showed me a letter from the Reverend Father Salmeron, the vicar-general, along with an apostolic brief and a letter from Cardinal Amulio, enjoining me to proceed to Scotland to deliver to the queen, the bishops, and to some of the chief men of that realm the apostolic letters which had been sent me. I did not set off at once, but waited till June, for reasons already explained more than once in my letters, and in those of the Reverend Father Provincial addressed to the cardinal and to the Father Vicar-General, so that it would be waste of time to repeat them here. I will therefore now confine myself to the particulars of my mission, and my transactions with the persons to whom I was accredited; finally, I shall add a few words about their state and that of the whole kingdom. From all which you will easily understand amongst other things why I could not write sooner either to the cardinal or to yourself to report my proceedings.

[2] In the first place, then, by a singular favour of God, who sweetly disposes all things, while I was preparing to start from Louvain, I felt a wonderful increase in my strength, beyond what I or any other expected. Next, a Scottish priest, named Edmund [Hay], a bachelor of theology, presented himself, and offered to accompany and guide me all the way to Scotland. Nor was this all, for with marvellous charity and zeal he remained with me all the time I was there. Indeed, I should not have been able to accomplish what I came for had I not had his aid or its equivalent. Guided by this man, as by the angel Raphael, we first reached Zealand on the tenth of June, where, through God's good providence, we found directly a Scottish vessel, which was weighing anchor at the very moment we arrived. Thus the Scottish heretics on shore and on board, though somewhat suspicious, had no time to ask many questions or stay our journey, as they would certainly have done, had they but known the cause of our going.

[3] Christ thus leading us onward we got aboard, and put to sea with a favourable breeze that same tenth of June. Next day, however, so great a storm arose, that we were nearly swamped, but such was the goodness of the Lord Jesus in our regard, that, moved by the prayers of your reverence, and those of the Society, He freed us from danger, and brought us safe and sound to Scotland within the space of nine days. The day before we disembarked the heretical Scots, of whom there were many on board, began to grow very suspicious, and curiously to question Master Edmund who we were, and on what errand we had come. He answered curtly, 'What are they to me? They are of age, let them answer for themselves.' And so we passed undiscovered.

[4] On reaching land, Master Edmund took us privately to a house in the harbour town,[n] belonging to a kinswoman of his. Here, almost at the same hour and very opportunely, the Lord Jesus sent us a certain faithful servant of the queen, Master Stephen,[n] a Scotsman, through whom I immediately sent word to her Majesty of my arrival, and inquired where

I could see her, and in what dress, whether as a cleric or as a traveller; but I had to wait there a whole month or more for a definite answer. The queen, as so happened, was hindered all that while by various occupations,[n] but for me the delay seems to have occurred by a Divine dispensation, as I had time to recover from a pain in my feet, which had troubled me many days, and an accidental injury to one of my shins due to the violence of the storm on board ship. Meanwhile, I did my best to procure an audience, partly by letters, partly by messengers, but principally by Master Edmund, who saw her in person, and obtained her leave for an interview. They discussed the manner in which the conference should be conducted; as it appeared out of the question to have the Pontiff's letter read, or any of the messages commended to me delivered in public before the council,[n] which consists entirely of heretics and deadly enemies of the Apostolic See, the queen resolved to treat with me in private. For this purpose she commanded Master Edmund and Master Stephen to bring me secretly to Edinburgh, the capital of the kingdom, which she expected to reach in a few days.

[5] Meanwhile, the arrival of a nuncio from the Supreme Pontiff had been bruited all over the kingdom, throwing the heretics and the congregation into confusion and indignation. So much so that their leader, and most famous preacher in the royal city, John Knox, a Scot by birth, raged wonderfully in almost every sermon against the Pope as antichrist, and against me whom he called an emissary of Satan, and a nuncio of Baal and Beelzebub. He strove to stir the whole populace and the chief men of the realm, who solemnly attend all his sermons in great numbers, and to excite them, not against me only, but against the queen as well, for admitting such a man as myself into her realm, and giving audience to those who were bent on corrupting the pure Gospel, the light of which had now at length dawned upon them. We were consequently often threatened with extremities, and could not now with safety be seen abroad. On this account Master Edmund took us to his parents' house [at Megginch].[n] They welcomed us most kindly, and concealed us for nearly two months. When at last we were to go to the queen, they sent three horsemen to bring us safely to Edinburgh, lest we should be surprised or attacked on the road, as there was some reason to fear.[n]

[6] When we had reached the city and dismissed our guard, we proceeded under the guidance of Master Stephen, but not without risk, across the fields and along the town walls, to the residence of the queen's almoner. Not long before he had not a little scrupled to receive me for fear of the heretics, but he now admitted us out of respect for the queen and the Pope, and immediately announced our arrival to her Majesty. To keep everything secret she sent us word to come to the palace next day, July 24, the Vigil of St. James, in the almoner's company, to a private chamber, at an hour when the aforesaid heretical courtiers were at the sermon, so that no one should know of our interview. I was admitted first by myself, and having respectfully saluted the queen in

the name of the Pope, I briefly stated the object of my mission, and delivered his Holiness' letter. She said she understood my Latin, but could not so easily reply to everything in that language. I asked if I might call in my colleague, Master John Rivat, a Frenchman, and Master Edmund, a Scot, who were waiting in readiness outside the door, and who would interpret all her proposals faithfully. She agreed, and they immediately came in. The queen turned at once to Master Edmund as to a subject of her own, whom she had met before, and began her response in the Scottish tongue. The following is a summary of it.

[7] She began by excusing herself for not receiving the Pope's nuncio in another way and with greater honour, which she said was owing to the disturbed state of the kingdom. Having read the apostolic brief, she answered that she hoped the Supreme Pontiff would have regard to her ready will rather than to anything she had actually done since her return, and much wished that his Holiness knew what the troubles were in which she found her kingdom. To save a spark of the old faith, and the germs of future Catholicism, to wit, herself and the others who even now adhered to the orthodox religion, she had been obliged unwillingly and perforce to bear many things, which she would not otherwise have borne. The Pope exhorted her in defending the faith to follow the example of Queen Mary of England, now departed in Christ; but the position, and that of the kingdom and of the nobility, of the English queen were very different from hers. To the request that some of her subjects should be sent to the Council of Trent, her reply was, that she would consult with her bishops, to see how it could be done, but under present circumstances with little hope of success. For herself, she would rather die at once than abandon her faith.

[8] Such was her first reply to the main subject of my negotiations, and to the papal brief. I noticed her anxiety about the time, and her fear lest the courtiers should come back from the sermon, and so made no farther proposals about religion for the moment, but mentioned the subject of the papal letters addressed to the bishops, asking advice, as it were, how these could best be delivered. Would she send for some of them and give the letters to them herself, or should I visit each in turn? She said that my delivering them was out of the question, adding, after a moment, that it could not be done without causing disturbance, for she feared their delivery would be a sign for a revolution. I said my orders were to deliver them, but she again replied that it was impossible, except perhaps in the case of one bishop. She alluded to the Bishop of Ross, the president of the council, or of the Parliament, who was then in town. The queen herself sent her secretary to him the same day, requesting him to confer with me, and his answer may be more conveniently related further on.

[9] My next proposal was to ask her approval for an interview with her brother, the Lord James, Earl of Mar (who albeit illegitimate, governs almost everything in the realm), as I wanted to lay before him

the object of my embassy, lest he should suspect me of any designs against himself or against any of the great nobles. She said she would inquire whether he would admit me to an interview; but I heard no more of it, and learnt afterwards that it would never have done for me to have met him, they are [all] so prejudiced and embittered against the Pope. I then asked for a safe conduct, or security for such time only as I remained in the kingdom. She answered that she thought no one would do me any injury in public, while as for the secret attempts of miscreants she could not hinder them even by the law. 'If I did give you one,' she added, 'I should rather be betraying you, and greater danger would threaten you when known. You are safer unknown. Wherefore do not go abroad, but keep in some secret chamber.'

[10] Lastly, I said that I had been anxious to treat with her, had time allowed, on the best means of succouring her people, now so miserably led astray; but as it did not permit further discussion, for it was necessary she should dismiss us before the return of the courtiers, that is her brother and his followers, from the sermon, I said in brief that the most easy and fitting method was that followed by the emperor and most of the Catholic princes, secular and ecclesiastical, including her uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine,[n] namely, to establish a college where she could always have pious and learned men at hand, who might instruct in Catholicism and piety both the people and the young who were the hope of the commonwealth. She replied, in one word, that this might come in due time, but was impracticable just then, and so dismissed us.

[11] A little later that same day she sent her secretary[n] to me to ask what the points were which I still wished to set before her. I said there were two principal ones, which I then told the secretary verbally, and afterwards set them forth more fully in a letter to the queen. One was, that before I came to Scotland, I had meant to strengthen her adhesion to the true and orthodox religion, by various reasonings, examples, and testimonies taken from the Scriptures; but that, since I had been in Scotland, I had heard so many things on such good authority of her exceptional piety and constancy in the faith that I thought the attempt superfluous. Instead of this I prayed her to reflect on the great benefits (and these I set down in writing) which her perseverance in the faith would occasion, and to rejoice at so singular a gift of grace given her by God, and to persevere therein. The second point, I said, was this. I should have liked to explain at greater length the benevolent feelings of Pope Pius towards her, his good-will and singular affection both for her and for the whole kingdom of Scotland, as well as his very loving endeavours to promote its peace, tranquillity, and good estate, as he did that of all Christendom, and the whole Church Catholic, whose faith, unity, peace, and safety he strove to preserve and promote, as became a true pastor of the Church, who is also the Supreme Vicar of Christ on earth.

[12] After this she sent the secretary once more to ask for the Pontiff's letters addressed to the bishops, promising to have them duly delivered.

I gave them to him on condition that she should inform the Pope, in her reply, that she had undertaken the responsibility for the letters, and that I could not have delivered them myself. This she willingly did, and gave me[a] her letter to the Pontiff to read unsealed; and when it had been read by Master Hay and Master John, my colleague, she signed and closed it. This, reverend father, is in brief the history of my dealings with the queen. I will now relate summarily what occurred in my negotiations with the bishops and with some peers of that realm.

[13] The queen, as I have previously stated, sent her secretary to the Bishop of Ross, requesting him to treat with me. The bishop answered that he would come in person to the queen, and treat with her on the subject. He went that day directly after dinner, and told her he could not possibly venture upon seeing me. 'At whatever time or place, or in whatever dress, the Pope's nuncio should come to me and I should deal with him, I am sure that my house would be sacked within twenty-four hours, and I should expose myself and all mine to the greatest peril.' When this was communicated to me by the queen's almoner I endeavoured to explain to him by letter why I had been sent to him, and begged him to write to me, or better still, to the Pope. Receiving no answer, I wrote again, and sent my second letter by the hand of a Carthusian prior,[a] a good and learned man who was living there in secular dress, petitioning the queen for the restoration of some portion at least of the goods of his monastery, which the heretics had plundered. By this prior then I sent letters to the bishop once more, but he on receiving them answered, 'I do not thank you at all.' When the prior urged him to reply to my letter, or better still, to write to the Pope, he answered, 'What shall I do? I durst not write. No one would convey the letter and what would happen if it fell into the hands of the heretics? The nuncio will never get away from the country without his letters being opened and read.' So he desired the prior to offer his excuses, alleging that the administration of justice and some other occupations prevented his writing to me. So much for him.

[14] There was another prelate in the same city at that time, the Bishop of Dunblane, a kinsman of whose, now his bishop coadjutor, named William Chisholm, wished to join our Society at Rome. I had not yet approached this prelate when I tried to obtain an interview with the Bishop of Ross, but about a week later he left for his episcopal city, and thinking there could be no danger in his seeing me there, I asked one of his relatives to take me to him, as it was about a day's journey. When I got there I completely changed my dress, disguising myself as one of his own servants, so that no one could have suspected me of being the Pope's nuncio, and yet he dared not admit me to a conference for the same reasons which had made the Bishop of Ross refuse.

[15] As one might surely hope for something from these two bishops more than from the rest, I began to see from them what would happen if I endeavoured to visit the others. For though the queen had told me

that I could not deliver the apostolic briefs, and other good Catholics were of the same opinion, still I should have tried to visit them at least in secret, and treat with them personally about the object of my mission. As this might not be, I endeavoured by letter to inform them of that for which I had come. I therefore wrote to the rest of the bishops, though not quite to all, seeing that two of them are heretics, and that two[n] sees, Galloway and Brechin, are vacant, though bishops have been designated for them. Two out of the number replied, viz. the Archbishop of St. Andrews, who wrote to me, and the Bishop of Dunkeld, who wrote to the Pope as well. These letters I send herewith to your paternity.

[16] Among all the bishops, the last named was the only one who dared to admit me to speak to him, and this only on the condition that I should pass myself off as a certain banker's clerk, come to request payment of a debt. This was to prevent even his servants finding out who I was, yet he now resides in a certain island, at a considerable distance from others. He entertained me at dinner, but on condition that we talked of nothing except money matters all dinner time.[o] Your reverence will be at no loss to gather from these particulars how little could be done for the cause of religion by negotiation with these good men. So much then for the bishops.

[17] As regards the nobles and the queen's councillors, your reverence must know that she has not a single Catholic adviser. Nearly all public business is transacted by heretics, both at court and throughout the kingdom. Many lords and earls are Catholics, but the violence and tyranny of the heretics is such, that these noblemen keep away from court, and from any share in the administration. When I asked to whom I had best forward the apostolic briefs, three were specially commended, and to them I sent briefs by a safe hand, as I could not go myself. With them I sent letters which I had written, to set forth the benevolent mind of the Pope towards them and the whole realm of Scotland, and I now await the answers which Master Edmund is to bring.

[18] The above is a brief narrative of my negotiations with the queen, the bishops, and some of the nobility. I now add a few words on the position of these persons and of the rest of the kingdom, especially in regard to religion. The aspect of things from this point of view would excite any one's pity. The monasteries are nearly all dissolved[p]; some completely destroyed; churches and altars are overthrown; all things holy profaned; the images of Christ and of the saints are broken and cast down. No religious rite is celebrated in any part of the kingdom; no Mass ever said in public, except in the queen's chapel, and none of the sacraments are publicly administered with Catholic ceremonial. Not a baby may be baptized except according to the custom of the heretics, and that at the time they prescribe, viz. on Sundays, so that many infants die unbaptized.[q] The ministers, as they call them, are either apostate monks, or laymen of low rank, and are quite unlearned, being tailors, shoemakers, tanners, or the like, who in every sermon rage with revolt-

ing temerity against the Pope, and the most holy sacrifice of the Mass, the invocation of saints, and the veneration of images. The Mass, they call idolatry, and they cease not teaching the simple, uncultured people these and other impious dogmas of a like nature, which it were over long to repeat here. Such is the insane fury of these men that they have not only cast away the images of the saints, but also burnt the writings of the holy fathers of the Church, so that no standing ground is left for the general councils and apostolic tradition. They reverence nothing but Holy Scripture, and this they pervert according to their private judgments, and wrest into a sense as opposite as possible to the teaching of the Church. They have superintendents, who diligently visit the churches, which they seize with unrestrained violence, and eject the legitimate pastors.

[19] Thus they not only confirm in their errors the poor people who have already lost the faith, but they draw away from the Church almost all the rest, and even priests, from the true religion. One day, and close to the place where I was then lodged, three priests publicly abjured the Catholic faith. At another time while I was there, one of these superintendents, a leading man amongst them, a doctor of theology and a monk, then about seventy years of age, was openly married. This was done to enforce by example, as he had often done by word, their doctrine of the unlawfulness of the vow of chastity, which they are perpetually trumpeting from the pulpit. They also use wonderful cunning in their attempts to lead the poor people astray.

[20] As for the magistrates, they so abuse their office, that even in judicial proceedings they ask the parties if they are Catholics, or 'Papists,' as they say, or whether they belong to their congregation. Should they find them to be Catholics, their cause is either entirely neglected or very tardily expedited.

[21] The leading men in the government acknowledge the queen's title, but do not let her use her rights. They have many ways of acting in opposition to her, and they set themselves to draw her over to their way of thinking. They often impose upon her with falsehoods, and sometimes influence her with threats of an English invasion, especially when she would attempt to execute any measure in support of her faith, reminding her that the English did really invade Scotland three years ago, at the time when her mother, of pious memory, tried to expel the heretics by means of the French, whom she had called in. What, I would here ask, should a young lady do in such circumstances? She is devout, has been nurtured in princely luxury, and numbers scarce twenty years of age. She is alone, and has not a single protector or good counsellor. Her very confessor[n] left her just before I went away, and returned to France with some of her Catholic attendants, and she now remains almost alone among heretics, whose machinations, nevertheless, she continues to counteract to the best of her power. There is no mistaking the imminent peril of this good lady's situation. In the mean time, the men

of power are taking unfair advantage of her gentleness, and do what they like. They keep a strict watch to prevent any access to the queen, except about unimportant matters, unless the reason is told them. Otherwise the closest secrecy must be used, as we had to do.

[22] The bishops indeed perceive the unholy aims and endeavours of these men, but, Catholics though they be for the most part, things have now gone so far that they can do nothing against the heretics, however much they may desire it. The Bishop of Dunkeld is a case in point. Last Easter he desired to administer the sacraments according to the Catholic rite, and that a Catholic preacher should teach his people. Thereupon he was so vehemently impeached before the queen for offending the public decree, that he was compelled to desist by the queen's command; for when she first came to Scotland, those lords by some cunning put forth a public proclamation,[n] which has now been in force for a year, that she would sanction no change in matters of religion until the assembling of Parliament, and that till then all was to remain in the state it was at the time of her arrival. The bishops therefore are silent and live but for themselves. I say nothing of most of them being destitute of the resisting powers requisite for meeting the foe and standing firm in the day of battle.

[23] The only exception is the coadjutor Bishop of Dunblane, whom I have already mentioned. Though but a coadjutor while his bishop lives, he has nevertheless shown himself a man of mark both in public speech and in private exhortation, and has confirmed many in the faith, and shows himself altogether a man whom all good men can justly love and be proud of. There are some Catholic preachers, but they are few in number, and such as venture not to moot the questions which are now controverted, or are unable to explain them fittingly. Some monks too there are, but very few, and they either wander about without any fixed abode, or wear secular clothes and live among their friends. There are some priests also, but one would hardly distinguish them from laymen by their dress and appearance. Some of the nobles and men of means are also Catholics. They hear Mass occasionally, but secretly, in the privacy of their own houses, so that they too are not free to make public profession of the true orthodox religion unless they want to risk exposing themselves and all their belongings to extreme danger. A large number of the ordinary common people indeed are still Catholics, but they are so oppressed by the tyranny of their opponents that they constantly sigh and groan, waiting for the deliverance of Israel. Yet, when they see their sovereign's firmness in the Catholic faith, and pious zeal for the orthodox religion, they are sustained by a strong hope that one day or other they will be set free. Those of the common people who have been led astray by the heretics are gradually perceiving that they have been fed on false hopes, and ensnared with hollow promises of liberty. In fine, one may well entertain the hope that it might be easy to bring the whole people back to the Catholic faith. I will immediately explain

how this might be done, but must first indicate what good Catholics think is the cause of the great misfortunes mentioned above.

[24] Their opinion is that they are owing to the suspension of the ordinary election in conferring abbacies and other dignities. Benefices are constantly bestowed on children, and on absolutely unworthy persons, who care for nothing so little as for God's honour and the service of the Church. One and the same person holds many benefices, sometimes even in the same church. For instance, the son of one prelate has been appointed to the archdeaconry and two canonries in his father's church. The second cause is the lives of priests and clerics, which are extremely licentious and scandalous; and a third cause is the absolutely supine negligence of the bishops, who are now reduced to such misery that they cannot venture to discharge their duties, however much they may desire it, on account of the fury and audacity of the heretics. I will not describe the way in which these prelates live, the example they set, or the sort of men they choose as their successors. It is no wonder that, with such shepherds, the wolves invade the flock of the Lord, and ruin all.

[25] Leaving this subject, I will briefly explain how, in the opinion of good men, that kingdom might be relieved and restored to the old religion.

First, they think it is absolutely necessary that the queen should marry a strong Catholic prince—one powerful enough to restrain by his authority and power the enemies of the faith, who will not let themselves be moved by any reason or argument.

Secondly, care must be taken that the queen may have Catholics and prudent men as councillors.

Thirdly, that men be instituted as bishops and prelates who will be truly such, who will care for the office of the Church and the salvation of their people. Moreover, the Apostolic See should send men of weight, invested with power and authority to examine into the lives of prelates and pastors, to reform them, or, if necessary, to remove them from office.

Fourthly, some college should be established where good and learned men would be ready to give pious and Catholic instruction to the people and to the young, who are the hope of the commonwealth.

Finally, they think that, through King Philip of Spain, precautions should be taken to prevent English enterprises against the Queen of Scotland. By this one threat, her councillors and the leading nobles of the kingdom, who are heretics, frighten her from acting in opposition to the congregation of the heretics or promoting the interests of the orthodox religion. Although religion is most dear to her, yet, as I said before, she cannot execute the holy desires of her heart, because she is alone and is well-nigh destitute of human aid. If she were supported, without a doubt this kingdom would soon be restored to the orthodox faith, as there are still large numbers of Catholics, not only among the people, but even amongst the nobility and men of power; whereas our

adversaries are not so very numerous, nor so very strong. They greatly fear a powerful Catholic prince, and can hardly help seeing that their rule, maintained with so much fanaticism and impiety, cannot last for long.

[26] The trouble undergone on our account by Master Edmund's parents and the history of our return to Flanders must now be noticed, and then I will conclude. Such bitter threats were uttered against Master Edmund for bringing us to Scotland, and against his parents for receiving us into their house, that I was obliged to write to the queen entreating her not to give easy credence to lies and calumnies which might reach her against them. As to the threats uttered against myself, it would take long to recount them. I will only mention that I was credibly informed that almost all the ports were watched to prevent my escaping in safety with my letters, and it was only by the great skill and industry of Master Edmund and his kinsman, Master William (who have both now joined the Society), that we departed thence in safety. They dressed me as a sailor, and bargained with the seamen that we should be taken on board from a boat some miles out from the port, and separate ourselves from Master Edmund. Thus the guide of our voyage stayed behind for a while, thereby to ensure our getting off in safety, and to gather together and bring with him a band of young men whom he had collected together to be educated as Catholics in these countries, no contemptible result of our foray into Scotland. His kinsman, Master William, however, accompanied us as our guide on our return, and showed us so much charity that I can hardly describe it.

[27] Everything then being prepared, with Christ as our leader, we left Scotland, and embarked on a Flemish vessel on the 3rd of September, and we reached Antwerp, safe and sound, by God's grace, on the 13th of the same month. We went on immediately that very day to Louvain, and not finding the Father Provincial there, proceeded straightway to Cologne, and thence to Mayence, where we met Father Nadal and the Father Provincial to our great contentment.

So much for our expedition to Scotland and return hence. Other particulars will be more easily communicated by word of mouth than by letter. These points Master Edmund and Master William, whom we daily expect, will be able to set before you more fully. For the rest, I pray Christ our Lord to complete the work He has begun through His Supreme Vicar on earth, for the consolation of the queen and her kingdom, by the hands of the same holy Pontiff, to the honour of His Holy Name and the salvation of His people. And may the same most loving Jesus long keep your reverend paternity in health for us and for His Church. Farewell.

Mayence, 30 September 1562.

Your reverend paternity's unworthy son, NICHOLAS DE GOUDA.

No. 39

LETTERS OF THOMAS RANDOLPH TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL RELATIVE TO DE GOUDA'S MISSION (Extracts)

Record Office, *Scotland*, vii. Nos. 57, 58, 61. Summaries have been printed in the *Foreign Calendar* for 1562, Nos. 256 § 1, 283 § 4, 402 § 1, and in Bain's *Scottish Calendar*, Nos. 1118, 1121, 1129. The letters are autograph.

I

[26 *June* 1562]

SINCE my laste letters unto your Honour, I receaved advertysement that the xviijth of this instant ther arrived at Dundie a legate from the pope unto thys Quene convoide into thys Countrie by Scottyshe Fryer of Lovaine. To the intente that the Quenes graces pleasure myght be knowne herein, and what sholde be done with hym, worde was broughte unto her, and that for the tyme he was secreatly keapte in a howse of the Sheryffe of Arrell, a feete hoste for suche a geste. Thys Quene at the fyrste heringe hereof, not consyderinge so farre as after she dyd with some conference had with the Erle of Mar, was purposed to have sent unto hym the l. Seton to have convoyed hym in suertie unto her, and to have lodged hym in some place in thys towne nere unto her. Thys purpose sone altered, though for the tyme ther was some contradiction, in so much that the Erle of Mar shewed howe lothe he wolde be to be noted to remayne in anye suche place whear anye suche person sholde be receaved, that might be occasion of the subversion of the whole State, and farther daynger to her graces person then all the force she had was hable to withstonde. In this matter somewhat more was said unto her grace as well of the Quenes Majestie my sovereigns liking, as also somewhat else that she might knowe in what present case she standeth both with her subiectes at home and neigbors abroode. Thys resolution is taken that he shall remayne whear he is untyll the Lords be assembled, which wylbe the xvth of the nexte monethe, and then as yt shalbe thoughte good he shall ether be sent for to the Courte or retorned backe agayne from whence he commethe. Of thys matter the Quene knowethe that I have byne made

previe, thoughe her grace never spake unto me of the matter, yet she dothe knowe by the l. of Mar, l. Ersken, and Justice Clerke my mislykinge that anye suche man sholde come and be receaved gratfully into her Countrie, whome I have good cawse to suspecte was brought in by some papystes to practyse myschief, or to hynder some good purposes intended to the weele of bothe the countries, as is nowe in handes betweene the two Princesses. And yf that, that sholde be, I could do no les for my dieutie to God and my obbedience unto my Sovereigne but to retyre myself untyll suche tyme as my mestress pleasure was farther knowne unto me. The matter therfore stondethe in that case above wrytten, and hereof I thought yt my deutie tadvertyse your Honour, and to desyer that yt wyll please you that I may knowe what shalbe my Sovereigns pleasure, yf thys Queen be so farre bente that agaynste thadvice of her counsell she wyll speake with hym her self, though little matter followe therof, as I knowe yt can be of no consequence that she can do with hym.

Whether thys mans commynge be to confirme her in her opinion, to move her not hastelye to imbrace the Amytie of Englande, or to sue in anye mans perticuler favour for mariage, your honour can better coniecture then I can thynke, and according unto your wysdom I do not dowte but I shall bothe receave your advice for myselfe and what also I may persuade unto other. . . .

At Sterlinge, the xxvith of June 1562.

2

[5 *July* 1562]

Of the noble Embassadeur that came from the pope I here nowe no more but that he is a Jesuite sente from the Cardinall of Ferrare to mayke an entrie unto some more honourable personage then hym self. He remaynethe style at the Shririffs howse of Arrell. The men of Edenbourge have no wyll of hym. He landed fyrste at leethe convoide by a Scottyshe man for a fryer that had lefte his frocke in Lovane, and fyndinge not hys abood ther commodious was convoide unto the other place.

At Sterlinge, the v^{te} of Julie 1562.

3

[1 *August* 1562]

May yt please your Honour, thoughe I wyll not at thys present tayke upon me to mayke relation of anye such matter as concernethe at thys tyme the negociation of Sir Henrie Sydeneye Lord President with thys Quene, knowinge howe myche better that he is hable to reporte all thyngs then I can wryte; yet I thoughte yt my deutie to mayke your Honour previe of some other occourantes that present occasion mynestrethe me tadvertyse your Honour of to thyntent that your Honour maye be ignorant of nothynge that I cane iudge worthe the reportinge. Yt hath been wrytten unto your Honour that there was arrived here a messenger (yf I thought hym worthie of greater honour I coulde be contente to terme him other wyse) from the pope, wheare he laye and how closely he was keapte. The myslykinge of hym amongeste the beste sorte of men was so great that bothe the Quene was in dowte openlye to receave hym and he also to gyve thadventeur to shewe hymself. For that cawse he keapte hymself quiet for a tyme, as thoughe ether lyttle accompte had byne made of hym, or that the wonder of any so strange a monster as a Jesuiste to be seen in Scotland myght be blowne over, which commenlye leafe as men say not above ix dayes. Upon thursday laste the xxiiijth of the laste monethe, he was very secretly convoide over the water to Edenbourge by the Larde of Kilsythe, and browghte unto a howse verie nere the Court, but keapte verie quietlye. The nexte day, whyle the Erle of Marre and other were at the Sermonde, he was convoide unto her secretlye, and so longe there contynued in purpose untyll the Erle of Marre retorned from the Sermonde, whoe came so sodenlye in, that he had almost taken them togyther. He was shyfted off for that tyme, but not so secreatly but ther rose some suspicion of hym. As I my self stondinge that daye with the L. of Lidington sawe so straynge a visage that he semed to be the self same man that before I did here subscribed [*i.e.* described]. Thys occasion mynisterde unto me sufficient matter to tawlke with the L. of Lidingeton of thys venerable prelate more at length. He declared unto me a great desyer

that his mestres had to speake with hym, and thoughte that she coulde do no lesse in honour then so. Yet bycawse she wolde not gyve occasion unto her subiects to conceave worce of her then her meaninge is, and bycawse that she wolde awoide the malicious reportes of dyvers that interpret all her doyngs to the worse, she determyned to speake with hym as secretly as she myghte. Theffecte of hys legation was to knowe whether she wolde sende unto the Generall Concell, and to perswade with her not to alienat her mynde by the perswacion of anye from that opinion she had conceaved in the religion of her Ancetors. Thys is onlye the iudgement of the L. of Lidingeton, and therfore I report yt not of anye assurance, for that I cane not thynke but that ther was more matter in yt then ether he or any Scottysh man yet knowethe. For I assure your Honour she kepethe well inoughe her owne counsell, when she hathe no wyll that anye man sholde be privie to her doyngs.

The L. of Lidingeton doth assure me (as he saythe of his certayne knowledge) that he shall ritorne in vayne, and whether these were the purposes or anye other, ther wylbe nothynge yelded unto her that may be agaynste Chryste or His gospell, or that maye anye waye stonde agaynste the Amytie of the Princesses of bothe the Realmes. Howe well he is hable to performe yt tyme wyll showe, and your Honour shall have knowledge.

It stayed onlye in the Erle of Marre that he had not byne kylled before he came unto the Quene. I knowe not whether he maye repent that here after, yf hys beinge here have wraughte farther evle then yet we cane perceave. Of thys thynge I thought speciallye tadvertyse your Honour fyrste, hopinge in shorte tyme to come by more yf anye thynge be.

. . . At Barwicke, the fyrste of Auguste, rathe in the mornynge, 1562.

Your H. bounden at command, THO. RANDOLPHE.

No. 40

MEMOIR ON THE MISSIONS OF FATHER DE GOUDA IN 1562, AND FATHER HAY IN 1566, BY FATHER WILLIAM CRICHTON

Archives S.J., *Scotia Historica*, fol. 280, Father Crichton's autograph, dated at Carpentras, 6 May 1613. Father Sacchini, *Historia Societatis Jesu, Pars secunda*, Antwerp, 1620, p. 245, follows these memoirs very closely, though he must also have seen de Gouda's report. It is probable that Father Crichton wrote them expressly for this work, which was being commenced at that date.

1562. [1] L'ANNO 1562 Papa Pio IV. mandò in Scotia il P. Nicolao Gaudano alla Regina di Scotia, retornata di Francia apresso la morte de suo marito Francesco Secondo, Re di Francia, per consolar et pregharla che vuolesse mandar gli vescovi de suo regno al concilio di Trento, con brevi insieme a tutti gli vescovi invitandoli al detto concilio. Allora stavano in Lovanio il P. Edmondo Hayo et io, il P. Gulielmo Critton, admessi alla compagnia.[1] Il Pe. Critton andò primo in Scotia et poi seguito il P. Gaudano Nuntio Apostolico condotto per il P. Edmondo Hayo.

[2] Gionsero in Scotia d'Anversa, dove imbarcharono, al porto de Letha, dove trovarono la medesima hora de lor debarcatione il P. Critton, accompagnato d' un gentilhuomo,[2] il quale subito cognobbe il Pre. Gaudano nuntio, et lo disse ad alcuni amici suoi, donde il medesimo quasi giorno gli ministri heretici lo seppero, et nel pulpito gridorono che il papa antichristo havea mandato un ambasciatore per corrumpere delli suoi doni la Regina et destrugere l'evangelio, et però, che tutti gli veri Evangelici cerchassero, pigliassero, amazzassero quel nemico di Christo et Evangelio suo, et saria, dissero, grand sacrificio a Dio de lavar le mani nel sangue suo. Et se il papa havesse mandato il demonio colle sue corni haveria trovato un Scozzese per condurlo, come costui ha trovato il maestro Edmondo Hayo figliolo de Balivo d' Errol.

[1] Father de Gouda and Father Adriani (*ante*, No. 35, pp. 103, 106) say they 'had resolved to join.' Presumably their applications to enter had been accepted, and they were going home to wind up their worldly affairs.

[2] See No. 38, p. 114, *n.* 2.

Questo fu la causa che subito il Pre. Edmondo Hayo se retirò a sua casa, et fu dato al P. Critton il P. Gaudano per condurlo per tutto. Et cosi il Pre. Gaudano fu presto vestito in seculare cortegiano colla spada calze et capello cortegianesco et cosi per tutto fu condotto.

[3] Gli heretici governarono et la Regina et il regno, perche prima che gionse la Regina de Francia gli heretici haueano de gia roinati le chiese et impadronitisi del Regno et massime il Conte di Morray[1] fratello bastardo della Regina. Pur la Regina havea la missa in suo palazzo, ma senza parliamento ò comitia generale non poteva restituire la religione Catholica, et nella convocatione delli stati ò parliamento la piu grande [parte] delli suffragii era contra la restitutione della religione Catholica. Pur la Regina diede audientia secreta al Pre. Gaudano, fece ch' il conte suo fratello et tutti andassero alla predicha del heretico, et poi per il postico[2] fece intrar il Pre. Gaudano, il quale lui diede il breve del Papa et hebbe il suo discorso latino, al quale la regina rispose in Latino,[3] et quel che fece maravegliar il P. Gaudano fù, che la regina fece la risposta al papa colle medesime parole et sententie che la fece extempore al P. Gaudano.[4]

[4] Poi vuolse il Pre. Critton condurlo alli vescovi alli quali havea gli brevi del Papa. Ma tra tutti gli vescovi non fu nessun che ardiva darli audienza eccepto uno solo, del nome Cretton, vescovo de Dunkel, il quale s' era retirato in uno suo palazzo in una isola dentro un lagho, dove il Pre. Critton andò per persuaderli di ricevere il nuntio apostolico. Ma il Pre. Critton non puotesse obtiner altro, si non de condurlo come servitore d'un banchiero Italiano, al quale il vescovo dovea denari, et cosi fece. Quando in camera sua il Padre li diede

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[1] A slight anachronism, of which Buchanan is also guilty. The Lord James was Earl of Mar during de Gouda's mission.

[2] *Per postico.* Father Crichton seems here to have lapsed into Latin. This was evidently the opinion of Father Sacchini, *Historia Soc. Jes.*, lib. vi. § 107, who translates '*per posticum.*' *Postico*, however, is also an Italian word, a variant for *posticcio* (Florio, *Dictionarie*, 1611), and signifies 'a feint,' which would suit the sense.

[3] But see de Gouda's report, § 6.

[4] Cf. *ibid.* See No. 45, *infra.*

il Breve apostolico[1] il povero vescovo caschò in tanta abondanza de lachrime per la consideratione del misero stato della religione nel regno di Scotia et parimente il Pre. Gaudano, che per un spatio di tempo non potevano dir una parola l'un all' altro. Il padre consolò molto il afflitto vescovo, il quale rispose al papa.

[5] Fu cerchato il Padre con grande diligentia per amazzarlo, et accadesse qu' un mercante francese andando della cittá d' Aberdonia al castello d' un gentilhuomo quelli che cerchassero il padre lo riscontrorono, et pensando che fosse il padre Gaudano, nuntio, lo caricharono de tante bastonate ch' erano per amazzarlo, benche negasse sempre d' esser tale. Ridotto alla cittá fu ricognosciuto per non esser tale, pur reste colle bastonate.

[6] Poi il Pre. Critton condusse la nave et lo ridusse in Fiandra. Il Pre. Edmondo Hayo restò in Scotia un pezzo et poi viene in Fiandra, et condusse seco un numero de scholari catholici per studiar a Lovanio, tra gli quali furono il Pre. Giacomo Tyrio, P. Gio. Hayo, Pre. Roberto Abercromby, P. Guglielmo Murdo, gli quali poi intrarono nella compagnia, et el Pre. Edmondo Hayo et il Pre. Critton andarono a Roma per studiar nella compagnia.

MDLXVI. [7] L'anno 1566 il Vescovo de Domblano Scozzese andò à Roma et espose al Papa Pio 5 la miseria del regno di Scotia, il quale mandò il Vescovo di Mondevi col detto vescovo verso la Scotia con grande quantità de denari alla Regina de Scotia per restituire la Religione Catholica, et il Pre. Edmondo Hayo alhora Rector del Collegio della Compagnia a Pariggi, per avisar la Regina della liberalità del Papa verso de lei per restituire la religione Catholica, con assecurarla che mentre che fosse in suo puotere un calice a vendere, che non l'abandonaria.

[8] Alhora la Regina si lasciava governar per il Conte de Murray suo fratello Bastardo, il quale li persuase de recusar la liberalità del papa, et non mettersi in rischio de perder se stessa et il regno per compiacere al papa, puotendo godere pacificamente de suo regno et religione senza gli denari del papa. Et cosi lei recusò questo bene, et perse poi la vita, et[2] il regno la

[1] *i.e.*, the copy of it. See No. 42, *infra*.

[2] The text reads, *il regno et la religione*.

religione. Il vescovo de Mondevi retornò à Roma, il vescovo de Domblano restò in Scotia et il Pre. Edmundo Hayo retornò a suo collegio à Parigi.

[MEMOIR on the MISSIONS of FATHER DE GOUDA in 1562, and FATHER HAY in 1566, by FATHER WILLIAM CRICHTON.

1562. [1] IN this year Pope Pius IV. sent to Scotland Father Nicholas de Gouda to the Queen of Scots, who had returned from France after the death of her husband Francis II., King of France. The object of the mission was to console her, and beg her to send the bishops of her kingdom to the Council of Trent; briefs were sent at the same time to all the bishops inviting them to the Council. Father Edmund Hay and Father William Crichton were then at Louvain, and had been admitted to the Society." Father Crichton went first to Scotland, and then Father de Gouda, the apostolic nuncio, followed under the guidance of Father Edmund Hay.

[2] They embarked at Antwerp, and reached the harbour of Leith in Scotland, where they found Father Crichton the very day they disembarked. There was a gentleman" in his company, who immediately recognised Father de Gouda, the nuncio, and mentioned it to certain friends of his. Hence, as it were on the first day, the heretical ministers knew about it, and cried out in the pulpit that the Pope, that is Antichrist, had sent an ambassador to corrupt the queen with his gifts, and to destroy the Gospel. Wherefore let all true gospellers search for, take and slaughter that enemy of Christ and His Gospel. It would be, they said, a noble sacrifice to God to wash their hands in his blood. If the Pope had sent the devil with his horns he would have found a Scotsman to guide him, as [de Gouda] found Master Edmund Hay, the son of the Bailie of Errol. This was the reason why Father Edmund Hay retired to his home, and Father de Gouda was entrusted to Father Crichton to be led about everywhere. Thus Father de Gouda was soon clad in secular court dress, with sword, boots, and hat, and so was led about everywhere.

[3] The heretics ruled both the queen and the kingdom, for before the queen landed from France they, especially the Earl of Murray, bastard brother of the queen, had already ruined the churches and made themselves masters of the realm. Still the queen had Mass in her palace, but without the Parliament or General Assembly she could not restore the Catholic religion, and in the Convention of the States, or Parliament, the greater part of the votes was against the restoration of the Catholic religion. Still the queen gave Father de Gouda secret audience, causing the earl her brother and all [the courtiers] to go to the heretic's sermon, and then by a postern gate" caused Father de Gouda to enter. He gave her the Pope's brief, and delivered his discourse in Latin. The queen answered it in Latin," and what made

Father de Gouda wonder was that the queen made her answer to the Pope in the same words and phrases as she had used extempore to Father de Gouda.

[4] Afterwards Father Crichton wished to conduct him to the bishops for whom he had the briefs of the Pope. But amongst all the bishops there was none who dared to give him audience excepting one only, of the name of Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld, who had retired to a residence of his on an island in a lake. Father Crichton went there to persuade him to receive the apostolic nuncio, but could not obtain more than leave to bring him as the clerk of an Italian banker, to whom the bishop owed money, and so he did. When the father gave him the brief in his chamber, the poor bishop shed so many tears, and Father de Gouda no less, at the thought of the miserable state of religion in the kingdom of Scotland, that for a while they could not say a word to one another. The father consoled the unhappy bishop, who wrote an answer to the Pope.

[5] They very diligently searched for the father to put him to death, and it chanced that a French merchant going from the city of Aberdeen to the castle of a gentleman was met by those who sought for the father. Thinking that he was Father de Gouda, the nuncio, they laid on him so many blows that they nearly killed him, albeit he constantly denied that he was the man. Brought back to the city he was recognised as not being the man, still he had his beating.

[6] Afterwards, Father Crichton hired the ship and conducted him back to Flanders. Father Edmund remained a while in Scotland, and then came to Flanders, bringing with him a number of Catholic students to study at Louvain, amongst whom was Father James Tyrie, Father John Hay, Father Robert Abercromby, Father William Murdoch, who entered the Society later. Father Edmund Hay and Father Crichton went to Rome to make their studies in the Society.

MDLXVI. [7] The year 1566 the Scots Bishop of Dunblane went to Rome and laid before Pope Pius V. the misery of the kingdom of Scotland. He sent the said bishop and the Bishop of Mondovi towards Scotland, to the Queen of Scots, with a large sum of money for the restitution of the Catholic religion. Father Edmund Hay, then Rector of the College of the Society at Paris, was sent to inform the queen of the Pope's liberality towards her for the restitution of the Catholic religion, and to assure her that whilst the Pope had it in his power to sell a chalice, he would not abandon her.

[8] At that time the queen allowed herself to be ruled by the Earl of Murray, her bastard brother, who persuaded her to refuse the Pope's liberality, and not to risk losing herself and her kingdom to please the Pope, as she could enjoy her kingdom and her religion without the Pope's money. So she refused that benefit, and afterwards lost her life, and her kindom [lost its] religion. The Bishop of Mondovi returned to Rome, the Bishop of Dunblane remained in Scotland, and Father Hay went back to his college at Paris.]

No. 41

FATHER DE GOUDA TO FATHER GENERAL LAYNEZ

Archives S.J., *Epistolae Germaniae*, vol. iii. fol. 81. Original.

[*Mayence, 2 October* 1562]

Admodum Reverende in Christo Pater. Pax Christi.

Scripsi nudius tertius ad R. V. de nostra in Scotiam profectione et reditu deque regni illius statu et miseria, sed ita scripsi ut verear me meo in scribendo officio non satisfecisse, eo quod maiori brevitate et perspicuitate uti potuissem. Oro R. V. ut scribendo ad Suam Sanctitatem et Reverendum Cardinalem Amulium corrigat et suppleat quae meis literis desunt, vel quae in eis desiderantur. Vehementer desidero ut R. V. et in primis Summo Pontifici ac Cardinali Amulio innotesceret quam difficile ac periculosum fuit, literas Suae Sanctitatis seu brevia Apostolica iis ad quos mittebantur reddere et cum iisdem de negotio Religionis agere, et quam sit miserabilis status Religionis in eo Regno, in quo alioquin multi sunt Catholici qui mira tyrannide premuntur ab adversariis, qui etiam vehementer aspirant ad redemptionem et veterem statum orthodoxae Religionis. Ad quem haud ita difficile reduci posse videntur, tantummodo si metum Anglorum, quos Regnum invasuros et congregationi hereticorum opem allaturos timent, liberarentur, et caput esset in Regno masculum, potens et Catholicum. Nam ipsa Regina Catholicae Religioni plurimum favet, et Episcopi maiore ex parte sunt Catholici ac boni desiderii. Plurimi etiam inter nobiles sunt Catholici; plurimi quoque inter plebeios Catholici, et qui seducti sunt ab hereticis non ex animo eis adherent et paulatim intelligunt se esse deceptos. Adversarii non ita multi et potentes, sed confidentes in brachio Anglorum, qui sepe illuc suos legatos mittunt et animos Scotorum sibi devincire student, eorum presertim qui sunt heretici. Alioquin naturaliter fere se oderunt. Itaque bona spes est hoc Regnum iuvari ac liberari posse ab heretica servitute. Si Summus Pontifex ea praestare velit quae suis ad Reginam literis est pollicitus, non dubito quin Scotiae Regnum cito orthodoxae Religioni resti-

tueretur. Sed hoc et alia quae ad hanc missionem pertinent, R. V. plenius intelligere poterit ex M. Edmundo, duce nostri itineris, quem propediem expecto ex Flandria venturum et cum aliquot iuvenibus Scotis iturum Romam.

Scripsi etiam heri de me deque rationibus unis aut alteris quae videntur suadere quod meum qualemcumque talentum a Deo datum expendere possem utilius et commodius in Flandria quam in Germania, sed nescio an illius scripti me debeat poenitere, eo quod forte satius fuisset totam hanc caussam Divinae Providentiae et voluntati Superiorum committere. Quanquam putabam non repugnare simplici obedientiae particularia quaedam et singulares circumstantias rei vel subiecti indicare superiori, qui licet loco Dei sit constitutus, non tamen omnia particularia videt, licet Deus omnia videt, qui per superiores omnia disponit suaviter. Igitur, quantum ad me attinet, Reverende Pater, me totum et simpliciter obedientiae sanctae submitto. R. V. statuat de me quodcumque placuerit, ubi, quid, apud quos agam. Tantum oro ut in hac brevi et misera vita et in morte ac vita futura, inter vera ac viva membra Societatis Iesu inveniar, qui mihi gratiam largiatur digne hac Societate vivere, et Reverentiam Vestram Ecclesiae Suae ac nobis diu servet incolumem. Vale, mi pater reverende, et tuum Gaudanum singulariter Deo commenda qui singulariter prae ceteris indiget. Saluto reverenter Reverendum P. Polancum, P. Salmeron, P. Covillonium.

Moguntia, 2. Octobris ao. 1562.

R. V. filius indignus, NICOLAUS GAUDANUS.

[*Addressed*] Admodum Reverendo in Christo Patri Iacobo Lavnez, Generali Preposito Societatis Iesu. Tridenti.

[FATHER DE GOUDA to FATHER GENERAL LAYNEZ.

Mayence, 2 *October* 1562.

VERY Reverend Father in Christ. Pax Christi.

Three days ago I wrote to your reverence of my journey to Scotland and my return, and of the miserable state of that kingdom. My letter was not what it should have been, from want of conciseness and clearness. I pray your reverence, in writing to his Holiness and Cardinal Amulio, to correct and supplement the deficiencies or shortcomings of my letter. I earnestly desire that your reverence, as well as the Pope and cardinal, should know how difficult and dangerous a task it

was to give the letters of his Holiness or the apostolic briefs to those to whom they were directed, and to treat with them on religious matters, and how miserable the state of religion is in that kingdom, in which, for all that, the Catholics are many, though oppressed by their opponents with unheard-of tyranny.

They most ardently long for the restoration and ancient state of orthodox religion, to which they might, with no great difficulty be brought back, if they were only freed from fear lest the English should invade the country in support of the congregation of the heretics, or again if there were a sovereign in that kingdom who was a man, at once powerful and Catholic.

The queen herself earnestly favours the Catholic religion, and the bishops are mostly Catholics and well disposed. The nobles are Catholics in very many cases, so too are very many of the common people. Such of them as have been misled by the heretics, but do not hold fast to them, are beginning by degrees to perceive that they have been deluded. The opponents are not so very numerous or so very powerful, but they trust in the help of the English, who often send their ambassadors thither and try to attach the Scots, especially the heretics, firmly to their interests. Otherwise the two nations hate each other almost by nature.

Thus there is good hope that this kingdom may be succoured and freed from heretical bondage. If the Pope be pleased to make good what he has promised in his letters to the queen, I little doubt he would soon restore the kingdom of Scotland to the true faith. But this and other things pertaining to this mission, your reverence will be able to learn in detail from Master Edmund the guide of our journey, whom I expect to arrive from Flanders soon, and then to start for Rome in company with certain young Scots.

I wrote again yesterday about myself, and about some reasons why I thought I could employ such poor talents as God has given me more usefully and suitably in Flanders than in Germany, but I am half sorry for having written. It would, perhaps, have been better to have committed the whole matter to God's providence and the will of superiors. Still I thought that there was nothing inconsistent with simple obedience in pointing out to a superior certain particulars and the exceptional circumstances of the subject matter. A superior, though he be in the place of God, cannot see all these things, but God, who does see all, disposes of them sweetly by means of superiors. Therefore as to myself, reverend father, I submit myself wholly and entirely to holy obedience. Decide as you like both what I am to do, when, and in what place or people I am to do it. Only this I beg, that in this life, brief and wretched as it is, in death and in the life to come I may ever be reckoned among the true and living members of the Society of Jesus. May He give me grace to live worthily of this Society, and long keep you in safety for His Church's sake and for ours.

Farewell, reverend father, and commend your son de Gouda most

specially to God, for he has most special need thereof. I respectfully salute Father Polanco, Father Salmeron, and Father Covillonio.

Mayence, 2 October 1562.

Your Reverence's unworthy son, NICHOLAS DE GOUDA.

No. 42

FATHER DE GOUDA TO FATHER GENERAL LAYNEZ

Archives S.J., *Epistolae Germaniae*, vol. iii. fol. 121. Original.

[*n. d., probably Louvain, December* 1562]

Admodum Reverende in Christo Pater. Pax Christi, etc.

SCRIPSI R. V. de negotio cuius gratia missus sum in Scotiam, ex Moguntia et Colonia, et quia minus commode scripto quam verbis coram omnia quae ad rem pertinent, explicari possunt, petii ut R. V. interrogaret duos illos Scotos nobiles M. Edmundum et M. Guilielmum, quorum alter me in Scotiam duxit, alter reduxit; qui ambo nunc iverunt in Urbem ut se Societati adiungerent et iam illos Tridenti R. V. adfuisse confido. Illi enim omnia plene referre possunt, ut deinde recte informetur Sua Sanctitas de statu illius regni, quod equidem vehementer optarem, nam bona spes est regnum illud posse reduci ad veram et orthodoxam fidem (ut alias latius scripsi), si modo Pontifex recte informatus ea praestare velit quae suis ad Reginam literis est pollicitus, et hoc obnixe precor R. V. (licet ipsa multum occupetur nunc Tridenti negotiis universalis Ecclesiae) ut particulare totius corporis membrum non exiguum, Scotia inquam, diligenter et calide commendetur Rmo. Cardinali Amulio et Summo Pontifici. Vellem etiam intelligere a R. V. quid hac in re a me sit praetermissum. Certe Rdus. P. Natalis, cum a me audisset quid egissem in Scotia respondit, 'Bene est: imo, inquit, nimium egisti.' Quanquam alii forte aliter sentiant. Sane ipse M. Edmundus Scotus putavit necessarium esse ut ego ipse adirem Pontificem vel eius vicarium, ut plene de omnibus informetur Pontifex. Sed hoc rectius per ipsum Edmundum et eius cognatum M. Guilielmum Scotos fieri posse existimo. Est tamen hic Lovanii quidam M. Ninianus Scotus qui nobiscum venit ex Scotia, qui multo plura novit de statu Episcoporum et totius regni, quem optarem esse Romae, et fortasse haud aegre adduci posset ut eo proficis-

ceretur, praesertim si illi praevideretur de loco in Collegio Germanico vel simili. Est enim tenuis fortunae qui se ipsum alere non potest. Alioquin est vir doctus et pius, qui etiam, editis libellis, se in Scotia opposuit primario heretico qui nunc illic grassatur.

Accepi tribus abhinc diebus literas Episcopi Abardonensis[1] ad me datas, quas paucis abhinc diebus accepi, ad quem scripsi in Scotia (nam ipsum adire non licuit nec expediebat). Illas R. V. transmitto ut videat animam eius erga fidem, et omnes fere Episcopi eiusdem sunt animi, sed ob tyrannidem hereticorum nihil audent in hoc rerum statu, quo vident ipsam Reginam nihil posse. Quod autem dicit se scripturum Summo Pontifici ubi acceperit breve Apostolicum, sciat R. V. me illi copiam brevis transmisisse per M. Edmundum, sed ipsum originale relictum est in manu Reginae, quae noluit brevia illa a me tradi, propter periculum, sed ea in suam fidem recepit, ut Episcopis suo tempore traderentur. Alioquin ego ipse meis literis illi explicavi substantiam rei et multo plura. Scripsi etiam nuper me in Flandriam rediisse valetudinis recuperandae gratia, quanquam mecum dubitarem et cum adhuc essem Moguntiae, an mihi esset redeundum eo quod Pater Natalis, antequam in infirmitatem incidissem, iussisset me illuc expectare donec mihi per illum vel per V. R. significaretur quid mihi esset agendum, et hic scrupulus me magis torsit postquam discesseram, quanquam P. Lambertus, Rector Collegii Moguntini, putavit me libere posse redire ex ipsius medici consilio et verbis P. Natalis ad ipsum dictis. Itaque R. V. quaeso aliquid de hac re scribat ad me. Si enim male sit actum, cupio me per Dei gratiam emendare et obedire in omnibus quaecunque iniunxerit R. V. Cuperem etiam intelligere quid actum sit in negotio Scotico, quod iterum atque iterum commendo R. V., ut semel bona illa Regina et multi cum ea Catholici liberentur a tyrannide illorum qui illic nunc impune grassantur hereticorum. Quod ad valetudinem meam attinet, multo nunc rectius valeo quam cum huc ex Germania redirem. De cetero me totum commendo R. V., prae omnibus paratus, Dei gratia, facere quicquid placuerit R. V., quem Dominus Iesus nobis et

[1] William Gordon.—Keith, *Catalogue*, p. 122.

Ecclesiae Suae diu servet incolumem. Saluto reverenter Reverendos Patres P. Salmeron et P. Polanco et eorum precibus me humiliter commendo. R. V. servus indignus.

NICOLAUS GAUDANUS.

Cum has vellem obsignare, venit ad me Scotus ille Ninianus, cuius supra memini, dicens Cancellarium Regni Scotiae, Comitem de Huntle, ad quem misi una cum meis literis breve Apostolicum, et a quo fortius expectavi responsum, interfectum esse et filium eius secundo genitum obtruncatum a fratre Reginae bastardo heretico, et res illic valde perturbatas esse.[1]

[*Addressed*] Admodum Reverendo in Christo Patri Nostro Iacobo Laynez, Preposito Generali Societatis Iesu. Tridenti.

[FATHER DE GOUDA to FATHER GENERAL LAYNEZ.

[*n. d., probably Louvain, 6 December* 1562.]

VERY Reverend Father in Christ. Pax Christi, etc.

From Mayence and Cologne I wrote to your reverence about the affairs for which I was sent to Scotland, and because many details could be better explained personally by word of mouth than by writing, I asked your reverence to make inquiries of the two Scottish young gentlemen, Master Edmund [Hay] and Master William [Crichton], the one of whom guided me to Scotland, and the other brought me back. Now they have both started to go to Rome, and join the Society, and I trust that ere this they have met your reverence at Trent.

They can give a full account of everything, and so his Holiness in turn will be accurately informed about the state of that kingdom. This is my ardent desire, for there is good hope that the country may be brought back to the true and orthodox faith, if, as I have already written at greater length, his Holiness, once rightly informed, were pleased to fulfil the promises he made in his letters to the queen. This I earnestly beg your reverence, that, notwithstanding your many occupations in the affairs of the Church universal at Trent, you would not fail to commend with warmth and earnestness to the Holy Father and to Cardinal Amulio

[1] The battle took place 28 October; Sir John Gordon's trial and execution took place at Aberdeen next day. The cause of the Earl of Huntly's death is controverted. The Bishop of Aquila's account, 15 November 1562, derived, as he says, from the report at the English court, is, 'trayéndole preso y atadas las manos, *se dejó caer* del caballo y murió de la caida' (*Documentos inéditos para la storia de España*, lxxxvii. p. 430), 'As they led him with his hands bound, *he was let fall* from the horse, and died of the fall.' In the *Spanish Calendar* (p. 270) the words here printed in italics are translated 'he fell.'

the care of one member of the body corporate, and that no mean one, to wit, the kingdom of Scotland.

I should also like to hear from your reverence in what I have been remiss in this matter. Father Nadal, when he had heard my account of what I had done in Scotland, said, 'Well done! In fact you have even done too much.' Others perhaps may think differently. Indeed, Master Edmund, who is a Scotsman, thought that I ought to go to the Pope or some deputy of his, in order that his Holiness should be fully informed about everything. But I think this can be more accurately done by the Scotsman, Master Edmund himself, and his kinsman, Master William. Still we have here at Louvain a certain Master Ninian [Winzet], a Scot, who came with us from Scotland, who knows much more of the state of the bishops and of the whole kingdom. Hence I could wish he were at Rome, and I suspect he could without difficulty be induced to go there, if a place could be allotted him in the German or some similar college. He is of slender fortune, and unable to keep himself. For the rest, he is a learned and pious man, who published books in answer to the heretical chief, who now devastates the country.

Three days ago I received an answer from the Bishop of Aberdeen, to whom I had written when I was in Scotland, as I might not visit him, nor was it expedient to do so. I send on his letter to your reverence that you may see his mind with regard to the faith, and almost all the bishops have the same convictions, but, because of the oppression of the heretics, dare not act in this crisis, in which they see that the queen herself can do nothing. In regard to his statement that he will write to the Pope when he receives the apostolic brief, your reverence must know that I sent him a copy of that brief by Master Edmund, while the original was left in the hands of the queen, who would not let me deliver such letters on account of the danger, but undertook the responsibility of seeing that they should be given to the bishops in due time. Besides, I myself explained their substance in my letter to him, and many other things as well.

I have also written of late to tell you that I had returned to Flanders for the recovery of my health, though I was in doubt, whilst I was at Mayence, whether I ought to return, as Father Nadal, before I fell sick, had ordered me to wait there until I received through him or through you directions as to what I should do. This scruple troubles me rather seriously since my departure, though Father Lambert, rector of the college of Mayence, thought I was free to return, after what the doctor said, and what Father Nadal had told him. Wherefore I beseech your reverence to write me a few words on this point, for if I have done amiss, I desire, by God's grace, to make amends, and to obey in all things whatever your reverence may enjoin.

I should also like to know what has been done in the Scottish affair, which again and again I commend to your reverence, to the end that once and for all both the good queen and many Catholics along with her may be delivered from the tyranny of those heretics who now hold

ruthless sway there without check. As to my health, I am much better now than when I got back here from Germany. I commend myself entirely to your reverence, prepared by the grace of God to do what you wish me in preference to anything else. May the Lord Jesus long preserve you to us and to the Church of God. I respectfully salute the Reverend Fathers Salmeron and Polanco, and humbly commend myself to their prayers. Your reverence's unworthy servant,

NICHOLAS DE GOUDA.

As I was going to seal up this, Ninian the Scotsman, of whom I spoke before, came to tell me that the Earl of Huntly, the Chancellor of the kingdom of Scotland (to whom I had written and sent the apostolic brief, and from whom I expected a firmer answer), had been slain, and his second son beheaded, by the heretical bastard-brother of the queen, and that the whole of Scotland was in a state of great disturbance.[a]]

No. 43

CARDINAL BORROMEO TO THE CARDINAL OF LORRAINE

From the official register, Vat. Arch., *Concil. Trident.*, vol. lvii. fol. 62b, 63b. The date 1563, which is there given, is evidently reckoned according to the style in which the new year begins on Christmas Day. According to our style, therefore, the year was 1562.

[*Rome*, 30 *December* 1562]

MDLXIII XXX Decembris

NON accadendo ch' io m'estenda in dir à V. S. Ill^ma^ li molti rispetti che inducono Nostro Signore à tenere come fà particolar conto et protettione de la serenissima Regina di Scotia, non resterò di dirle con questa che se Sua Santità potesse così aiutar con le forze la buona intentione, che quella Regina mostra hauere uerso il seruitio di Dio, et de la religion cattolica, come col desiderio, et con le orationi l'aiuta largamente, io son ben certo che non seguirebbono le cose perniciose che s' intendono seguir ogni giorno maggiori in quel Regno; et perchè siamo ultimamente auuisati che quei gouernatori essendo tutti infettati di heresie, fanno ogn' opera per deprauar l' animo de la Regina, come hanno già fatto quasi di tutto il Regno, Sua Santità ne resta con si gran dispiacere, che ueramente non se gli potrebbe dar maggior satisfattione, et contento, che ricordarle qualche rimedio, co'l quale potesse opportunamente obuiare à tali inconuenienti: Et però hà

uoluto ch' io ne scriua à V. S. Ill^ma^ pregandola à pensarci sopra, et come zio di detta Regina, et ben informato de le cose di quel Regno, proponere à Sua Beatitudine qualche modo di rimediare à tali disordini et aiutare la buona mente di Sua Maestà, certificandola che farà cosa gratissima à la Santità Sua, et per il luogo che tiene di padre uniuersale, non mancherà di tutto quello che essa le ricorderà, et che Sua Beatitudine potrà fare dal canto suo per un si buono, et santo effetto. Resta dunque che V. S. Ill^ma^ aggiunghi anche questo pensiero à li tanti altri che hà continuamente per seruitio di Dio, et de la religione Catolica et che si contenti auuisar poi di quanto le occorrerà. Et io tratanto in buona gratia di V. Ill^ma^ Signoria quanto più humilmente posso mi raccomando. Di Roma etc.

[*Additum*] Essendosi ritenuta la presente sin' à hoggi, che siamo à l' ultimo, questa mattina l' Abbate Nichetto hà portato nuova à Nostro Signore dela uittoria che Sua Maestà Christianissima hà hauuta contra Hugonotti[1]; di che Sua Santità, et tutti noi hauemo sentito infinita allegrezza per il bene uniuersale di quel Regno, et di tutta la Christianità et particolarmente per la riputatione et gloria che ne uiene al S. Duca di Guisa, et à li altri Signori fratelli di V. S. Ill^ma^, et come ringratiamo il Signor Dio di tanto beneficio, così Sua Santità et noi altri ci rallegramo seco con tutto il core di questi nuovi meriti che si aggiongono à l'Ill^ma^ casa sua, sperando che sua diuina Maestà ci farà anche gratia di uedere un di la Regina di Scotia liberata da le cose, ne le quali, come ho detto di sopra, Sua Beatitudine sente dispiacer' grande, che sia trauagliata.

[Cardinal Charles Borromeo to the Cardinal of Lorraine.

Rome, 30 *December* [1562].

There is no need that I should spend many words in explaining to your eminence the many reasons that lead the Pope to watch over the Queen of Scotland, as he does, with special solicitude. I will only say here that, if his Holiness could give such active aid to the execution of the good intentions, which that queen appears to cherish with regard to the service of God and the Catholic religion, as he does to aid her in his desires and with his prayers, sure I am that those calamities would be avoided, which, as we hear, take place there with daily increasing

[1] At Dreux, 19 December 1562.

frequency. The last news we have heard is that her ministers of state, being wholly infected with heresy themselves, are making every endeavour to corrupt the mind of the queen, as they have already corrupted almost the whole realm. His Holiness in consequence is so extremely grieved that really we can hardly give him greater pleasure and satisfaction than to suggest to him some opportune remedy. For this reason he has desired me to write and beg your eminence that, being, as you are, both the queen's uncle and also well informed in the affairs of that kingdom, you would think over the matter and propose to him some way of remedying such disorders and assisting her Majesty's good intentions. I can assure you that this will greatly please his Holiness, and being, as he is, the common father of all, he will not fail you in so good a cause on any point which you suggest or he can execute.

In fine your eminence must add this care to the many others which continually occupy you for the service of God and of the Catholic religion. Pray inform us hereafter what may occur to you. Meanwhile I commend myself with all possible deference to your eminence. From Rome, etc.

[*Postscript*] The above letter being kept back until to-day, the last [of the year], the Abbate Nichetto has this morning announced to our Lord [the Pope] the victory of the Most Christian King over the Huguenots.* His Holiness and all of us are full of great joy, both on account of the good that will accrue to the whole realm, and to all Christendom, and especially at the honour and glory that falls to the Duke of Guise, and to your eminence's other brothers. While we thank God for His great mercy, we congratulate you with all our hearts on the new merits accruing to your illustrious house, and we hope that His Divine Majesty will grant us the mercy of one day seeing the Queen of Scotland freed from her troubles, which, as I have said before, so sorely grieve his Holiness.]

No. 44

FATHER SECRETARY POLANCO TO FATHER DE GOUDA

From the register, Archives S.J.; *Variarum Provinciarum*, I. fol. 158 b.

[*Trent*, 21 *January* 1563]

(P. Doctori Gaudano.) Pax Christi.

REDITAE fuerunt tuae Reverentiae literae 6. Decembris datae Patri nostro Praeposito, quae oportune nonnulla continebant ad Reginam Scotiae pertinentia, quae praelegi Illmo. Cardinali Lotaringiæ, simulque quaedam capita excerpta ex maioribus literis R.V. in quibus agebatur de remediis calamitoso illi Regno adhibendis, dedi quidem et alia ex literis

magistri Emundi Roma missis, quae ad rem eandem pertinebant. Approbabat Cardinalis remedia singula et quae dicebantur vera esse asserebat, et facile credo ipsum curaturum pro virili parte ut et Regno et Reginae subveniatur. Admonui non videri praetermittendam occasionem rei bene gerendae post hos prosperos Catholicorum in Gallia successus. Quamdiu enim satagebat rerum suarum Regnum Galliae, vix poterat iniri ratio externis succurrendi. Romae etiam commendatum erit hoc negotium nostris si quid praestare posse videbuntur apud Pontificem per Cardinales et alios qui ad negotium Religionis in Scotia promovendum propensi erunt. Quod vero dicebatur de duobus aut tribus viris gravibus et doctis ad Reginam destinandis, quae etiam confessario suo destituta est, curae erit Cardinali, ut spero, et in memoriam est ei redactum, cum nuntius his diebus in Galliam mitteretur, ut si quid ea de re scribere oporteret, inter alia negotia non ei excideret, et quidem ille cum gratiarum actione suscepit, quae proposita ipsi fuerunt. Si huc venerit magister Ninianus curabimus ut Cardinalem conveniat et explicet ei statum rerum illius Regni, quamvis satis ad rem literis suis explicavit magister Emundus, neque ignorat ipse Cardinalis in quibus periculis Regina versetur. Quod tamen attinet ad praedictum Ninianum, nondum intelleximus an Romae possit excipi in Collegio Germanico, quod quidem et debitis gravatum erat his diebus et multitudine refertum. Admonebimus tamen P. Provincialem, simul ac intellexerimus num locus ullus commode inveniri posset magistro Niniano. Si ille vel ad Societatem nostram accederet, deliberato iam animo, vel haberet sumptus necessarios aliunde, non necesse erit expectare responsum illud Collegii Germanici. Quod attinet ad dispensationem illam pro duobus qui in quarto gradu contraxerunt et pro iuvene illegitimo ut possit admitti ad ordines sacros, possemus quidem curare ut a Sede Apostolica obtineretur viva voce. Si tamen literae Apostolicae sunt necessariae, id non sine pecunia potest obtineri, quae officialibus curiae solvenda est, de qua R. V. mentionem non facit. Scribat ergo num satis sit in foro conscientiae et viva voce dispensationem istam obtinuisse, sicut satis fuit pro vetulis illis mulieribus ad scrupulum eximendum voti Religionis. Quod attinet ad R. V. maneat in Inferiori

Germania, bono animo, iuxta obedientiae sanctae praescriptum, nec locum tribuat scrupulis, animi tranquillitatem perturbantibus, quasi se propensum exhibuerit ad hanc missionem. Id tantum cogitet, ut et valetudinem suam tueatur et se proximis utilem, qua ratione poterit, exhibeat, prout P. Provinciali, cum quo res erit conferenda, visum fuerit. Decretum illud approbans communionem sub utraque specie subpositicium fuit, neque enim Concilium Tridentinum ulla ratione approbavit Communionem huiusmodi, unde non solum corruptum sed omnino confictum illud exemplum de quo scribit R.V. censendum est. Exemplaria vera decretorum Concilii Tridentini haud dubie in lucem prodibunt, hactenus tamen, quae ad sextam sessionem pertinent, hic non sunt excusa, nec in alio quod sciam Italiae loco. Orationibus ac sacrificiis plurimum in Domino commendari cupimus. Vale in eodem Domino Iesu Christo.

Tridenti, 21 Iannuarii 1563.

[FATHER POLANCO to FATHER DE GOUDA, DOCTOR OF THEOLOGY.

Trent, 21 *January* 1563.

REVEREND Father in Christ.

Your reverence's letters of the 6th of December have come to our Father General's hand. The information about the Queen of Scots which they contained came at an opportune moment, and I have read it to the Cardinal of Lorraine, as well as heads taken from your longer letters, in which you treat of remedies to be applied to that unhappy kingdom. I added some further extracts from the letters of Master Edmund from Rome on the same subject. The cardinal approved of each and all the remedies proposed, and declared that all you said was true, and I easily believe that he will do his part like a man to assist the kingdom and the queen. I pointed out to him the importance of seizing the favourable opportunity, arising from the late successes of the Catholics in France. As long as France had its hands full at home, it could hardly find means of giving help abroad. This business shall also be commended to our fathers at Rome, in case they may be able to affect anything with the Pope, through cardinals and others who are zealous for the furtherance of religion in Scotland. As to your plan of appointing two or three grave and learned men to attend upon the queen, who is now left without even a confessor, the cardinal, I hope, will look to it. When a messenger was despatched to France a few days ago, he was reminded of it in such a way that, supposing a letter ought to have been written, that duty should not escape his memory amid other business. In fact he was thankful for the suggestion.

If Master Ninian should come hither, we will see that he meets the cardinal, in order to explain the state of affairs in that kingdom. Master Edmund, however, has sufficiently explained all in his letters, and the cardinal himself knows very well amid what dangers the queen is living. To return to Master Ninian, we have not yet heard whether he can be received at Rome in the German College, which has been much burdened with debt of late, and is very full, We shall, however, send word to Father Provincial, as soon as we know whether some fit place can be found for him. If, however, upon mature deliberation, he should seek to enter our Society, or if he had from elsewhere the means of maintenance, there would be no need to wait for the reply from the German College.

As for the two dispensations, the one for the couple who have contracted marriage in the fourth degree, and the other for the ordination of young men of illegitimate birth, we can take measures to obtain the permissions from the Holy See *viva voce*. If, however, Apostolic letters are necessary, these cannot be obtained without paying the fees of the officials of the curia, of which point your reverence makes no mention. Your reverence must therefore say whether it is sufficient to obtain the dispensation, *in foro conscientiae*, and *viva voce*, as it sufficed to save the scruples of the old ladies about the vows of [entering] religion.

As to your reverence, you must stay in Lower Germany [*i.e.* the Netherlands] by the precept of holy obedience. Be of good heart, and put away the scruples which trouble your peace, as if you had shown too great an inclination for this mission. Attend entirely to the preservation of your health and to serving your neighbour in such ways as you can, and as Father Provincial allows, to whom you will communicate these orders.

That decree approving communion under both kinds was supposititious, for the Council of Trent in no way approved such communion, and so the copy of the decree, of which you write, was not simply falsified, but entirely a forgery. Authentic copies of the decrees of the Council of Trent will without doubt appear; but hitherto what belongs to the sixth session has not been printed either here, or in any other place in Italy, so far as I know. We earnestly commend ourselves in the Lord to your prayers and sacrifices. Farewell in the same Lord Jesus Christ.

From Trent, 21 January 1563.]

SECTION V

THE COUNCIL OF TRENT AND LAPSE OF INTERCOURSE WITH SCOTLAND

No. 45

MARY'S LETTERS TO THE POPE AND TO THE CARDINAL OF LORRAINE

[*Edinburgh, 30 and 31 January* 1562-3]

I. SOURCES.—The original French and Latin texts of these letters are not forthcoming, but a contemporary Italian translation is preserved in the Bibliotheca Nazionale of Florence, and has been thence accurately printed by Labanoff, i. 175. There is an earlier and less accurate edition in Baluze-Mansi, *Miscellanea*, iv. pp. 363, 364; and an English translation in W. Turnbull, *Letters of M. Stuart*, 1845, 141, 142. A short analysis will therefore suffice here to draw attention to the points in which these letters directly affected the course of the negotiations under our consideration.

II. ANALYSIS.

(*a*) *To the Cardinal of Lorraine.*—Cardinal Granvelle having promised to send you my letters safely, I send you this, together with a letter for the Pope. I beg you to accompany it with assurances of my constancy in the Catholic Faith. The misery of this country grieves me, and I would give my life for it and for my faith, if need were. Excuse me to his Holiness if I have failed in my duty to religion, for you know more about my wishes and my power than any other. I also beg you to let me know what is resolved in the Council. From Edinburgh, 30 January 1563.

(*b*) *To the Pope.*—We have always wished to do our duty towards our religion and our country, but the evil times have prevented us. We are now doing our best to make a

number of our prelates go to the Council. The Cardinal of Lorraine will explain these points more amply. Edinburgh, 31 January 1563.

III. CONNECTION WITH THE DE GOUDA MISSION.—There is no other known letter of Mary which has a better right than this to be taken as her answer to the brief brought to her by de Gouda. The chief points in the reply which she made then and there to de Gouda (No. 38, § 7) reappear here, viz. her good intentions, the difficulties arising from the state of her kingdom, that she would endeavour to send bishops to Trent. On the other hand no mention is made of forwarding the briefs to the bishops (*ibid.*, § 12). This Italian translation does not indeed confirm all that Father Crichton, speaking from memory of things that had happened fifty years previously, affirmed about the Latin original (No. 40, § 3); but neither does it contradict him. In any case, if this be not Mary's official answer, we may regard it as an informal repetition of that answer, sent later, by a different route, in order to make sure that its substance at least should reach the Supreme Pontiff.

IV. DATE AND POSTAL ROUTE.—It will be noticed that this is one of the first letters which Mary sent through Cardinal Granvelle, through whom, from this time forward, her intercourse with foreign courts was in great measure conducted.

V. COVERING LETTER OF THE CARDINAL OF LORRAINE.—Mary had asked her uncle to write to the Pope, to assure him of her fidelity, and to 'make my excuses, if I have failed in any part of my duty towards 'religion, for you know better than any other what my will is and what 'my power.' The Cardinal's letter to the Pope for this purpose is not to be found, but a similar letter for a like purpose, addressed to the French ambassador in Austria, has been printed by Le Laboureur, *Mémoires de Castelnau* (1731), ii. 208.

MONSIEUR DE RENNES. [*After other business*]. Besides this you may say to the emperor that I received a few days ago news from the Queen of Scotland. She tells me that she has had her share of the rebellions which subjects nowadays make it their business to raise against their princes. That a certain lord, the Earl of Huntly, and his sons had secretly made such a levy of soldiers that she would have been in very great danger if she had not been informed of it. When the practice was discovered, she took such good order to raise men at once, that she had enough to offer battle, in which, thanks be to God, the victory remained with her, and she has had

such punishment inflicted on the vanquished, that she now finds herself at peace as she was before. She is doing all that she can to bring back her erring subjects to the way of the Church, in which she wishes to live and die. This you can see from the letter of 30 January, which she writes with her own hand.[1] I send it to you in order that you may show it to the emperor, as also a copy of her letter to the Pope, of which she makes mention in her said letter, and which you will return to me.... From Trent, this 16th day of March 1562[-3]. Your good brother and friend,

CHARLES, CARDINAL OF LORRAINE.

No. 46

THREE VERSIONS OF THE CHATELLAR INCIDENT

(i.) THE NUNCIO WITH THE FRENCH COURT. (Summary.)

Vatican Archives, *Conc. di Trento*, vol. cxxxviii., fol. 198b. An official summary. The despatch is missing from the register of the nuncio's letters in their unabridged state, ibid. *Pio*, vol. cxxxiii.

Il Vescovo Santa Croce à 28 d'Aprile, di Tampes[2]

CHE fù trouato un gentilhuomo Francese sotto il letto de la Regina di Scotia; et se ben disse che da principio haueua fatto ciò per amore, nondimeno essendo dipoi condennato à la morte ha confessato d'hauerlo fatto di ordine espresso di Madama di Cursol,[3] la quale l'haueua mandato in quel Regno per dar qualche mala fama à quella Regina.

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[1] Lethington's autograph draft for this letter was acquired by the British Museum (*Egerton*, 1962, 1), but unfortunately perished in a fire on the binder's premises, 10 July, 1865.—*B. M. Catalogue of MSS.*

[2] This date suggests that the news is somehow connected with Lethington's presence at the French court at that time. The tenor of the letter too is similar to that which de Quadra wrote from London on the 28th of March containing Lethington's version of the incident (*Spanish Calendar*, p. 314). See Lethington to Mary, 9 March 1563, printed in Philippson, *Règne de Marie Stuart*, iii. 458-465; Teulet, *Relations*, v. 3; *Venetian Calendar*, 1558-80, p. 355.

[3] Mme. de Cursol, or Crusolles, a lady of Catherine de Medici's court,

[*Etampes, 28 April* 1563]

THAT a French gentleman was found under the bed of the Queen of Scotland, and although he at first said that he had done so for love, yet afterwards when condemned to death he confessed that he did it by the express order of Madame de Cursol, who had sent him to that kingdom to give a bad name to that queen.

(ii.) A NEWS-LETTER FROM TRENT. (Extract.)

Vatican Library, *Urbino*, cod. 1039, fol. 397. Contemporary news-letter. The allusion to the Cardinal of Lorraine fixes the date. Monsignor Calini, writing from Trent on April 27th, reports similar news. Baluze-Mansi, *Miscellanea*, iv. 306.

[*Trent, probably 27 April* 1563]

. . . Ho ancora inteso esser verissimo quel caso accaduto alla Regina di Scotia, il quale sarà stato scritto da Venetia per riporto di Avisi di Fiandria, come è stato scritto quà; che un gentilhomo Francese Ugonotto, partito di Francia sotto pretesto di voler esser buon Catholico et non voler più patire le abominationi delli Ugonotti, et di dubitare di esser fatto per questo da loro amazzare per essersi da loro partito, uscendo fugitivamente di Orleans, se n'era ito alla Corte della sudetta Regina di Scotia, et era stato ritrovato una sera sotto il letto della Regina con spada et pugnale, et scoperto haveva detto di essere mosso à far questo per amore qual portava alla Regina. Ma s'intendeva che lo haveva fatto con intentione di amazzarla, indutto da Ugonotti, liquali dubitavano s'ella fusse maritata ad un figlio dell' Imperatore, la casa de Ghisa ne acquistaria molta grandezza. Et di questo caso Mons^{r} Ill^{mo} di Lorena ha lettere dalla Regina scritte di mano di Sua Maiestà propria che le raccontono tutto il fatto minutamente. Vedero si sarà possibile haver copia della lettera istessa, et mandarla quest' altra posta. La persona che hà indutto quel gentilhomo à far questo s'intende esser stata Madama di Crosciol, la quale di presente si ritrova in Orleans con la Principessa di

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apparently a Huguenot, afterwards created Duchess of Uzès. Teulet's document gives the certainly erroneous form 'Curosot.' His note thereupon (*ibid.*) is therefore irrelevant. There was a lady of the same name among Mary's *femmes de chambre*, and a Mademoiselle de Curel, among her *dames*.—Teulet, ii. 268.

Conde. Il gentilhomo fù preso dalla guardia della Regina, et dato nelle mani del suo Consiglio, il quale l'ha fatto processare et poi impiccare. Si concludirà il matrimonio della sudetta Regina di Scotia con l'Arciduca d'Austria, et fra poco tempo (per quel ch' hò inteso) per liberare la sua persona da ogni pericolo, essendone ella contentissima. Si tiene anco hormai per fatto il parentado del Rè di Francia con la seconda genita del Rè de Romani, havendone hauuto Mgr. Ill^mo^ di Lorena il mandato di procura per concluderlo, ma secretissimamente per hora. Per la qual cagione non è bene di parlarne ancora.

[*Probably 27 April* 1563.

. . . I HAVE also heard that the misadventure which befel the Queen of Scotland is confirmed beyond doubt. It will have already reached you, as it reached us, through the *Avvisi di Fiandria*, sent from Venice. It is said that a French gentleman, a Huguenot, left his country under pretext of becoming a good Catholic and of being tired of the abominations of the Huguenots, and hence to stand in fear of being murdered, as he had been of their party. So he made his way out of Orleans as if escaping, and went to the court of the said queen, and had been found one evening under the queen's bed with his sword and dagger, and when discovered, he declared that he had been moved to this by his passion for her. It was, however, discovered that he had done so with the intention of killing her, and had been induced to do so by the Huguenots, because they feared that, if she married the son of the emperor, the house of Guise would acquire such great power.

The Cardinal of Lorraine has received letters from the queen, written with her Majesty's own hand, in which she gives him a minute account of all. I will see if I can possibly get a copy, and will send it by the next post. The person who induced the gentleman to act thus is said to be Madame de Crusciol [? Cursol], who is at present in Orleans with the Princess of Condé. The gentleman was seized by the queen's guard. The case was put into the hands of her Council, which tried him and then hanged him.

The marriage of the said Queen of Scots with the Archduke of Austria will be concluded, and that soon, as I hear, in order to free her person from all danger; she being very well pleased with it. It is also believed that the match between the King of France and the second daughter of the King of the Romans is finally settled, the Cardinal of Lorraine having a mandate as procurator to conclude it; but for the moment it is kept very secret, and so it would be well not to talk about it yet.]

(iii.) Lo Sucedido en el Concilio di Trento, by Don Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, Bishop of Salamanca. (Extract.)

The Spanish text has been printed by Döllinger, *Concil von Trient*, ii. 115, from a copy in the Bodleian Library.

A conspiracy has been discovered, which they[1] [the heretics] have made to massacre the Catholic princes: some should assassinate Guise, some the Duke of Savoy, others the King of Spain, and the rest of the lords and princes. The assassins of the Duke of Savoy are said to be taken prisoners, but they succeeded in their treason against M. de Guise. May God of His mercy save the King of Spain! The Cardinal of Lorraine lives very guardedly and in great fear, for he has been told that he is among those named to be murdered. As for the Queen of Scotland, who is a Catholic, they determined not to kill her, but to dishonour her, in order to prevent her from marrying. So they sent thither a man, who pretended to be an exile from France, and he waited late one night, and entering the queen's apartment, got under the bed, intending to get out in the morning by a window, so that when people saw him getting out they should think that he came from the queen, who would be defamed. Being discovered, however, by some of the queen's servants, he could not effect his evil desire. It is said that he has been executed. It clearly appears how alien to the laws of Christ is the doctrine they profess, since they think good in its defence to commit such great crimes as the murder and defamation of kings and princes.

No. 47

MARY'S LETTER TO THE COUNCIL OF TRENT, AND THE CONCILIAR ANSWER

[18 *March to* 15 *July* 1563]

1. Sources.—The original of Mary's letter appears to be lost. It has, however, been frequently printed from copies:

[1] Monsignor Calini's letter (Baluze-Mansi, iv. 306, referred to, p. 165) also connects the Chatellar incident with a great Protestant conspiracy, which indeed was not less feared by the Catholics than a grand Papal league was dreaded by the Protestants.

(*a*) Baluze's *Miscellanea*, ed. Mansi (1756), iv. 360. Full of typographical errors. No reference is given to the source whence this copy is taken. Labanoff's text belongs to the same family, but is much more accurate.

(*b*) Rinaldi, *Annales* (the continuation of Baronius), 1563, § 111. He follows two codices (one in the Vatican, one in the Barberini Library) of the *Acta Concilii per Astulphium Servantium*, sub fin. Unfortunately he gives only old press-marks, now of no service. The text is fairly accurate, and has been followed by Le Plat (*Monumenta*, vi. 48), and other writers about the Council of Trent.

(*c*) Labanoff, *Recueil*, i. 179. From a copy in the Bib. Nationale, *Fonds Dupuy*, 357. He is followed by Joseph Robertson, *Statuta*, p. 249.

For the Answer of the Council, I have followed Rinaldi, *ibid.* § 112, and Vat. Arch., *Concil. Trid.*, vol. c., 214, a very careless transcript, which, however, gives one or two preferable readings. Rinaldi, I fancy, has retouched the Latin in some places.

II. CHRONOLOGY OF THE PREVIOUS CORRESPONDENCE.

(*a*) The letters are dated 18 March, and were doubtless carried by Raulet, who started for France on that day (*Foreign Calendar*, 1563, No. 463). The printed editions give the date sometimes as 13, 10, or 5 of March—perhaps through omitting some letters of the Roman numeral xviii—and even as the 5th of May.

(*b*) On 3 April, Lethington gave de Quadra a *pliego* (envelope) from Mary to be forwarded by Cardinal Granvelle to the Cardinal of Lorraine. —Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Relations Politiques*, iii. 295.

(*c*) Trent, 6 May.—Cardinal Sermonetta, one of the cardinal legates, writes to Rome to Cardinal Borromeo:

'This afternoon the Cardinal of Lorraine came to visit us. He had 'already requested an audience to bring forward matters of moment. 'On arriving he read the letter of the Queen of Scotland to the Holy 'Synod, a copy of which shall be enclosed herewith. Having said a few 'words about it in the style of which he is master, he begged us to fix a 'day on which he might deliver the letter to the Council, and say what 'he has to say. We have assigned next Monday, the tenth of this month.' —Vat. Arch., *Concil. Trid.*, lxi. 172.

(*d*) On the morning of the 10th of May, Monsignor Calini writes to Cardinal Cornaro at Rome, mentioning the letter and the speech which the Cardinal of Lorraine was to make, and adds 'I will send you a 'copy of the answer. I think it will be the one which has proceeded 'from the weak hands of a certain servant of yours, who as a rule works

'but roughly at this trade.' A modest confession of having been selected to pen the Council's response.—Baluze, *Miscellanea*, ed. Mansi, iv. 308.

(*e*) The actual proceedings at the congregation are thus officially chronicled by Massarelli.—Theiner, *Acta Genuina Con. Trid.*, 1874, ii. 246, from Vat. Arch., *Concil. Trid.*, vol. lxiv.

'On Monday, the 10th of the month of May, in the year 1563, at 21 'o'clock [*i.e.* 3 P.M.], there was a general congregation with open doors, 'at which the Cardinal of Lorraine exhibited the letter of the Queen of 'Scotland to the Council, dated at St. Andrews, the 5th of the month of 'May [*sic*] 1562. It was read aloud by me, the secretary, Bishop of 'Telese.

'After the reading, the aforesaid cardinal described in a long speech 'the ancestry of the queen and the state of the realm.

'To this letter and speech the Council made answer.

'This answer was approved, without comment, by all except the Bishop 'of Messina, who said, "Instead of 'accepts' (*admittit*), say 'has listened 'to'" (*audivit*). The Bishop of Budua (*Buduensis*) said "Non placet, '"because it does not correspond to what was contained in the letter".

'The congregation was closed at 23 o'clock' [5 P.M.].

Paleotto's account of this congregation is briefer, but adds one or two particulars omitted by Massarelli.

a. He notes that, after the synodal answer to Mary's letter of 18 March, there were read: 'Another letter of the queen to Pius IV., and 'another to the Cardinal of Lorraine.' These of course were the letters of 30 and 31 January 1563.—No. 45, *ante*.

b. The points which impressed him in the Cardinal of Lorraine's speech.

'The Cardinal of Lorraine added much about the ancestry and birth 'of Queen Mary; and that Clement the Seventh, and Paul the Third had 'declared that she should not only be honoured by the dignity otherwise 'bestowed on the English kings, but they also with extraordinary praise 'called her the Defender of the Church'[1] (*Acta Concilii Tridentini, 1562, 1563, a G. Card. Paleotto descripta*, ed. Mendham, 1842, p. 493).

These words can hardly be accurately reported, as Clement VII. had been dead for eight years before Mary was born. But we at least gather from them that the cardinal somehow represented the Popes as having favoured the claim to the English throne put forth by France in Mary's

[1] Lotharingius multa de origine, natalibusque Mariae Reginae adjecit; quodque Clemens Septimus et Paulus Tertius illam non solum ea dignitate, quae Anglicis Regibus alias delata fuit, ornandam decreverunt, sed etiam Ecclesiae defensorem mirifica illius cum laude appellaverunt. This sentence is also quoted by Rinaldi, *ut supra*.

name. It will immediately appear that the cardinal himself did not want to have his words scrutinised too closely.

(*f*) In the evening of the same 10th of May, the three cardinal legates, Hosius, Sermonetta, and Navigero, wrote officially to Cardinal Borromeo:

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS AND REVEREND LORD,—Having returned from the congregation, we add this note to the letter already written to your eminence, to tell you that in it the Queen of Scotland's letter, of which we sent you a copy the other day, was read to the Synod. The Cardinal of Lorraine then made a speech. He began by describing the great nobility and the genealogy of that queen, with mention of her religious mind, and the travails and perils which she has undergone in maintaining there the Catholic religion. Then he spoke of the calamities and miseries to which the kingdom is reduced by reason of the heretics, and excused the queen, who for these reasons cannot send thence either prelates or an ambassador to the Council. Finally, he showed how she would always and everywhere, as the devout and obedient daughter of the Apostolic See, respect and obey everything that shall be decided and determined by this holy Council.

Such was the sum of his discourse, in which he also mentioned that the queen had written to a few of her bishops who are exiles in France, ordering them to go to the Council, and that she hopes they will come. Answer was made in regular form, and, in accordance with custom, a copy of it will be despatched as soon as possible. None will be sent of the Cardinal of Lorraine's speech, as he has let it be known that it was neither prepared nor written. . . .—Vat. Arch., *Concil. Trid.*, lxi. 185.

(*g*) Cardinal Charles Borromeo acknowledged, on the 15th, the legates' letter of the 6th, in the following terms:—'His Holiness will be 'glad to hear in time what his eminence the Cardinal of Lorraine will 'have stated to the Council in the name of the Queen of Scotland.'

On the 19th he thus alludes to the receipt of the news of the 10th instant:

'Nothing now occurs to me to say about the discourses made during 'the congregations by the Cardinal of Lorraine both in the name of the 'Queen of Scots, and on the summary of abuses.'

The last words possibly allude to a speech made by the cardinal on the 13th, in which he had denounced kings who interfered with the liberties of bishops, expressly adding that he condemned Mary too, if she were guilty.—Vat. Arch., *Concil. Trid.*, lxvii. Nos. 34, 36, and lxi. 185.

(*h*) On the 15th of July, at the close of the seventh session, the addresses of royal personages to the Council and the synodal answers were read, in the order in which they had been received. Mary's letter came third.—Theiner-Massarelli, ii. 309; Baluze-Mansi, *Miscellanea*, iv. 323.

III. Queen Mary to the Council of Trent.

[*St. Andrews*, 18 *March* 1562-3]

Mary, by the grace of God Queen of Scots and Dowager of France, to the most holy Council of Trent, wishes greeting.

Most illustrious Fathers,—Nothing since the summoning of this holy Council has been more constantly in our minds than the despatch of some of our prelates to take part in it. This was our duty as a most devout daughter of the Catholic *Roman* Church, and would, we thought, have helped all our subjects to recognise aright the holy Apostolic See. Such, however, has been the wickedness of this time, that not only have the prelates of our realm not been free to go thither, but we ourselves, to our great annoyance, have been deprived of the power and means of sending envoys.

For these reasons we have written to request of the most reverend and illustrious Cardinal of Lorraine, our most dear uncle, to whom our estate is not unknown, that he would communicate and explain to your fatherships what we have communicated to him in full concerning the impediments which hamper us, and our constant mind *and will* to revere and submit to the said See. On all which heads we beg you, reverend fathers, to give him credence.

Given at St. Andrews, the 18th day of March, in the year from *the resurrection* of the Lord 1563.[1]

Marie R̃.

IV. Answer of the Holy Synod to the Speech of the Cardinal of Lorraine.

[10 *May* 1563]

Most illustrious and reverend lord,—If the Holy Synod had been hitherto insufficiently informed of her Majesty the Queen of Scotland's zeal for the Catholic religion and of her great filial devotion and observance towards the Apostolic See, it would surely easily recognise them now from your eminence's

[1] Rinaldi's text omits the words between the asterisks, and reads 'the incarnation' for 'the resurrection.'

weighty and ample speech. You have with affectionate wisdom collected so many proofs of her good will and unchanging constancy in the orthodox faith, that neither, one would think, could her Majesty desire more, nor could we find adequate praise for her virtue.

In truth, however, the actions and words of this most noble queen, being, as it were, set up on high, cannot be hidden, and still less so her brave deeds for Christ, which every one commends as they deserve. Indeed, this Holy Synod has ever so admired her piety and insuperable strength of mind, that it thinks exceeding great thanks should be given to the Eternal God, who has granted her Majesty so devout and religious a mind. And surely, as we must reckon it a singular grace that God should preserve for Himself very many nations and peoples, amongst whom the splendour of the truth should shine despite the great cloud of errors, and by whom the pure and sound doctrine of our fathers should be most readily accepted, so we may see a proof of Christ our Lord's surpassing love for the Holy Church for which He died, in that He has raised up in these most difficult times certain princes and kings indued with such virtue from on high that they are prepared to spend riches, fortune, life itself for true religion, and that they think it more honourable and glorious to prove themselves loyal sons and ardent defenders of the Church, the common mother of all, than to rule. Amongst these the illustrious name of Mary, Queen of Scotland, will most certainly never be forgotten.

Wherefore, most illustrious and reverend lord, as her Majesty's true piety towards God, and the signal obedience she has ever shown to the Apostolic See, is known and evident to all, so has the relation thereof been pleasant and agreeable to this Holy Synod. It does not indeed think that the excellence of her dispositions stood in need of attestation, but as your eminence's warrant for them must be most important, the Council accepts it very gladly. The news that her Majesty is pressed on every side with such difficulties that she could not come to a resolution about sending her ambassador or her bishops to this Œcumenical Council was very lamentable. The Holy Synod is not ignorant that the distinction of this place would have been increased, if an ambassador from Scotland had joined

those from the Emperor Ferdinand and the other kings and princes and republics; nor does it doubt that, if the prelates of that nation, men distinguished for learning, integrity, and religion, were to join the great numbers of others now collected together, they would be able to do much that might contribute to the good of the common cause, and to the utility of their particular churches. Nevertheless, while they are labouring so hard at home in guarding the flock of the Lord, while there is need of the greatest activity and vigilance in warding off wolves and robbers, the synod not only readily allows them to be away in discharge of so necessary a duty, but in all justice thinks that they even ought not to be present. The presence of an ambassador again the Holy Synod does not greatly miss, while it can hear your eminence setting forth with gravity and prudence the commissions of Queen Mary, as it were in her name. You will be the most excellent witness—may we not say—the hostage for her goodwill.

Meanwhile the Holy Synod gladly admits, as in duty bound, the queen's letters, and what you have said in her name. It prays, and will never cease to implore God—that God Who has snatched from so many and such great dangers a queen who relies not on human aid and advice, but on heavenly power and protection—that He may long preserve her unharmed, and give her force both to extend the boundaries of her kingdom, and to carry afar the name of the Catholic religion.

No. 48

PROPOSED RECOGNITION OF MARY'S CLAIM TO THE ENGLISH THRONE

I. The General Question.—This paper is connected with the essay made to see if Queen Elizabeth should be excommunicated by the Council. I have in preparation for publication the whole of the correspondence on this subject, much of which is as yet unprinted, but shall give here all that throws light on the proposals regarding Mary's claims.

II. Chronology and Correspondence.

(*a*) 2 June 1563, Rome.—The Pope desires to know the opinion of the cardinal legates, who were presiding at the Council of Trent, as

to the best means of proceeding against Elizabeth, which ought to be done in Council.—Vat. Arch., *Conc. Trid.*, lxviii. 41.

(*b*) 12 June, Trent.—The Austrian ambassadors inform the emperor 'that on the 11th they were called to a meeting by the legates, the 'Cardinal of Lorraine and envoys of Poland and Savoy being also 'present. A proposition [sent from Louvain] for the excommunication 'of the queen was read, and another paper [on the recognition of the 'title of the Queen of Scots] was afterwards sent to us by Cardinal 'Hosius. It was agreed that your opinion should be asked' (Sickel, *Concil von Trient*, p. 540). Bucholtz, *Ferdinand I.*, ix. 699, gives both memorials—that on the excommunication, beginning *Videtur valde* on p. 700, that on Mary, *Quod si forte*, on p. 701. The latter is reprinted below.

(*c*) 19 June, Innsbruck.—The emperor informs his ambassadors that he is very much displeased with the proposed excommunication, and desires the memorial on the recognition of Mary, a matter quite remote from religion, to be entirely suppressed.—Sickel, 551; Rinaldi, 1563, § 115.

(*d*) 27 June, Brussels.—Cardinal Granvelle writes to the legates that King Philip will be displeased with the measures proposed.—Rinaldi, *Annales*, 1563, § 115; Pallavicino, *Con. di Trento* (1746), v. 131; E. Poulet, *Correspondance de Granvelle*, Bruxelles, 1877, i. 553; H. de la Ferrière, *Lettres de Cat. de Médici*, i. 107. *n.*

(*e*) 30 June, Rome.—The Pope (who had only been informed of the conference of the 11th by a letter dated the 21st) approves the proposed excommunication.—Vat. Arch., *Con. di Trento*, lxviii. 61.

(*f*) 30 June, Trent.—The Austrian ambassadors to the emperor. The legates say they only wanted to know his views, which they readily accept. They denied having so much as seen the memorial for the recognition of Mary. Cardinal Hosius afterwards explained that he had sent the paper as soon as he knew its contents, but without having read it, thinking that as the emperor's subject he might well send anything of importance to the empire which he had himself received.—Sickel, 554.

(*g*) 6 July, Rome.—The Pope having heard (by letter of the 28th) and considered the emperor's reasons, approves them and retracts his former orders.—Vat. Arch., *Con. di Trento*, lxviii. 69; compare Sickel, 561.

(*h*) 13 July, Vienna.—The Nuncio Delfino to the legates. Your replies have reassured the emperor as to your prudence.—Vat. Arch., *Con. di Trento*, xxx. 121.

(*i*) Dec., Trent.—(End of the Council.) 'An *Anathema* was 'denounced against all Hereticks in generall, in one word only, not 'specifying either ancient or moderne.'—Sarpi, *Council of Trent*, English Trans., 1620, p. 813.

III. AUTHORSHIP.—As to the authorship of the following anonymous paper, it may have been sent by some English exile in Flanders, as the other paper on the excommunication of Elizabeth was. It may also have been written by Nicholas Sander, who was then in Hosius's service.

IV. SOURCE.—The original is at Vienna, K. K. Haus, Hof und Staats Archiv, § *Romana*. There is a copy among Pallavicini's MS. materials for his History of the Council of Trent (vol. iii. c. 22), which I have consulted, but I have followed F. B. v. Bucholtz, *Geschichte der Regierung Ferdinand des Ersten* (Wien, 1838), ix. 701, whose text is more accurate. See *supra* (*b*).

MEMORIAL ON RECOGNISING QUEEN MARY'S CLAIM TO THE ENGLISH THRONE.

[*Probably June* 1563]

QUOD si forte Pontifici Maximo et christianis Principibus expediens videbitur ut Regina per concilium excommunicetur et privetur, cum id sola religionis causa fiat, populo id valde placebit. Et si consilium sua publica authoritate (cuius existimatio in illo regno multo major est quam populus auderet exterius demonstrare) titulum illius Regni, cum consensu Summi Pontificis et christianorum Principum, conferet alicui principi qui in uxorem accipiet Reginam Scotorum, quae Regni Angliae est vera haeres, et quae si esset vir non indigeret fortasse aliorum auxilio quam eorum qui in eo regno ei faveant, creditur quod prudens huius rei publicatio adeo multitudinis corda in illius partem duceret, ut cum parva exterorum manu illud regnum acquireret, etiamsi haeretici pro viribus fortasse resisterent. Infinita enim multitudo tam nobilium quam popularium, magis indigne ferentes hanc miserabilem animorum servitutem sub tyrannide Nicolai Baconis et Gulielmi Cecilii, quam Israelitae unquam sub Pharaone, jam diu talem Moysen expectaverunt qui eos ab hac captivitate liberaret Est tamen in hac re magna habenda discretio, quoniam quilibet Princeps non eadem facilitate haec perficere poterit. Ille igitur erit aliis praeferendus qui putabitur illius regni quietum dominium cum minore sanguinis effusione assequi ac tenere posse. Ille vero sine controversia gratior erit et acceptior qui illo regno majora dominia non habuerit. Populus enim ille alicuius prorегis vel regentis iugum nunquam quiete portabit. Pro certo itaque habemus quod filius Regis Catholici, quamvis sit aliis potentior, multo tamen difficilius tam propter externa quam propter interna impedimenta ad illius regni sceptra perveniret, et difficilius custodiret, et majore sanguinis effusione uti cogeretur in eius gubernatione, quam filius Caesareae Majestatis.

nising QUEEN MARY'S CLAIM to the ENGLISH THRONE.

[*Probably June* 1563.]

nd the princes of Christendom think it ex-
should be excommunicated by the Council and
measure, undertaken in the cause of religion only,
popular with the [English] people. Especially if the Council
public authority (which is respected in that kingdom far more than any one dares show openly) should, with the consent of the Pope and Christian kings, confer the title to the kingdom on some prince who shall marry the Queen of Scots, the true heir to that realm. If she were a man she would, perhaps, need no other aid than that of her party in that kingdom.

It is believed that if this were made public judiciously, it would so draw to her the hearts of the people, that with the aid of a small foreign army she would gain possession of the realm, even though the heretics may perhaps resist as well as they can. The numbers both of nobles and commoners is infinite, who resent the miserable slavery of their souls under the tyranny of Nicholas Bacon and William Cecil more than the Israelites ever hated the yoke of Pharaoh, and they have long awaited a Moses to free them from this captivity.

Special attention must be paid to this, that it is not every prince who will be able to effect this with the same ease. That one is to be preferred who is thought best able to win and retain peacefully the supreme power with the least effusion of blood. Beyond a doubt, too, that prince will be more popular and eligible who does not possess a dominion larger than the realm of England, for the English are a people who will never quietly submit to the yoke of a regent or viceroy. Hence we take it for certain that the son of the King of Spain, albeit more powerful than the other competitors, will nevertheless experience more difficulties than they in making his way to that throne, and this both because of external and internal obstacles. He would also find more difficulties in retaining the kingdom when won, and would have to shed more blood in ruling it than the son of the emperor would have to do.]

No. 49

INSTRUCTIONS TO MONSIGNOR VISCONTI

(Extract relating to the marriage with the Archduke)

1. SOURCE.—The text of the instructions has been printed in full in Baluze-Mansi, *Miscellanea*, iv. 455-459, and in Laemmer, *Meletematum Romanorum Mantissa*, Ratisbon, 1875, pp. 186-194, from an MS. in the Corsini Library, Rome, No. 467. I have followed Vatican Library, cod. 6690, 351, which offers some better readings. Full Latin summaries have been printed by Rinaldi, *Annales*, 1563, § 179, and Le Plat, *Monumenta*, vi. 270.

The instructions consist of three distinct papers. The first refers to the conclusion of the Council, and is referred to below as *il principale negotio*. The second treats of the projects of Cardinal Lorraine; the third of points of difference between Spain and France. The extract below is the concluding portion of the second paper.

II. PREVIOUS NEGOTIATIONS:

(*a*) 11 January 1561.—*Commencement of the negotiation on behalf of the Archduke.* See Nos. 17, 21, 28, 37 § 25, App. ii. 3.

(*b*) 19 February 1563.—The emperor wrote to the archduke to inform him that the Cardinal of Lorraine had re-opened the negotiation. — F. B. v. Bucholtz, *Ferdinand I.*, viii. 737.

[? 23] May.—Mary, being informed of what the cardinal had done, replied that she must consult her parliament before answering definitely.—Bucholtz, *ibid.*, viii. 738; *Foreign Calendar*, 1563, Nos. 7, 747, 912, § 2. The negotiation from this time languished owing to Lethington's counter proposals.

(*c*) *Counter negotiation for a marriage with Don Carlos, Prince of Spain.*

18 March 1563.—Lethington recommenced this negotiation, which, like the former, had been first opened shortly after the death of Francis II. Lethington strongly opposed the match with the archduke, because 'if the King of Spain did not give the archduke much assistance and show of help, that offer would not be acceptable.'—*Documentos Inéditos*, lxxxvii. 491; *Spanish Calendar*, p. 308.

(*d*) *Irresolution of King Philip II.*

15 June.—He gave a conditional approval to the negotiation for Don Carlos.—*Spanish Calendar*, p. 332.

15 August.—He gave his full consent, but ordered that it should be kept secret.—*Documentos Inéditos*, xxvi. 460.

12 October.—He was reconsidering the whole question with the aid of the Duke of Alva.—Weiss, *Papiers de Granvelle*, vii. 223.

18 November.—He had resolved to support the archduke, but this was also to be kept secret.—Maurenbrecher, *Historische Zeitschrift* (ed. Sybel), 1864, xi. 296, *n.* 2.

(*e*) *Some effects of the counter negotiation.*

26 June.—The Cardinal of Lorraine was *muy perplexo* as early as June 26 (*Documentos Inéditos*, xxvi. 447), but remained averse to the match with Spain. ('*Ce qu'il déconseilloit le plus qu'il pouvoit à la Reine d'Escosse.*' See Le Laboureur, ii. 438.)

31 October.—The Pope began to support Spain until his interview with the Cardinal of Lorraine (*Le Pape ne sachant rien de ce que ledit Cardinal en avoit negocié avec [moi], entretenoit ladite pratique avec l'Espagne, mais depuis sa Sainteté l'avoit laissée, et estoit en volonté d'aider et avancer celle-cy.*—Message of the emperor to Queen Catherine, in Le Laboureur, i. 326). Visconti's departure for Madrid happening to coincide with the cardinal's advent in Rome, the Pope allowed his envoy Visconti to act as the cardinal's spokesman, giving him the instruction to be quoted below. He does not seem to have had any other connection with Mary's affairs. For the objects and results of his mission, see R. de Hinojosa, *Diplomacia Pontificia en Espagna*, i. 154-8. For the visit of the Cardinal of Lorraine to Rome, see Musotti's *Sommario*, in Döllinger, *Concil von Trient*, ii. 35.

18 November.—The emperor sent Don Martin de Guzman to ask Philip for explanations, and received the answer, dated 18 November, referred to in (*c*) *supra*.

(*f*) Finally it may also be noted here that, much as the Pope must have desired a Catholic marriage for Mary, this appears to have been the last time that he saw his way to take any step towards its realisation.

INSTRUCTIONS given to MONSIGNOR CARLO VISCONTI, sent by POPE PIUS the FOURTH to the CATHOLIC KING on the affairs of the COUNCIL, 1563, the last of October.

[His Holiness judges it befitting that you should be able to give the king a sincere and faithful account of all that the Cardinal of Lorraine has negotiated with him. He has confined himself entirely to matters of religion and the progress of the Council. The only other measure he has advocated has been a conference of Catholic sovereigns.]

The aforesaid cardinal has [also] spoken at length with his Holiness about the negotiation for the marriage of his niece, the Queen of Scotland, with the Archduke Charles. He constantly affirms that this will powerfully conduce to the public good and that there is no other way of restoring the Catholic religion in that kingdom. Her subjects will not allow her to go abroad, and if she went she would probably lose all hopes of returning. For all that, she is so much loved that if she

were thus honourably matched there would be hopes not only of restoring religion, but also of favourably influencing the fate of the English Catholics, who but for this possibility have no prospect whatever of seeing religion re-established in their kingdom.

None of these things are to be laid before his Majesty until the main business has been treated, and then too, not as affairs pertaining to his Holiness, but as matters discussed by the Cardinal of Lorraine with the Pope.[1]

From Rome, the last of October, 1564 [*sic*].

No. 50

M. ZACCHARIA DELFINO, NUNCIO AT VIENNA, TO CARDINAL BORROMEO. Extracts relating to the match with the ARCHDUKE CHARLES.

Vat. Archives, Nunziatura di Germania 66 (olim xxi.). I am indebted for nearly all these extracts to the Roman transcripts of Father Stevenson and Mr. Bliss, at the Record Office.

[*Vienna, 4 February to 6 July* 1564]

I. TENGONO per conclusi tre parentadi, Carlo arciduca in Scotia, la primogenita del Re de Romani nel principe di Spagna, et la seconda nel Re di Francia.

[Vienna] Decifrato del vescovo Delfino Nuntio, 4 Feb. 1564.

II. Intendo che 'l Re Catholico ha scritto qui in modo che si puo hauer certezza che la Maiestà sua non pensa à la Regina di Scotia, et non darà al principe suo figliuolo altra moglie che la primogenita del Ser^mo^. Re de Romani.

Vienna, 2 di Marzo.

III. Si scrive dalli buoni di Francia che quella Mtà ha

[1] That Visconti's negotiations were a complete failure is clearly stated by the Bishop of Cuença, confessor of Philip II., to Cardinal Charles Borromeo (Barberini MSS., xvi. 60, ff. 53-56, 319). Philip thought Visconti the originator of the troubles between France and Spain about precedence. A less welcome negotiator could therefore not have been found. Hinojosa (*Diplomacia Pontificia en Espagna*, p. 158) states that Philip's answer to him is preserved in the Vatican Archives (*Fondo Borghese*, i. 623, fol. 83), but this appears to be incorrect.

nutrito in piu modi il sospetto che la Regina d'Inghilterra hauea del Re d'Ispagna, et particolarmente col farla dubbitare che la regina di Scotia si potesse maritare col principe d'Ispagna; et il fine era tirar essa Regina à quella pace che ha finalmente fatta: però spedito ch'l Re si sia da Lione, s'aspetta che venga qui ò l'Ill^mo di Loreno ò altri, et che s'habbia da effettuare il maritaggio di Scotia col Ser^mo arciduca Carlo, et da finire d'ultimare quello del Re Christianissimo in una delle figliuole della M^tà del Re de Romani.

Vienna, 1 Junio 1564 (cifra).

IV. Il Cardinale di Loreno ha scritto al Re di Romani che il Re Christianissimo desidera maritarsi con la sua primogenita, et quanto piu presto. Di piu che spera di poter presto scriuere quanto esso Re Christianissimo desidera circa la Regina di Scotia, et in somma che esso Cardinale uuol venire alla Dieta Imperiale, et mostra di creder che detta Dieta habbia da esser presto, et che allora [si] debba risoluere li parentadi.

Vienna, 6 Luglio 1564 (decifrato).

[MONSIGNOR ZACCHARIA DELFINO to CARDINAL BORROMEO.

Vienna, 4 February to 6 July 1564.

I. THEY hold three alliances as settled: the Archduke Charles with Scotland, the eldest daughter of the King of the Romans with Spain, and the second daughter with the King of France.

[Vienna] Decipher from Bishop Delfino, the Nuncio, 4 February 1564.

II. I hear that the King of Spain has written in such terms that one may be certain that his Majesty does not think any longer of the Queen of Scotland, and that he will not give the prince his son any other wife but the eldest daughter of the King of the Romans.

Vienna, 2 of March.

III. The good [Catholics] of France write that their queen has strengthened in many ways the suspicion that the Queen of England has of the King of Spain, especially by making her fear that the Queen of Scotland might marry the Prince of Spain. Her object was to draw the English queen to that peace which is just concluded. When the King of France shall have left Lyons, they expect that either the Cardinal of Lorraine or some others will come here, and that the marriage of Scotland with his Highness the Archduke will be effected, and

the final steps taken in that of the King of France with one of the daughters of the King of the Romans.

Vienna, 1 June 1564 (cipher).]

IV. The Cardinal of Lorraine has written to the King of the Romans that the King of France desires to marry his eldest daughter as soon as possible. Also that he hopes to be able to write soon what the same king desires about the Queen of Scotland. In fine, the cardinal wants to come to the Imperial diet, and seems to believe that that diet must take place soon, and that the matches will be then decided.

Vienna, 6 of July 1564 (decipher).]

No. 51

POPE PIUS IV. BRIEFS TO QUEEN MARY AND OTHERS

I. SOURCES.—Barberini Library, xxxi. 10, fol. 151 *seq.*, and Vat. Arch., Arm. xliv., 20, Nos. 141, 140, 197. The former register, for details about which I am indebted to Mr. Bliss (Roman Transcripts), omits the brief to the Archbishop of Glasgow, the latter the briefs to the suffragan-bishops, the abbots, and the earls. As all these letters have more or less the same meaning, being simply exhortations to constancy, it has not seemed necessary to add translations (except a version of the brief to Mary), or to print more than three in full. They are mentioned by Rinaldi, *Annales*, 1564, § 49, and a summary of the letter to Mary is there printed.

II. PREVIOUS CORRESPONDENCE:

(*a*) Rome, 13 February 1564.—Cardinal Borromeo to Monsignor Santa Croce, nuncio in France. 'The decrees of the Council of Trent 'have been printed and copies will be sent you for distribution.'—Barberini, lxii. 19, fol. 38 b.

(*b*) Rome, 24 March 1564.—Same to same. 'You will also send 'a copy of the decrees to the Queen of Scotland, either by means of the 'Cardinal of Lorraine, or directly, and you will urge her, as well as you 'can, to have them observed.'—*Ibid.* fol. 636.

(i.) TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF ST. ANDREWS.

[*Rome*, 13 *June* 1564]

Ven. fratri Joanni archiepiscopo Sancti Andreae.

VEN. FRATER, etc. Commissa nobis ecclesiarum omnium solicitudo non patitur nos curam et cogitationem nostram

avertere abs te et reliquis fratribus istius regni episcopis. Longe quidem absumus a vobis corpore, sed spiritu et mente vobiscum sumus; caritas enim conjungit quos maris et terrarum intervalla disjungunt. Noti sunt nobis labores quos pro religione Catholica suffers; noti angores et merores tui, qui nos quoque angunt et excruciant. Cum enim unum membrum patitur reliqua quoque membra simul patiantur necesse est. Hortamur autem, dilectissime frater, ut tempus tuæ probationis agnoscens fortiter et patienter feras quicquid Deus permittit, et ad custodiam commissi tibi gregis intentiore quam unquam antea cura vigiles, animam tuam in patientia possessurus, et fidelis operæ præmium bonis et fidelibus servis a Domino propositum accepturus. Non deseret Is te sperantem in se et confidentem, nec supra id quod poteris tentari patietur, sed faciet cum tentatione proventum. Non obscurum illud Ejus misericordiæ signum habuisse videmur quod Concilium tanta tamque admirabili concordia præter spem atque expectationem multorum peractum fuit; cujus sancta salutariaque decreta confidimus non modo ad illustrandam Catholicæ fidei veritatem, sed etiam ad multorum, qui decepti ab hæreticis fuerant, illuminanda corda et sanandas mentes vim esse maximam habitura, præsertim si ea quæ ad reformationem morum pertinent ad effectum adducta fuerint, sicuti quidem et ea nos servare instituimus, et ab aliis servanda esse decrevimus. Ut enim abusus, qui tantopere creverant, magna ex parte tot et tantarum hæresum causam fuisse non dubium est, ita si sublati fuerint, magnum id horum malorum remedium futurum esse sperandum est.

Credimus jam exemplaria ipsius Concilii Decretorum in istas partes perlata fuisse, nonnulla tamen dilecto huic quoque filio, cui has litteras dedimus, dari jussimus, ut unum ex eis ad te afferat sive mittat; fraternitatemque tuam hortamur ut ipsum Concilium et decreta ejus omnia suscipiendo, in regno isto quam diligentissime fieri poterit et serves ipse et a suffraganeis tuis servanda cures; hoc enim summum illud auxilium est tandiu a piis omnibus expetitum, quo Catholica religio conservari ac defendi, et hæreticæ pravitatis pestis reprimi possit, nempe si quæ tam pie et salutariter in ipso fuerunt Concilio decreta et constituta, serventur; si quid vero a nobis petitum

fuerit quod ad te et reliquos fratres adjuvandos consolandosque pertineat, de eo si nos admonueris libentissimo animo quicquid poterimus faciemus, hujusque voluntatis nostræ ipsos suffraganeos tuos per te fieri cupimus certiores.

Datum Romaæ, apud S. Marcum, etc., die xiij Junii, M.D.lxiiij, Pontificatus nostri anno quinto.

(ii.) To the Archbishop of Glasgow.

Ven. fratri N. archiepiscopo Glascuensi.

Venerabilis frater, salutem, etc. Fraterna non patitur charitas expertes nos esse molestiarum et laborum quos tu et reliqui fratres suffertis. Præter alias curas et sollicitudines nostras dolore non parvo afficimur ex vestris mœroribus, et vestrarum ecclesiarum calamitatibus angimur; nec Deum orare desistimus ut tandem regnum istud et reliquas Christianæ religionis partes oculis suis propitiis respicere dignetur. Cujus divinæ clementiæ non obscurum signum illud habuisse videmur quod Concilium Tridentinum, remotis omnibus impedimentis, tanto omnium qui illi interfuerunt consensu, tamque admirabili concordia peractum fuit, quod ejus supernum munus grato et pio admodum animo accipiendum est, et tanti Concilii sancta salutariaque Decreta, quæ nos Apostolica auctoritate et fratrum nostrorum consilio et assensu confirmavimus, ab omnibus sunt et suscipienda reverenter et servanda fideliter. Nullum enim aptius remedium tantis Ecclesiæ malis adhiberi potuit.

Itaque fraternitatem tuam hortamur ut ipsum Concilium, cujus exemplar authenticum ad te cum his litteris mitti jussimus, sine cunctatione ulla suscipiat, ejusque canones ac constitutiones et servet ipsa et ab iis quibus præest servanda curet. Laudantes autem meritis in Domino laudibus pium studium et dignam bono pastori vigilantiam, qua, sicut accepimus, reliquum gregem tuum tueri et conservare conaris. Hortamur ut ne desistas ad salutem animarum incumbere, sed intentiore quam unquam cura et majore animo et oves quæ in Dominico ovili remanserunt custodias et illas quæ aberrarunt reducere studeas, pro tali sedulitate æternæ mercedis a Deo præmium accepturus. Quo facilius hoc efficere possis, si nostro tibi auxilio opus fuerit

id nec tibi nec reliquis fratribus unquam defuturum debes confidere.

Datum Romæ, apud S. Marcum, etc., die xiij Junii M.D.lxiiij.

(iii.) To the Bishop of Moray and Others.

N. Episcopo Murenen.—*Begins*, Pro commissa.

[After expressing sympathy with his sufferings, the Pope exhorts him to persevere. The following note is appended.]

Eodem exèmplo scriptum fuit Orcaden. et Dunkelden. episcopis et electo Brichinen.

(iv.) To the Bishop of Aberdeen and Others.

N. Episcopo Abredonen.—*Begins*, Oblato nobis.

[Similar expressions of sympathy and exhortation. The Pope mentions that his own grief is diminished both by the queen's *pietas et virtus singularis*, and by *tua et multorum aliorum opera* (*sicut accepimus*) *fidelis et strenua*.]

Eodem exemplo Rossen. et Dumblanen. Episcopis, et electo Candidae Rosse [*sic*] Ergisibaldo Craffert.

(v.) To the Abbots of Dunfermline and Crossraguel.

Dilecto filio Georgio Abbati Monasterii Sanctæ Margaritae de Dumfarmling.

Begins—Dilecte fili, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Habuimus praeclarum admodum testimonium de bonis operibus tuis et praestantibus in Catholicam fidem ac religionem meritis. Laetamur te talenta, quae a Domino accepisti, fideliter exercere. Hortamur, etc. [Conclusion, date, etc., as above.]

Eodem exemplo scriptum fuit abbati cuidam de Corsraguel, omissa fuit inscriptio ut fieret melius in Scotia.

(vi.) To the Earl of Athol and Others.

Dilecto filio, nobili viro Joanni Comiti de Athoill.

Begins, Pervenit ad nos gratus et jucundus admodum odor constantiae tuae in religione Catholica et erga hanc sedem tuam

et fidelium omnium matrem debitae pietatis ac fidei. Quo nomine Deo gratias agimus, etc. [Conclusion, date, etc., as before.]

Hoc eodem exemplo scriptum fuit Comiti de Muntross et Ugoni Comiti de Eglintoun et Comiti de Cathenes, fuit expeditum aliud breve eodem exemplo sed sine inscriptione.[1]

(vii.) To Mary Queen of Scots.

[*Rome*, 15 *June* 1564]

Charissimæ in Christo filiæ nostræ Mariæ, Scotorum Reginæ Illustri.

Charissima, etc. Cum reverteretur istuc dilectus hic filius Stephanus Vilsonius, Ser^ti^ Tuæ, sicut accepimus, valde fidelis et devotus, quo nomine libenter a nobis visus fuit, præterire noluimus quin te per has litteras salutaremus et benedictione nostra impertiremus. Quo sæpius officio fungeremur, si quibus daremus litteras haberemus; nec id tibi quam nobis futurum esset jucundius. Etenim Ser^tem^ Tuam singulari in Domino benevolentia prosequimur, et sicut cura et solicitudine magna afficimur ex statu regni tui tantopere propter hæreses perturbato, ita in tua eximia devotione, pietate, virtute, non parum acquiescimus, et de rebus tuis quam creberrime cupimus fieri certiores.

Te jam accepisse putabamus exemplar authenticum Decretorum Concilii Tridentini, quod ad te mittendum curavimus; sed tamen mandavimus alterum quoque ipsi Vilsonio ad te

[1] The list of the persons to whom these briefs are directed offers several points worthy of note. The last occasion on which briefs were sent to the whole hierarchy was when the summons to attend the Council of Trent was issued, 6 March 1561, No. 25 *ante*. Eight bishops were then omitted, now only three (Caithness, the Isles, Argyle): bishops-elect are recognised for Brechin and Galloway. The vagueness, with which the persons addressed are described, is also remarkable. The name of the Scottish primate alone is remembered; of the others the name of the see only is recorded. It is not clear from the text whether 'Ergesibaldus Craffert' (? Archibald Crawford) is to be identified with the elect of Galloway or not. Is it possible that any brief, even though merely hortative, should have been addressed to so decided a reformer as Alexander Gordon, titular Archbishop of Athens, who actually occupied the see?

The two abbots addressed were George Dury of Dunfermline and Quentin Kennedy of Crossraguel.

perferendum dari. Hortamur autem, ut, quoniam ipsius Concilii Decreta a nobis auctoritate Apostolica confirmata atque probata sunt et ubique jussa suscipi atque servari, ea tu quoque in regno tuo suscipienda et quam diligentissime poteris exequenda et observanda cures. Illud quoque Ser^tem^ Tuam pro paterno amore et nostri muneris officio monere non alienum putamus, ut in personis ad ecclesias et ecclesiastica munera nominandis, tum existimationi tum conscientiæ et fidei tuæ quam diligentissime semper consulere studeas, cavendo ne quemquam nomines quem non plane tibi exploratum atque compertum sit esse Catholicum, ac nulla suspicione hæresis laborare. Sicut enim maxime expedit ecclesiastica munera iis committi, quos fidei commendet integritas cum morum honestate conjuncta, ita nihil potest esse perniciosius quam si minore quam oporteat adhibita diligentia ad hujusmodi dignitates et munera vocentur hæretici, aut de hæretica pravitate suspecti.

Ita ergo, charissima filia, concesso ab Apostolica Sede privilegio utere ut in conquirendis et deligendis vitæ ac fidei probatæ hominibus Deo placere, et nobis diligentiam tuam probare possis. Atque hoc quod de ecclesiasticis administrationibus monuimus etiam in secularibus officiis magistratibusque mandandis servari abs te, si fieri potest, cupimus, idque ad tuendam et retinendam religionem Catholicam extinguendasque hæreses vel maxime pertinere scimus, sicut te quoque pro tua prudentia intelligere non dubitamus.[1] Omnino videmus difficultates quibus premeris, sed jacta cogitatum tuum in Domino, et confide in Eo qui sperantes in se non deserit, et a nobis ea studia et officia expecta, et tibi parata esse confide, quæcumque pro loco in quo sumus proficisci a nobis possunt, et ab optimo ac benignissimo patre expectari debent.

Dat. Romæ, apud S. Marcum, etc., die xv. Junii, M.D.lxiiij, Pontificatus nostri anno quinto.

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[1] In the Barberini MS. the following cancelled passage occurs here: Et a cæteris servari præcipimus, sperandum est magnum id tantorum malorum remedium futurum esse, et ut abusus istas haud dubie hæresis aluerunt, ita eorum correctionem plurimum ad eas minuendas aut certe reprimendas esse profuturum.— Proinde hortamur-

[Pius iv. to Queen Mary. 15 *June* 1564.

As we gladly gave audience to this bearer, our dear son, Stephen Wilson, because we heard that he was very faithful and devoted to your Majesty, so on his return towards you we would not fail to greet you by these presents and impart to you our blessing. This we should do more often still if we had any one to whom we might give our letters, and should thereby please ourselves as much as you. We have, in truth, a singular affection for you in the Lord, and, as we feel great care and solicitude for your kingdom, which is so distracted by heresies, so we find no little comfort in your signal devotion, piety, and virtue, and we desire to be informed as often as possible about your affairs.

Though we believe that you have already received the authentic copy of the Decrees of the Council of Trent, which we took care to send you, nevertheless we have given orders that another should be given to Wilson to convey to you. Furthermore we exhort you that, as the decrees of the Council have been confirmed and approved by us with Apostolic authority, and are ordered to be everywhere received and observed, you should take as diligent care as you can to have them received, executed, and observed in your kingdom also.

Of this also we would admonish you, both for the fatherly love we bear you, and for the discharge of our duty, to wit that in nominating persons to churches and ecclesiastical offices, you ever attend to what befits your good name, your conscience, and your faith. Beware of nominating any one unless you have experience and proof that he is a Catholic, and labours under no suspicion of heresy. For as it is most expedient that ecclesiastical functions be committed to those who are commended by the integrity of their faith and the honesty of their manners, so nothing can be more harmful than, through want of due diligence, to call heretics, or men suspected of heretical pravity, to those posts and dignities.

So then, dear daughter, make use of the privilege granted you by the Apostolic See in such wise, that you may be able to please God, and give a good account to us of your diligence in seeking for and selecting men of approved life and faith. We further desire that what we have said of the administration of the Church should also be observed by you, if possible, in appointing secular officers and magistrates. This will conduce more than anything else to the preservation and maintenance of the Catholic religion and to the extinction of heresies, as you also in your prudence doubtless perceive.

We quite see the difficulties which press upon you, but place your confidence in the Lord, and trust in Him who never deserts those who have their hope in Him. Look to us for those favours and good offices which we, considering our position, can bestow, and for all that may be expected from a most kind and benevolent father. Be sure that they are held in readiness for you.

Given at Rome, at St. Mark's, etc., 15 June 1564, the fifth year of our pontificate.]

No. 52

POPE PIUS IV. TO QUEEN MARY

[*Rome*, 1 *May* 1565]

I. SOURCE.—Rome, Barberini Library, xxxi. 10, fol. 193.

II. PREVIOUS CORRESPONDENCE AND CHRONOLOGY.

(*a*) March 1564.—The Cardinal of Lorraine was back from Trent in Paris at the end of January 1564, and left for Rheims early in March. —The Nuncio Santa Croce to Cardinal Borromeo, 1 February and 3 March 1564; Arch. Vat., *Pio*, 204, fol 7.

(*b*) 24 March 1564.—The cardinal is to be requested to inform Mary about the decrees of Trent.—No. 51, II.

(*c*) 14 October 1564.—Mary wrote to the Pope, stating first that she had received an advertisement from the Cardinal of Lorraine about the decrees of the Council. This message may be connected with either of the events mentioned above. Secondly, she mentions the receipt of a book of the decrees, with a letter from the Pope, evidently those sent on the 15th of June 1564. The clause concerning the acceptation of the decrees of the Council in Scotland to which the Pope refers, runs as follows in the original:—'Nous . . . estudierons de plus en plus pour 'l'accroissement et union de nostre mère la saincte Église et y ferons 'obéyr tous nos sugectz, si Dieu par sa grâce peut reduyre et anéantire 'les hérésies (comme j'espère), ensemble le bon ordre et réformacion que 'vostre Saincteté y pourra donner.'—Labanoff, vii. 6.

Charissimae in Christo filiae nostrae Mariae, Reginae Scotiae Illustri.

CHARISSIMA in Christo filia nostra, salutem &c. Difficultatibus et impedimentis multis tribuendum esse intelligimus, quod Serenitatis Tuae litteras, datas xx die octobris, tam tarde acceperimus,[1] quae tamen non minus iucundæ nobis fuerunt, quam si celeriter perlatæ fuissent. Ex eis libenter cognouimus, te, cum certior prius facta fuisses a dilecto filio nostro Cardinali a Lotaringia, patruo tuo, de ijs quae in sacro Concilio Tridentino acta fuerant: accepisse postea librum, quem ad te miseramus

[1] This delay may be connected with Wilson's stay at Louvain in the winter of 1564-1565. See *infra*, Appendix iii., Father-General, S.J., to the Jesuit rector at Louvain, 19 February 1565.

actorum, et decretorum ipsius Concilij, [et te][1] daturam operam, ut a populis regni tui suscipiantur atque seruentur, sicuti persuasum habuimus, libentissime ex tuis litteris intelleximus: tuumque istum animum magnis in Domino laudibus prosequimur. Facies, quod insigni pietate tua erga Deum, et Sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam dignum est: et cum populorum tuorum saluti optime consules: tum etiam incolumitati regni tui. Te enim eo fungentem officio, quod pia et catholica regina dignum est: omnibus in rebus supernae gratiae auxilium prosequetur: et regnum tuum Is stabiliet, atque firmabit: cuius tu sanctam religionem in ipso regno constituere et conseruare studebis. Quo autem studiosius concilium ipsum seruandum cures: scito a caeteris quoque regibus Catholicis id propense ac pie admodum susceptum fuisse: ut sperari possit ex eius pijs salubribusque decretis ecclesiam catholicam uberiores indies fructus Deo iuuante, esse percepturam. Quod ut ita eueniat, quantum in nobis erit, curare nec desistimus adhuc nec desistemus. Dat. Romae apud Sanctum Petrum, die primo Maij MDLXV. Anno sexto.

[PIUS IV. to QUEEN MARY. *Rome*, 1 *May* 1565.

OWING to many difficulties and hindrances (as we see), your Highness' letter, dated on the 20th of October, has been slow indeed to reach us," withal it is not any the less welcome than it would have been had it come quickly. We were glad to understand from it that you had been already informed about the proceedings in the Council of Trent by our dear son, your uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, and that afterwards you received the book of the acts and decrees of the same Council which we sent you. We were still more happy to read in your letters that you would try to bring about the reception and observation of the said decrees by the inhabitants of your kingdom. We were always sure that you would do so, and we welcome your resolution with great praise in the Lord. You will therein act worthily of your noted piety towards God and the Holy Catholic Church, and provide to the best of your power for the salvation of your people, and the safety of your realm. Whilst you perform the duties incumbent on a devout Catholic queen, the assistance of divine grace will attend you in all things, and He, whose holy religion you shall strive to settle and preserve in your kingdom, will therein firmly establish and confirm your rule.

It may increase your zeal for the observation of the Council to know

[1] There is some error in the register here, which reads, *Late*. Bliss (Transcripts, R.O.) reads *Ea te*.

that the other Catholic kings have accepted it very cheerfully and devotedly, and there are hopes that, by the grace of God, the Church will reap daily greater and greater advantages from its godly and salutary decrees. As we have not failed hitherto, so shall we not cease in future to do all that in us lies for the attainment of this result.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, etc., 1 May 1565, the sixth year of our Pontificate.]

Appendix to No. 52

CARDINAL [? BORROMEO] TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF ST. ANDREWS

[*Rome*, 3 *July* 1565]

Text.—Vat. Library, Ottoboniana 2429, fol. 72b, contemporary copy. The Latin text has been already printed, from the now inaccessible Gratiani Papers at Cività di Castello, in *Juliani Pogiani Epistolæ et Orationes*, iv. 58. The editor, H. Longomarsini, S.J., adds that it occurs at p. 39 of his codex, among letters written in the name of the Congregation of the Council, but, he adds, 'haec non pertinent ad concilium.' The letter begins *Quo amplitudinem*, and is merely hortative. The two first paragraphs, however, contain some allusions to contemporary history.

They run as follows:

To the Archbishop of St. Andrews

Illustrious and very Reverend Lord,—My assiduity and affection in regard to your reverend lordship, which are great in proportion to your singular virtue in defending the Catholic faith and the authority of the Holy Roman Church, have suggested to me, on the occasion of the return of this gentleman, John Hamilton,[1] that I should send you my compliments by these letters and greet you with the announcement of the peace and grace of Christ the Lord.

Your name is great here for piety and religion's sake, and great is the joy of the good over a prelate who both resists the wicked with fortitude, and courageously defends good Catholics. True praise is that which redounds to the glory of God. [An exhortation to constancy as in previous letters.]

From Rome, 3 July 1565.

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[1] This was probably John, afterwards first Marquis of Hamilton.—Appendix iii., No. 18, *infra*.

SECTION VI

THE DISPENSATION FOR DARNLEY

No. 53

ADVICES TO AND FROM ROME REGARDING THE DARNLEY MATCH (Extracts).

11 *June* to 16 *October* 1565

1. SOURCES.—The first letter is from the Archives of the Society of Jesus, *Epistolæ Galliæ* ii., autograph. Further extracts from this letter will be found in Appendix iii. The other original news-letters are from volumes in the Vatican Library, viz., Cod. Vat. 6436, pp. 28, 32b, 48b, 55b, and Urbino, 1040, ff. 33, 68, 74, 96, 109. The latter is a collection of contemporary sheets sent from Venice to the banking firm of Fugger at Augsburg. Letters similar to many of those here quoted may be found in the Record Office, S. P., *Foreign, Elizabeth,* June-October 1565. There are two *printed* copies of the news-sheet for 6 October.—*Ibid.* No. 1203. iii. The *avvisi* in Vat. 6436 are there arranged under the heading *Avvisi tra le Scritture del Card. Morone.* They will be here distinguished by the sign †.

1. FATHER EDMUND HAY to FATHER POLANCO.

[*Paris,* 11 *and* 12 *June* 1565]

RUMOR hic est et constans nostram Reginam plane decrevisse, se in uxorem tradere, nobili illi anglo-scoto, cuius prosapiam poterit T. R. ex M. Gulielmo intelligere. Caeterum Catholicus est et optime educatus, praeclaris ac multis tum animi tum corporis dotibus praeditus. Principio omnia tumultibus replebuntur, nec poterit ille (quantum humanis conjecturis assequi licet) nisi multo sanguine et pluribus cedibus res illius regni pacificare. Succedet tamen postea, ut speramus, tempus nostris exercitiis multo accommodatius. Scribemus

interim diligentius et saepius solito. Nam superioribus diebus silentium nobis fuit tutissimum. . . .

Lutetiae, 3 Id. Junii. T. R. P. servus in Xto. indignus.

EDMUNDUS HAYUS.

Hodie accepimus, per nuncium satis magnae authoritatis, matrimonium Reginae nostrae brevi esse consummandum: et ad hoc missam esse legationem valde solemnem ex Anglia, qua nuptiae decorentur.[1] Item Dominum Jacobum, Reginae fratrem spurium, ab ea acerbissimis verbis acceptum indignabundum ex aula decessisse.[2] Faxit Deus ut omnia in eius gloriam cedant; ac si fieri possit ut omnes principes, et inter se et sibi, faciat amicos. Lutetiae, Prid. id. Jun.

[*Addressed*] Al Molto R^do^ in Xpo padre, il padre Gouan de Polanco della Compagnia di Gesu. In Roma.

† II. DI FIANDRIA LI XXIIJ DI JUGNO 1565.

Per l'ultimi avvisi di Londra s'intende che la Regina di Scotia ogni di piu mostra amore ad Henrico d'Harlen, Conte di Linois, et ultimamente che ha fatto Barone d'Armach, Conte de Rossen et Duca di Ambeni.[3] Che tutti li nobili di Scotia sono consentienti al matrimonio da doversi fare fra la detta Regina et detto Conte,[4] il quale si farà col consento del Parlamento di tutti li stati di Scotia, il quale si dovera fare alli x di Luglio prossimo per effectuare detto matrimonio.

Che la Regina d'Inghilterra, malcontenta di questa pratica,

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[1] Sir Nicholas Throckmorton's instructions for his mission to Scotland are dated 24 April and 2 May. The purport, which they are here reported to have had, was of course exactly contrary to that which they really bore.—*Foreign Calendar*, 1564-5, Nos. 1118, 1135.

[2] Randolph reported similar scenes, 7 April, 3 and 8 May.—*Foreign Calendar*, Nos. 1085 (2), 1140 (1), 1151 (3).

[3] Darnley was created knight, baron, and earl on 15 May, but the grant of the dukedom was finally postponed till 22 July.—Teulet, *Relations*, ii. 200.

[4] The long list of the nobles who assembled on the 15th of May is given (*Register of the Privy Council*, pp. 334, 335), but the minute of their proceedings is not entered. Mary had been getting assents from her nobles one by one for a week or so beforehand (*Foreign Calendar*, No. 1151). Their 'consent' is said to have been 'shewed and subscribed unto in the presence of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton' (*ibid.* No. 1285). The date for the parliament was to have been 20 July (*Register of the Privy Council, ibid.*).

manda queste mese di Maggio proximo passato Nicolao Tromarton, suo consigliero, alla detta Regina di Scotia, per dissuader detto matrimonio, offerendoli in cambio del detto Conte di Linois tre principali baroni del suo stato, cio è, il Duca di Monfor, il Conte di Lietstria, et [*sic*] Milort Rubeirt overo il suo fratello, che è il Conte di Veruich;[1] con promessa di doverla lassare heride dopò lei nel regno d'Inghilterra, et che durante la sua vita gli darebbe una pensione, come lei havesse demandata.

Che la detta Regina di Scotia rispose che ringratiava la Regina d'Inghilterra dell' offerte, ma che essere cosa peculiare delle donne, que è in lor podesta di ellegirsi i mariti, essa s'haveva eletto il sudetto conte et che non poteva hora voler' altro marito qu'il predetto. Detta Regina non volse che l'Ambasciatore Inglese parlasse al detto Conte, ne che molto si fermasse nel regno, dicendo con burle che lo cognosceva homo di gran pratica, et che però haveva caro che solicitasse il suo partire et mentre vi stette gli assignò dui gentilhuomini suoi fideli, i quali di continuo gli havessero à far compagnia, perche ne col detto Conte ne con altri suoi potesse praticar cosa alcuna.[2]

Che la Regina d'Inghilterra dopò il ritorno del suo Ambasciatore ha messa prigione la matre del detto Conte, [fin] che si ritornara in Inghilterra, contra il parere di tutti li suoi principali et nobili del suo regno, et in specie del Duca di Herfor, del Conte de Pembrù, del Conte de Scresberi, del Conte d'Herbi, del Conte di Licestria, et del Marchese di Vincestria, Gran Tesorario.

Detta Regina d'Inghilterra teme assai che alcuni di principali del suo stato non passino in Scotia, però ha fatto far bando sotto pena capitale et confiscatione di beni non ardisca alcuno senza sua licentia andar in Scotia.

Che questa novità hà causato che la detta Regina d'Inghil-

[1] The names, as given by de Foix (Teulet, *Relations*, ii. 196), are the Duke of Norfolk and the Earls of Arundel and Leicester. Neither Norfolk nor Arundel's name appears in either of Throckmorton's written instructions, but in the second paper any English noble, except Darnley, is offered. The question of the succession, however, would not be settled unless Leicester were chosen. —*Foreign Calendar*, 1564-5, Nos. 1118, 1135.

[2] Throckmorton's own account of his negotiation is given, *Foreign Calendar*, No. 1187. He was but four days at the Scottish court, 15 to 18 May.

terra non usa più severità contro Catholici del suo regno, ma più tosto li concede libertà di poter viver nella lor Religione, almeno dentro alle lor case.

Che la detta Regina d'Inghilterra hà novamente hauuti ambasciatori dall' Imperatore, da Francia et dal Re Filippo, li quali tutti li offeriscono marito. Il Re di Francia per se stesso la richiede; l'Imperatore per Carlo suo fratello, et il Re Filippo per Don Gio. d'Austria suo fratello naturale. Ma la Regina inclina piu al fratello dell' Imperatore che ad altri. Et dicono che si ritrova molto travagliata, essendo forzata lassar la pratica di Milort Robert, credendo esser necessario maritarsi con qualche principe fuori del stato.

†III. 17 di Luglio 1565.—Ha S. S^ta^ concessa la dispensa alla Regina di Scotia di maritarsi col Conte di Linois[1] et mostra sperare che per questa strada si potria dar degno castigo alla

[1] As will be seen below (No. 59) this dispensation was not granted till September 25. In default of any explanation of the genesis of the persistent rumour that it was granted at an earlier date, the following references to transient rumours and reports of a kindred nature may be here grouped together:

(*a*) March 4.—Randolph writes that a dispensation was to be obtained for Mary to marry the French king or the Duke of Orleans (Keith, ii. 265). Randolph of course must not be implicitly relied upon when relating hearsay of this nature.

(*b*) Early in July.—On the 31st of July Smith writes to Cecil: 'The third of July I sent you a rablement of news . . . almost out of all countries in Christendon. Now I send you other, *which was readie to be sent within two days after the last pacquet* a greate parte of them.' As the following extracts are taken from *the commencement* of this enclosure, they would seem to contain news heard at the French Court *early* in July.

'As I understand Mons. de Foix had written in one dispatch that the Scot Queen was turned to the new religion and would be maried after that sorte, and by and by cometh an other dispatch from him shewing how she had made xx new knights, all papists, and had commoned with her freends, and thinketh herself strong enough, and rather wil die then allow the new relligion.

'Murray brought letters, etc. [as in *Calendar*, No. 1280 (3)]. Tapease such as hath pencions and landes of Abbaies, and to bringe them at the furst to be content to receive againe the pope, all the pensions, and such thinges as were given in Scotland owt of the Abbeis sith the Quenes last arrival in Scotland, be sent to Rome by the Sco. Ambassador there to be confirmed by the pope. In the which is the request, for that which the Ld. Lidingeton, therle Cassells, L. Seton, and Ld. of Herskins brethern, and many other lordes and gentlemen hath.

'There is requyred also a dispensation at the popes hands for the Quenes mariage, and the Cardinall of Loreigne hath written for it.'—R. O. *Foreign*,

Regina d'Inghilterra, alla quale il Conte è particolare inemico, ò almeno facilitare la strada a Catholici di uscir di servitù in quel regno, siccome già pare che ne scorga qualche bon segno.

† IV. Avvisi di Roma, 21 di Luglio 1565.—Gionse qui hieri un corriero del Signor Cardinale di Loreno con nome d'alcune espedittioni, ma infatti per tentare la dispensa fra la Regina di Scotia et il Conte di Linois che l'è stretto parente, et si spera che l'haurà.

v. Di Roma, 23 Giugno [Giuglio][1] 1565.—Di Francia per

Elizabeth, vol. lxxix. ff. 86 and 88. The documents are *calendared* in inverse order, Nos. 1339, 1280.

(*c*) August 25, Venice. Lord Paget to Cecil.—'There is at Rome arrived a Scottish bishop. They say he comes for a dispensation for the queen's marriage, yet as it is more than six weeks since that was procured by the Cardinal of Lorraine's means and sent away, it is to be thought that he has some other errand.'—*Foreign Calendar*, 1564-5, No. 1414.

(*d*) August 27. St. Sulpice beside Cognac. Smith to Cecil.—'Thembassadours of Scotlands secretarie Thornton is to com shortelie, with a depeche of bills, licences, and dispensacions from Rome, he goeth by the Cardinall of Loreigne. [In cipher deciphered] *it were* well done if it *could be that those things were seen. You should peradventure lerne some thing of some of your neighbours, which you would not think.* This bearer can tell you more of the matter and meanes if ye will common with him' (R. O. *Foreign, Elizabeth*, vol. lxxx. No. 1136; *Calendar*, No. 1419 (2)). On the 29th of August Smith adds that Thornton will not start so soon, but 'brings enough to discover the papistical treasons both of the Scots and English, and the complot which the Pope and the King of Spain have with them.'—*Calendar*, No. 1430 (1).

(*e*) September 19. Smith to Cecil (being part of a table of occurrents sent on October 15 from Nantes).—'Septemb. 19°. De Mauvisierres errand is to bere the Quene of Scotts the ratification of her mariage, or els she cannot enioye her dowrie here, as thei say, after she is remaried to an other.'—R. O., *Foreign, Elizabeth*, vol. lxxx. No. 1203; *Foreign Calendar*, No. 1512.

(*f*) December 1566.—During the conferences at Craigmillar Lethington is said to have suggested a divorce between Mary and Darnley, because (amongst other reasons) 'thay alledgit the dispensatioun was not publishit.'—Goodall, *Examination* (*ed.* 1754), ii. 359.

It might have been expected that much light would have been thrown on this negotiation by the correspondence of d'Oisel the French ambassador at Rome, who had fought so well for Mary in Scotland during her mother's life. Unfortunately there is a lacuna in the correspondence from February to November 1565. —Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français* 16,039.

[1] On the 30th of May Charles IX. of France and Catherine had just come to Bayonne, in order to stay in that neighbourhood a month. It was only at the end of June, after the celebrated conference, that they resumed their progress through the provinces. News of their start could not have reached Rome till July. Hence the word *Giugnio* in the date must be a mistake for *Giuglio*.

litere di 30 del passato scrivono che il Re et la Regina partirano, et che il conte de Linois, parente della Regina di Scocia, pigliasse essa Regina per moglie. Spagnuoli dicono che Francesi hanno scoperto ch'el Re Catholico andava all' abboccamento per due cose, l'una accio che il Re di Francia fusse persuaso da lui a pigliar per moglie la Regina di Portugallo, l'altro a ciò che la Regina di Scotia si desse per moglie a Don Gio. d'Austria, overo al Principe di Spagna: et dicono che Francesi, per non far ne l'uno, ne l'altro, trovano che la Regina di Scotia è maritata;[1] et propongono che se il Re Catholico vol dare la sorella a Francia, faccia che il Principe suo figliuolo pigli la sorella del loro Re.

† VI. 8 Aug. 1565.—È oppinione qui appresso a persone gravi che siano presto per venire à Roma l' Ill^mi^ Granvella et Loreno, operando ciò N. S^re^ col desiderio che ha di abboccarsi col Re Catholico, et si crede che ciò si tenterà con l'andata del Musoto secretario di Loreno a portare la dispensa sigillata in oro alla Regina di Scotia. Et di già si sa che questi duoi Signori sono stati a longo ragionamento insieme.

VII. Di Roma, li 14 Agosto 1565.—Qui è venuto un Vescovo Scocesse[2] per la dispensa della Regina, ma ha trovato che era già data.

† VIII. 15 Aug. 1565.—Qui è arrivato un Vescovo Scozzesse espedito dal S^r^ Car. di Loreno, per sollecitare la dispensa della Regina di Scotia, la quale è di già espedita, et è in mano al

[1] The report that Mary had married Darnley may perhaps have begun with the 'mutterings,' 'suspicion,' and 'tales spread abroad' (*Foreign Calendar*, 1564-5, Nos. 1106, 1111, 1125) in Scotland, 'where so great liberty is for them to speak what they lyste' (Stevenson, *Selections*, p. 120). The circulation of the story in diplomatic circles seems to be traceable to the Countess of Lennox. —*Spanish Calendar*, p. 427; Teulet, *Relations*, ii. 195.

[2] The impossible date of July 22 is very commonly assigned as that of the bishop's return to England with the dispensation (Robertson, *Statuta*, clxix.; Hay Fleming, *Mary Queen of Scots*, p. 347, *n.* 110, and others). The assignment of this particular day to Chisholm's return does not seem to date further back than Labanoff's chronological notes (i. 277). But the older historians, *e.g.*, Keith (ii. 344, *n.* 1) went as far as to say that he returned with the dispensation before the marriage.

Musotto secretario di esso Cardinale, che la deve portare come prima habbi una risposta dall' Illmo suo padrone.

IX. Di Roma, 25. Agosto 1565.—La Regina di Scotia mandava qua un suo ambasciatore a resieder; et si crede che sia per far fare qualche offitio non buono contra la Regina d'Inghilterra.

X. Di Roma, li 15 Settembre 1565.—Dicesi anchora che la Regina di Scotia domanda adgiutto al Papa di 300,000 ducati in caso che la Regina d'Inghilterra la voglia molestar per il parentado che ha fatto con il conte di Linois, del quale è malissimo sodisfatta, et con tutto che l'animo del Papa sia grande, havendo nondimeno le forze deboli et convenendoli servire molti, non potrà forse contentar questa Regina di tal somma di denari, se ben si crede che non mancarà mai di far quel che potrà.

XI. Di Roma, li 6 Ottobre 1565.—Quatro giorni sono partì un Vescovo Scozzese che era venuto per la dispensa di quella Regina, con il Conte di Linois, et a richieder a Sua Santità, secondo dicono, agiutto, in caso che la Regina d'Inghilterra o altri heretici la molestassero; la dispensa l'ha ottenuto, et portato molte belle parole et promesse a quella Regina da S. Sta.

[I. FATHER EDMUND HAY to FATHER POLANCO.

Paris, 11-12 *June* 1565.

HERE the report prevails, that our queen has fully resolved to marry the noble Anglo-Scot, whose lineage your reverence may learn from Master William [Crichton]. He is a Catholic, and excellently educated, and endowed with many good gifts of mind and body. At first we shall hear of nothing but disturbance, nor will he be able, as far as human conjectures can go, to pacify the affairs of the kingdom without much blood and slaughter. Then, we hope, a time will follow more adapted to our ministrations. Meantime we shall write more diligently and frequently than usual. During the past silence has been our safest course. Paris, 11 June 1565.

Your reverence's servant in Christ, EDMUND HAY.

P.S.—To-day we have received news by a messenger of considerable authority, that our queen's marriage is soon to be accomplished, and that a very solemn embassy has been sent from England to honour it.[a] Also that the queen had used very sharp words to her illegitimate brother, the Lord James, and that he had departed in anger from the court.[a] God grant that all may tend to His glory, and that all princes may become friends one with another and with Him. Paris, 12 June.

II. Flanders, 23 June.—By the latest advices from London, we hear that the Queen of Scotland shows a daily increasing affection for Henry Darnley, Earl of Lennox [*sic*], and that she lately created him Baron Ardmanach, Earl of Ross, and Duke of Albany.[a] That all the nobles of Scotland had agreed to the marriage between the said queen and the said earl.[a] The parliament of all the Estates of Scotland will give its consent thereto, for which purpose it is due to meet on the 10th of July next.

The Queen of England, ill-pleased with these proceedings, sent this month of May last past one of her council, Nicholas Throckmorton, to the said Queen of Scotland to discourage this marriage, and to offer three of her principal lords in the said Earl of Lennox's place, that is, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Leicester, and [? otherwise called] Lord Robert, or his brother the Earl of Warwick.[a] She promised that she would bind herself to leave her the succession to the English throne, and would grant her request of a pension during life.

The Queen of Scotland answered that she thanked the Queen of England for her offers, but that this was a peculiar case, for it was in the power of women to choose themselves husbands. That she had chosen the said earl, and that she could not now set her heart on another. She would not let the English ambassador speak to the said earl, or remain long in her kingdom, but said jokingly that she knew him for a great practiser, and therefore she would be glad if he would ask for his recall; and while he remained with her she assigned him two gentlemen, faithful to herself, who should constantly keep in his company to prevent his practising anything with the said earl or any one else.[a]

The Queen of England after the return of her ambassador has imprisoned the mother of the said earl [until he] returns to England. This she did against the judgment of all the principal men and nobles of her realm, and in particular the Duke of Herfor [? Norfolk], the Earl of Pembroke, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Earl of Derby, the Earl of Leicester, and the Marquis of Winchester, High Treasurer.

The said Queen of England is extremely afraid that some of the principal men of her realm should go to Scotland, and therefore has issued an order, under pain of death and confiscation of goods, that no one should venture to go to Scotland without her licence.

These occurrences have made the Queen of England cease her severity to the Catholics of her kingdom. She leaves them free to follow their own religion, at least within doors.

The said Queen of England has lately had messengers from the emperor, from France, and from King Philip, all of whom offer her a husband. The King of France proposes for himself, the emperor for his brother Charles, and King Philip for Don John of Austria, his natural brother. The queen, however, inclines more to the emperor's brother than to the others. It is said that she is much troubled at being obliged to abandon her relations with Lord Robert, but thinks it necessary to marry some foreign prince.

III. Rome, 17 July.—His Holiness has granted the dispensation to the Queen of Scotland to marry the Earl of Lennox,[a] and he seems to hope that the Queen of England may be thereby punished as she deserves, as the earl is her special enemy. At least the Catholics of that realm may hereby find a way of shaking off their slavery, and it appears that good signs are already discernible.

IV. Rome, 21 July.—Yesterday a courier from the Cardinal of Lorraine arrived, nominally for expediting business, but really to try and obtain the dispensation for the Queen of Scotland and the Earl of Lennox, her near relative. It is believed that the request will be granted.

V. Rome, 23 [July] 1565.[a]—Letters of the 30th of last month from France report that the King and the Queen [of France] would depart, and that the Earl of Lennox, a relation of the Queen of Scotland, would take her to wife. The Spaniards say that the French have found out that the King of Spain was going to the conference [of Bayonne] for two reasons, the one to persuade the King of France to marry the Queen of Portugal, the other that the Queen of Scotland should be given to Don John of Austria, or to the Prince of Spain. They add that the French, in order to do neither one thing nor the other, discover that the Queen of Scots is married,[a] and propose that if the King of Spain will give his sister to France, he shall make the prince, his son, take the sister of their king.

VI. Rome, 8 August.—Grave persons here are of opinion that Cardinals Granvelle and Lorraine will shortly come to Rome, and that thereby the Pope hopes to arrange a conference with the King of Spain. It is believed that this will be mooted, when Musotti, Lorraine's secretary, goes with the dispensation for the Queen of Scotland, which bull will be sealed in gold. It is already announced that the two cardinals have had long conferences together.

VII. Rome, 14 August.—A Scottish bishop[a] has arrived about the queen's dispensation, but found it was already granted.

VIII. Rome, 15 August.—A Scottish bishop has arrived here, sent by the Cardinal of Lorraine to solicit the dispensation for the Queen of

Scotland. It is already expedited and in the hands of Musotti, the cardinal's secretary, who is to take it as soon as he gets an answer from his master.

IX. Rome, 25 August.—The Queen of Scotland has sent hither a resident ambassador in order, as it is believed, to get some harm done to the Queen of England.

X. Rome, 15 September.—It is reported that the Queen of Scots has asked the Pope to grant her an aid of three hundred thousand ducats, in case the Queen of England should want to molest her in consequence of the match she has made with the Earl of Lennox, which greatly vexes the English queen. The Pope's ardour is great, but his resources being limited, and having many calls upon him, he will not perhaps be able to grant the queen so much money. It is not doubted, however, that he will never fail to do what he can.

XI. Rome, 6 October 1565.—Four days ago there departed hence a Scottish bishop, who had come for the dispensation of the queen of that country with the Earl of Lennox, and also, so they say, for help in case the Queen of England or other heretics should molest her. The dispensation has been granted, and he carries back many fair words and promises to the queen from his Holiness.

No. 54

THE CARDINAL OF COMO, VICE-SECRETARY OF STATE, TO CARDINAL SANTA CROCE, NUNCIO IN FRANCE

[*Rome, 23 July* 1565]

Bib. Barberini, lxii. 19, fol. 211. Contemporary Register.

PREVIOUS CORRESPONDENCE AND CHRONOLOGY:

(*a*) 23 May.—Roulet and Rochefort, sent by the Cardinal of Lorraine to oppose the match, pass London on their way to Scotland. (Teulet, *Relations*, ii. 199).

(*b*) 4 June.—James Thornton, with letters to Mary's uncles and others, gets his pass in London (*ibid.* 206). The pass had been applied for on May 27.—Labanoff, i. 263; *Foreign Calendar*, 1564-5, No. 1203, cf. 1222 (3).

(*c*) June.—Another messenger, [? Captain] James Murray, was despatched from Scotland immediately after Thornton, the request for his pass bearing date May 30 (Labanoff, i. 264; *Foreign Calendar*.

No. 1207). The latter appears to have gone to the French court, then at Bayonne, by a more direct route, and arrived there before June 27.—Teulet, v. 12. Their letters seem to have resembled each other closely. Compare *Foreign Calendar*, No. 1222(3), with No. 1280(3).

(*d*) July.—Sir Thomas Smith writes from the French court that the cardinal had already written for the dispensation. The date appears to have been early in July (p. 194 (*b*), *supra*). The cardinal's letter has not been found, but reference to its answer of 25 of September (*infra*, No. 60, ii.) shows that he must have praised Darnley, advised the dispensation, and suggested the grant of a subsidy and mission of a nuncio.

(*e*) 20th July.—The cardinal's messenger arrives in Rome (No. 53, iv., *supra*). Unfortunately no answer can be traced to the following letter of inquiry.

Il S^r^ Cardinale di Loreno ha scritto à S. S^tà^ per la dispensa della regina di Scotia col Conte Rosseure, et presto si gli darà risposta, et risolutione, qual credo sarà come desiderano, poiche promettono assai della Religione di quel giovane, se ben dicono che sin' hora gli è convenuto dissimulare. V. S. Ill^ma^ mi farà gratia dirmene il parer suo, et delli buoni di cotesta Corte.

Di Roma, 23 Luglio.

[Cardinal of Como] to Cardinal Santa Croce, Nuncio in France.

Rome, July 25, 1565.

The Cardinal of Lorraine has written to his Holiness for the dispensation for the Queen of Scotland and the Earl of Ross. An answer will soon be given, and the resolution, I believe, will be a favourable one, for they found great hopes on the religion of that young man, though they own that hitherto he has thought fit to dissemble it.

Your Eminence will do me the favour to give me your opinion, and that of the good [Catholics] of your Court.

No. 55

MISSION AND SPEECH OF THE BISHOP OF DUNBLANE

1. (*a*) Mary Queen of Scots to Elizabeth Queen of England.

[*Perth*, 28 *June* 1565]

Original letter book of James v., Mary, and James vi., British Museum, King's Library, 18, B. vi. fol. 225. (The volume is described

in Casley, *Catalogue of King's Library MSS.*, p. 277, and has recently been rebound with additions from *Additional MSS.*, 4133.)

RICHT EXCELLENT RICHT HEICH AND MICHTIE PRINCESSE oure richt deare suster and cousin in oure maist hertlie maner we recommend ws wnto yow. The gentill man berair heirof maister William cheisholme hawing obtenit oure licence presentlie takis his viage towartis france for doing of his awin effares. We pray zow thairfoir at this oure requisicioun to grant zoure lettres of saulfconduct and suire pasport in deu and competent forme to the said m^r^ Williame and thre utheris personis with him in cumpany or under saulftie and suretie to pas throw that zoure realme to ye partes of France be sea, land or fresche watter, on horse or on fute coniunctlie and seueralie within zour said realme at thair pless^r^ to remane and to carie furth of the same all lefull guidis not prohibit be zoure lawis, with thair horsses stanit[1] as geldings bulgettis fardillis pacquettis money jowellis gold siluer cunzeit and uncunzeit lettres clois and patent, without any stop trubill iniurie impeschment stay arrest or serche to be maid done or schewin to thame or ony of thame in thair cuming within zoure realme, remaining thairin or departing thairfra in bodyes or guidis. And gif ony of thame sall offend, the trespassar being punist zour saulfconduct nevirtheles to be valiable for the remanent behavand thame selffis honestlie. And so richt excellent richt heich, and michtie Princesse, oure derrest suster and cousin we commit zow to the tuitioun of almichtie God. Gewin under oure signet at oure toun of Sanct Johnstoun the xxviii day of Junii and of oure regnne the xxiii zeir 1565.

(*b*) 4 July. Randolph to Cecil.—'Shortly there shall be with 'your Honour a prelate of this country, the young Bishop of Domblane. 'I would wish his budgets might be rifled by some good slight or other. 'It is made me believe that he posteth to Rome, though he would seem 'it were only to Paris to the schools, where he hath been long time 'before, as also in [? Italy], lately arrived from Louvain, from that good 'company there [*i.e.* the Catholic exiles]. I have recommended him to 'Berwick by the L. of Lidingtone's request in the Queen's name. He

[1] 'Cheval entier=*a stone-horse.*'—Cotgrave, *Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues*, 1632. Sig. Hh vi.

'liketh so well his own craft, that he will not be called a Bishop, but is 'named a man of credit. Thus much I thought to write that your 'Honour should not be unwarned of him. It is told to me that there 'are great sums of money promised from the Holy Father to this Queen, 'and that this messenger is sent thither. I know not what to believe 'hereof.'—Keith, ii. 320.

(*c*) 14 August.—The bishop reached Rome, having visited the Cardinal of Lorraine on his way.—No. 58, viii.

II. The Bishop of Dunblane to Pope Pius IV.

[*Probably August* 1565]

(*a*) Source.—From a French seventeenth century volume of transcripts, ff. 25-29. The volume contains one hundred and eighty-one folios, is stamped outside, first, with the arms of some archbishop, then with those of François Descoubleau de Sourdis, and now belongs to the Jesuit Fathers in London. There are many small faults in the Latin; those on the first page, where they are most numerous, have been noted, the rest are silently corrected, when the correction was obvious, or left uncorrected where the correction was not obvious. The sense is nowhere in the least affected. The heading must have been written after Chisholm had been appointed administrator of the diocese of Vaison, near Avignon, *i.e.* 4 November 1570.—Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, p. 142.

(*b*) Date.—The heading says that this speech was delivered to *Pape 5e*, which presumably means *Pius V*. If this were true, the date of the document would be April 1566 (see the similar speeches of that date *infra*, pp. 235 (*e*), 240). But this heading is a later addition, and the internal evidence points clearly to Pius IV. as the Pontiff addressed. Thus:—

(*a*) The Pope is said (§ 4) 'to have offered help and assistance by many letters.' Words exactly applicable to Pius IV. in 1565, and quite inapplicable to Pius V. in 1566, before a single line from him had been received in Scotland.

(*b*) The expedition to Malta is alluded to as to an event of the day. It took place in September 1565.

(*c*) Mary's demand for aid corresponds exactly with that mentioned in Cardinal Pacheco's letter of 2 September 1565.—No. 57, *infra*.

(*d*) Of the negative arguments against the later date, it will suffice to notice that there is no mention of offers of obedience to Pius V., which in the hypothesis of such a date ought to have come in the first place.—No. 64 (*b*), *infra*.

HARANGUE DE L'EVESQUE de DUMBLAN, ADMINISTRATEUR de VAISON, ayant esté envoyée au Pape 5e. [*sic*] pour prester hommage de la part de la ROYNE MARIE et du ROY HENRY DARLEI son mary.

[1] CUPIENTI mihi, Beatissime Pater, apud Vestram Sanctitatem verba facere subrepunt[a] veteris Adam exuviae,[b] quas in me nondum extinctas sentio[1]: aspectus enim tantae celsitudinis ac suspitiendae Vestrae Sanctitatis timere, et erubescere[c] cogit infirmitas ac tenuitas mea, dicendorum pondus deprimit, extrema rei necessitas ad dicendum impellit, nimius animi affectus verba antevertit ac metus obsistit.[d] Quid faciam? Tu,[e] Deus optime, qui servorum[f] tuorum necessitatibus nunquam dees, Tu[g] quem testem invocamus nos tuam causam agere, Tu[h] qui ex petra aquam eduxisti, mihi spiritum et verba concede. Divino igitur fretus auxilio et V. S. solita clementia et pietate, nomine et ex commissione Serenissimae Mariae Scotorum Reginae, filiae V. S. obedientissimae et studiosissimae, paucissimis agam ac, ne ulla prolixitate V. S^ti^ fastidium pariam, huius legationis nostrae scopum et cardinem tangam, de ceteris apud V. Sanctitatem, cum[i] commodius feret temporis occasio, acturus.

sub regunt
eximie
embescere
meatus obtinit
In
seniorum
In
In
ne

[2] Agitur, Beatissime Pater, de vita ac salute Ser. Reginae ac Dominae nostrae V. S. filiae obedientissimae ac studiosissimae, nec minus de eiusdem interitu et ruina extrema, de regni incolumitate et excidio, de religionis Christianae et fidei[k] Catholicae et Apostolicae defensione ac restauratione, nec minus de eiusdem exterminio et extrema subversione. Haec illa speranda ac timenda, haec illa pientissimae Reginae molimina ardua et sublimia. Si nos apud V. S^tem^ voti compotes discesserimus, formidanda quaeque prorsus tollunt[ur], sin minus id successerit, quod in Christi Jesu visceribus postulamus, humana omnia nobis formidanda erunt, sola divina auxilia supererunt—'Deus noster refugium et virtus, adiutor in tribulationibus, quae invenerunt nos nimis.'[2] Ad rem:—

fideli

[3] Postquam nihil intentatum reliquerit S^ma^ Regina, quo

[1] This obscure metaphor is founded on Rom. vi. 6, but the reading is not certain.

[2] Ps. xlv. or xlvi. 2.

religionem sanctam restitui posse videbatur, nec minis nec beneficiis aut ullis pollicitationibus quicquam proficeret, tandem hoc capit consilii, ut mariti et regis auxilio votis in Christo optatis potiret[ur]. Eum itaque deligit quem quasi in sublimi constitutum, Scoti iuxta ac Angli suspiciebant, quippe qui ex utriusque gentis regali stemmate oriundus sit— Ill^m^ Dñm Henricum Comitem de Ross, cuius virtutibus et ornamentis eximiis ista longe facilius faeliciusque successura speramus. Sed in mora est in primis, quod suis pientissima Regina uti non posset, cum et thesaurarium[1] habet simul et secretarium summos hereticos, his officiis nobilitatis regni consilio praepositos, qui alia non elargiunt[ur], quam quae suis impiis consiliis non nocitura certo sciant. Nec hos officiis deponere tutum est, ne seditioni et rebellioni occasio aut principium daret[ur], quae illi expectant et optant, quam rem Majestas sua reprimere facile non possit, immo nec sine extremo religionis periculo inchoari. Cogit[ur] itaque pientissima regina multa simulare et dissimulare, immo et iniqua[2] non pauca, quae sine animi dolore cogitari non possunt, pati.

[4] Brevi hoc habet consilii, Beatissime Pater, ut omnes inimicos fidei sanctae adimat ac eos e medio tollat, qui religionis pacem perturbent, Ecclesiam ac pristinam obedientiam et tranquillitatem reducere[3] quae facili negotio per Dei gratiam se confecturam sperat, si certa humana consilia simul et auxilia non deessent. Decem aut duodecim hominum millibus quatuor vel quinque mensium spatio rem conficere cogitat, at desunt pecuniae quibus hi conscribant[ur]. Has a V. S. postulat pientissima Regina, sperat enim V. S^tem^ in tam justa causa ad Dei nominis gloriam, et ecclesiam Scoticam misera servitute liberandam, non defuturam. Hanc petitionem eo liberius et maiori cum fiducia aggreditur quo V. S. per plures litteras opem omnem et auxilium sponte obtulerit, quam non potest non sperare liberalem urgentissimis his stantibus rerum necessitatibus, cum et aliis principibus Christianis in simili causa sed dissimili fortuna constitutis pie et liberaliter adfuerit.

[1] Mary's 'thesaurer' was Mr. Robert Richardson, and her 'comptrollar,' who might possibly be the person alluded to, was Sir William Murray of Tullibardine.

[2] MS. Inhita.

[3] *Sic* in MS.

Non ignoramus necessitates Christianissimi ac Catholici regis, Melitanae expeditionis ac itidem ipsius Imperatoris, absque illorum invidia dixerint,[1] et alia Ecclesiae onera, aeraria Sedis Apostolicae jam quasi exhauriri.

[5] Verum non ita cum Sede Apostolica agi putamur, quin primis et urgentissimis desideriis Serenissimae Reginae satisfieri possit. Beatissime Pater, restitues hoc subsidio pientissimae reginae vitam et salutem, Regno Scotorum pacem et tranquillitatem, religioni Christianae integritatem ac splendorem, Sedi Apostolicae observantiam ac obedientiam debitam. Digna est pientissima Regina, B. P., in quam pietatem et liberalitatem exerceas, religiosissima Sedis Apostolicae ac S. V. studiosissima ac obedientissima, nobilissima, fortis, patiens, constans, animo in Dei gloriam plusquam virili immo prorsus divina.

[6] Haec omnia, B. P. hoc tuo subsidio ab extremo periculo et interitu, quod Deus avertat, redimenda sunt, nam fortes adversarii eius minantur haeretici, et occasiones quaerunt ipsam aggrediendi, soror quorum eius[1] Angliae regina bella parat, et mala omnia minatur. Si haec, junctis copiis cum haereticis Scotis,[2] quis alius illius congressus exitus expectari possit, quam quod Majestati eius Serenissimae simile cum pientissima Regina eius [matre] martyrium pariat.

[7] Dignum est regnum Scotorum, B. P., cui succurratur. Ut enim in successione nunquam a primi Scotorum regis Fergusii sanguine linea recta deflexit, ita nunquam a recta fidei semel susceptae norma defecit. Bis mille quasi annis eiusdem stemmatis et stirpis Reges regni gubernacula tenuere, 1360 plus minus annis pari fide et pietate Deum coluere. Hos, B. P., in hac gloria conserva, cuius gloriae diutissimae compendium in hoc sancto subsidio suscipe, majore a Deo O. M. omnium bonorum remuneratore expectato.

[8] Optarunt, B. P., huius negotii responsum gratum et maturum, non enim potest moram pati. Nam mihi summa diligentia imperata est, et reditum meum avidissime expectat serenissima Domina mea, antequam inimici sciant quid negotii gerat aut moliatur. Ego certe sine detrimento meo gregisque mihi a V. S., Sedeque Apostolica commissi abesse non potui,

[1] *Sic* in MS.

[2] Some words seem missing.

nec minus sine periculo et fortunarum magno dispendio. Nam huc equis expeditis et concitatis convolavi, similibus mox per Dei gratiam Scotiam repetiturus. Utinam dispendio meo compendium huius negotii fieri posset, in quo non solum labores, fortunasque omnes, verum et vitam profundere sum paratissimus. Dei enim et Ecclesiae Scotiae Universalis negotium agitur, quod particularibus privatisque quibusvis membris[1] et commoditatibus preferendum est. Summa igitur diligentia et silentio conficiendum est negotium istud, adversarii enim nostri non dormiunt.

[9] Haec sunt, B. P., quae in praesentiarum dicenda duxi, coetera fusius et commodius si videbitur apud V. S. tractaturus, quam Christus Jesus diutissime Suae Ecclesiae, nobisque servet et incolumem.

[Speech of the Bishop of Dunblane to Pope Pius iv.

[1] When I desire, most Blessed Father, to address your Holiness, the slough of the old Adam slips over me again. I feel that it is not yet dead.[a] The sight of your great majesty makes me tremble and blush for my weakness and nothingness; the weight of what I have to say oppresses me; the extreme urgency of the business forces me to speak; trouble of mind checks my words, and fear chokes them. What shall I do? O God, Thou who never failest Thy servants in their needs, Thou, whose cause in truth I am transacting, Thou, who didst bring forth water from the rock—do Thou grant me spirit and speech! Trusting then to God's help, and your Holiness's wonted clemency and kindness, in the name and with the commission of her highness, Mary, Queen of Scots, your most obedient and zealous daughter, I will make my speech in the fewest words, merely touching (lest I weary your Holiness by prolixity) on the main point and scope of my mission. The other things I will transact when a more convenient time shall serve.

[2] I speak, O Holy Father, of the life and safety of our lady and queen, your obedient, devoted daughter, and of her extinction and utter ruin; of the preservation and destruction of her kingdom, of the defence and restoration of the Christian religion and of the Catholic and Apostolic Faith, not less than of its eradication and absolute subversion. These are the issues about which we hope and fear, these the arduous and sublime objects of our good queen's endeavours. If before we leave your Holiness we win from you the accomplishment of our desires, our terrors will all have vanished; but if that which we entreat for the love of Christ Jesus should be refused, this world will be full of fears, we shall have no help but from on high. 'Our God is our refuge and our strength, our help in the tribulations which beset us without measure.'[a] But to my point.

[1] *Sic* in MS.

[3] When her highness the queen had left nothing untried which might bring about a restoration of holy religion, but could achieve nothing by threats or kindnesses or any promises, she finally adopted the plan of gaining the objects which she wished for in the Lord, by the aid of a consort and a king. She therefore chose as husband one whose high position would inspire both Scots and English with respect, a prince descended from the royal families of either nation, the noble Lord Henry, Earl of Ross, by whose valour and accomplishments we hope that the aforesaid plans will succeed with all the more facility and felicity. The main obstacle is this, that the pious queen cannot make use of what is her own, seeing that both her treasurer[n] and her secretary are thorough heretics, set in their places by the council of the nobles, men who will disburse nothing but what they are sure will not interfere with their wicked designs. It would not, however, be safe to depose them from their offices, lest an occasion or initiative be given to rebellion or sedition. They are eagerly expecting such a thing, while the queen could not easily suppress it; indeed, even its commencement would seriously endanger religion. The pious queen is therefore forced to pretend many things, to overlook others, and even to bear with much wickedness that cannot be thought of without grief of heart.

[4] Her plan in short is this. In order to remove all the enemies of the holy faith, and free herself from those who disturb religious peace, and to restore the Church, and pristine obedience and tranquillity [. . . *some words appear to be missing* . . .], which things she hopes, with the grace of God, easily to accomplish, if on the side of man certain counsellors and supporters do not fail her. With ten thousand or twelve thousand men for the space of four or five months, she thinks that she will accomplish her purpose, but for their enrolment money is wanting. This the pious queen begs of your Holiness. She hopes that your assistance will not fail in so just a cause, for the glory of God's name, and to free the Scottish Church from miserable servitude. This petition she introduces the more freely and with the greater confidence, seeing that your Holiness has by various letters offered help and succour of your own accord, and she cannot but hope that you will be liberal in the very urgent necessities that beset her, seeing your piety and generosity in assisting other Christian princes, who are engaged in a similar cause, though under very different circumstances. We are not ignorant of the needs of the Kings of France and Spain, of the expedition to Malta, and[n] of the danger of the emperor himself, and far be it from us to say anything invidious of them,[1] we know that the Church has other obligations, that the coffers of the Apostolic See are as it were exhausted.

[5] Nevertheless, we do not think that the Apostolic See is so pressed but that it might satisfy the prime and most urgent needs of her Majesty. Holy Father! you will by this subsidy restore life and safety to a devout queen and to the kingdom of the Scots peace and tranquillity;

[1] The text is here corrupt though the sense is clear.

you will bring back Christian religion to its splendour and to its integrity, and restore the observance which is due to the Apostolic See. The pious queen is indeed a person worthy of being treated with kindness and generosity. Towards the Apostolic See she is most reverential, towards you most attentive and obedient. She is noble, valiant, patient, constant, with a heart for promoting the Divine glory, which is not merely virile, but simply godlike.

[6] All these things, Holy Father, must be rescued by your subsidy from extreme danger and destruction, which may God avert! Her potent adversaries, the heretics, threaten and seek for opportunities of attacking her. . . . The Queen of England prepares for war, and makes the direst threats. If she, joining her forces with the heretical Scots [should commence hostilities], what other conclusion can be expected from that encounter than that her Majesty should suffer a martyrdom like that of the most pious queen, her mother.

[7] Holy Father, the kingdom of the Scots is worthy of being succoured. As the succession has never failed from the direct line of Fergus, the first king of the Scots, so it has never swerved from the true faith, when once it had been accepted. Kings of the same stem and stock have governed the kingdom for about two thousand years, and for nigh thirteen hundred and sixty years have worshipped God with equal faith and piety. Preserve them, Holy Father, in this their glory. Make the renown of so many years your own by quickly bestowing this sacred subsidy, and look to God, the remunerator of all good, for a reward greater still!

[8] [Their Majesties] desire, Holy Father, an answer both favourable and early in an undertaking which does not brook delay. The utmost promptitude has been commanded me, and her Highness, my mistress, most eagerly expects my return, before her enemies know what she is planning and doing. I certainly cannot be abroad without loss to myself and to the flock committed to me by you and this Apostolic See, to say nothing of my dangers and the great injury to my fortunes. I flew hither, posting at full speed, and in the same way I shall ere long return to Scotland. Would that my loss should be a gain to this undertaking, in which I am most ready to give not only my labour and all that is mine, but even life itself. The cause of God and of the Universal Church of Scotland is involved; which should be preferred before all particular advantages and private gains. The undertaking must therefore be carried through with the utmost diligence and in silence, for our adversaries do not sleep.

[9] This, Holy Father, is what I thought best to say at present. What remains will be treated, if you please, more fully and conveniently in private. May Christ Jesus long preserve you safe to us and to His Church!]

No. 56

PIUS IV., SPEECH IN CONSISTORY

Rome, Bib. Casanatense, xx. iii. 16, fol. 513 b. This and the following speech (No. 61) in consistory have been partially, but inaccurately, printed by Maziere Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, ii. 327, from the Corsini codex, 38, *e*, 16. They have also been briefly reported by Rinaldi, *Annales*, 1565, § 19.

[*Rome*, 1 *September* 1565]

CALENDAS Septembris fuit consistorium ad D. Marci. Initio Pontifex demonstravit in magnis suis difficultatibus se deesse tamen Caesari noluisse, eique donasse aureorum 50^{m} una atque altera solutione intra duorum mensium spacium numeranda. . . . Tunc retulit Scotiae reginam sibi virum delegisse, hominem Anglum propinquum suum, eoque dispensationem postulare. De huiusce principis usu atque animo nihil se nisi praeclarum audire. Reginam Angliae conatam esse ut matrimonium impediret, illum autem ex Anglia perfugisse, sibique regni successionem deberi post reginae mortem prae se ferre. Reginam Scotiae et maritum polliceri fore se fidei Catholicae defensores. Itaque sibi videri nihil esse causae, quam ob rem non eos primo quoque tempore legibus solveret, ac dispensaret, praesertim cum verendum sit, ne si eorum postulata repudientur, nihilominus in sententia perseverantes negotium perficiant, neve [si] sint in hac re legum ac Sedis apostolicae auctoritatem aspernati, idem in coeteris audeant. Quocirca ne religio in eo regno periclitetur, sibi certum esse hanc dispensationem concedere [*sic*]; sese cum episcopo quem hac de causa miserat valde longum sermonem habuisse de rebus illius regni, quod ne a religione descisceret, omni cura ac diligentia providendum fore; seque ne quid huiusmodi accideret penitus occursurum.

[PIUS IV., SPEECH in CONSISTORY. *Rome*, 1 *September* 1565.

ON September the first there was a consistory at St. Mark's. At the beginning the Pope showed that despite his great difficulties he would not be wanting to the emperor, and that he had given him, in two payments, to be made within the space of two months, fifty thousand gold crowns. . . . He then related that the Queen of Scotland had chosen for herself a husband, an Englishman, her kinsman, and was asking a dispensation. Of this prince's conduct and disposition he heard nothing, but what was excellent. The Queen of England had endeavoured to

hinder the marriage, but he had fled from England and was claiming the succession to the throne after the death of the queen. The Queen of Scotland and her husband promise to be defenders of the Catholic faith.

His Holiness concluded that it appeared to him that there was no reason why he should not immediately free them from the laws and grant a dispensation, especially as it was to be feared lest, if their request were refused, they might continue to hold to their purpose and carry it out; and also lest if they set at nought the authority of the laws and of the Apostolic See in this matter, they might be bold to do the same in other things. Wherefore, lest religion be endangered in that kingdom, he was sure [that he ought] to grant this dispensation. He had had a very long conversation on the affairs of that kingdom with the bishop, whom [the queen] had sent for this purpose. Every possible care and precaution would have to be taken to prevent that country from falling away from religion. He would do all in his power to prevent such a thing from coming to pass.]

No. 57

CARDINAL PACHECO TO KING PHILIP, WITH PHILIP'S ANSWER (Extracts)

Sources.—Both documents are in *Archivo General de Simancas, Secretaria de Estado, Legajo,* 833, fol. 84, and *Legajo,* 218, fol. 123 respectively, and there are partial transcripts in the Brit. Mus., Add., 26,056 *a*, ff. 257, 270. A very short abstract of the correspondence from this source has been printed in the *Spanish Calendar*, pp. 470, 490. The *parrafo* of Pacheco's letter is here printed entire from a transcript sent me by one of the archivists of Simancas. The Spanish text of Philip's answer is already printed by Mignet (*Histoire de M. Stuart*, 1854, i. 421), from which I have translated, keeping before me the Italian version, presumably that handed in to the Pope, which is now in the Vatican (Arm. 64, tom. xxviii. fol. 106). Mignet prints the date as October 18, but the Vatican and British Museum documents both give the date as October 16.

(i.) Cardinal Pacheco to King Philip.

[*Rome, 2 September* 1565]

Veniendo escrito hasta aqui me dixo Su Santidad que en secreto me queria comunicar un negocio para que yo le dixese mi parecer y escriuiese á Vuestra Magestad, que en todo caso le escriuiese el suyo, y es que la Reina de Escoçia y su marido le escriuen en gran secreto que ellos se hallan

asediados en un Castillo de los Ugonotes de su Reino,[1] y que para allanalle en las cosas de la religion dessean haçer un grande esfuerço, y demandan ayuda á Su Santidad de doce mil infantes pagados por seis meses, porque se temen tambien de la Reina de Ingalaterra que está desesperada deste matrimonio que se ha hecho contra su voluntad, dize el Papa que aunque el está mas necesitado de lo que seria menester y ayuda al Emperador, como hauemos visto, no le falta animo para dar esta ayuda á la Reina de Escoçia, si el mouer aora estos humores no traxese muchos inconuenientes, que el ha respondido buenas palabras á la persona que áqui ha embiado la Reina de Escoçia pareçiendole que por este inuierno no se podra hacer nada, y que en este tiempo podrá tener el pareçer de Vuestra Magestad, sin el cual en ninguna manera se mouiera á una cosa tan grande. Vuestra Magestad sea seruido mandarme responder lo que tengo de decir al Papa, porque le ui congoxado deste negocio y con gran desseo de que Vuestra Magestad le alumbre en el; esta debe de ser el ayuda secreta que el Papa dixo en Consistorio que se le pedia. Despues que trato á esto vino á las cosas de Ingalaterra y al casamiento del Archiduque de Austria, y me mando que siempre le diese auiso de lo que me escriuiese el Embaxador de Vuestra Magestad, porque ninguna cosa hauria, por dura que fuese, no hiciese por la reducion de aquel Reino, y que no estaba tan desesperado desto como de lo de Alemania.

[CARDINAL PACHECO to KING PHILIP. *Rome, 2 September* 1565.

HAVING written thus far, his Holiness informed me that he desired to make me cognisant in secret of a certain negotiation, in order that I might give him my opinion on it, and communicate with your Majesty, in order that whatever happens you may inform him what you think of it. The Queen of Scotland and her husband write to him in secret that they have been besieged in a castle by the Huguenots,[a] and that to settle the difficulty of religion they desire to make a great effort, and request aid from his Holiness to pay twelve thousand foot for six months. They say that they also fear the Queen of England, who is desperate on account of the marriage made in opposition to her wishes. The Pope says that albeit he is more pressed than he ought to be, and is paying a subsidy to the

[1] This must refer to the 'Raid of Beath,' also called the 'Chase-about Raid, at the beginning of July.

emperor, as we know, yet he will not fear to give this help to the Queen of Scotland, if no special inconveniences would follow from setting these humours in motion at present. That he has given fair words to the person whom the Queen of Scotland sent hither, as it seems to him that nothing can be done this winter, and that in the meantime he may inform himself of what your Majesty thinks, without whose support he will take no steps in a matter so important.

I beg your Majesty to inform me what answer I am to make the Pope, for I see that he is very anxious about it, and most desirous that you should enlighten him. This must be the secret subsidy for which the Pope said in consistory that he had been asked. When he had finished about that, he went on to speak of English affairs and the marriage of the Archduke of Austria, and bade me to keep him constantly advised of what your Majesty's ambassador wrote to me. There was nothing, however hard it might be, which he would not do for the reduction of that kingdom, and he had much better hopes of it than for Germany.]

(ii.) King Philip II. to Cardinal Pacheco

[*Wood of Segovia.* 16 [? 18] *October* 1565]

By your letter of the 2nd of September I have understood what his Holiness told you that you should communicate to me, on the subject of the help which the Queen of Scotland has sent to ask for, and also his Holiness' request that I should weigh and give my opinion on that proposal. To comply with what he desires and orders, you may tell him first that I return my most respectful salutions (*beso sus santos piés*) for the confidence he shows me, and for his kindness in deciding to impart to me these negotiations, a favour which I prize as reason requires, and then assure him that he may without hesitation [trust me] as a most true and obedient son, and one who most sincerely desires to please and satisfy him in everything.

After this, say that his inclination to favour and protect that most virtuous Christian princess, who so sorely needs favour and protection in her present troubles, most worthily becomes his holy zeal, and is just what we should expect from him. Then you may inform him that, as the said queen has also had recourse to me, and made to me the same representations as to his Holiness, asking me for help through my ambassador in England, and as moreover, I am well informed about the affairs of that country, I have carefully considered this affair in all its aspects, and you may say to him that what occurs to me about it is this:

Trouble may befall the said Queen of Scotland in three ways.

First, she may have to deal with her subjects only, *e.g.* to suppress possible rebellions, to enforce obedience, and uphold religion in the realm.

Secondly, the Queen of England may desire to assist overtly the

Scottish heretics and rebels against their queen, and to move them for this [purpose], and to secure herself against the fear which she has of war open and clearly (*que della tiene guerra clara y abiertamente*).[1]

Thirdly, events may lead to the Queen of Scots resolving to prosecute in arms the claim which she has on the crown of England.

In these three cases it seems to me that his Holiness would act in a way much becoming his sacred office in showing her favour and giving her aid. In which case I do not desire to withdraw myself (*no me quiero salir á fuera*),[2] on the contrary I intend to help and assist with all possible cordiality, and I would effectuate my desires in the following manner:

[1] As for the first case, that of rebellion in Scotland, unsupported and unaided by foreign princes, the force to be dealt with could not be great. So if we gave the queen assistance, even though it were small, she would be able to overcome and punish the offenders, and accomplish the effect intended. The aid might be given in money, which could be done in secret, would excite less comment, and be more efficacious. If his Holiness approves this course, I think he should give order that the sum thought proper should be immediately forwarded. I in like manner have already sent a letter of credit to Don Diego de Gusman, my ambassador in England, in order that hereafter he may from there go on subsidising the said Queen of Scotland with that secrecy and adroitness that is necessary. I am persuaded and feel sure that in this way this first evil will be remedied and put an end to.

[2] If the second case occurs, it will be necessary to succour the said queen more liberally, and the succours must be considerable, and comprise sometimes money and sometimes paid troops. As these can hardly be conveyed to her in secret, I would prefer that all such assistance be given in the name of his Holiness, and that my contributions should be kept from public notice, in such wise that all that shall be done may be attributed to the helpfulness of his Holiness, and that the fame and honour of the enterprise may be his.

[3] As for the third case, it is attended by such great difficulties and drawbacks, that we must reflect much before committing ourselves to it, and only attempt it when the right moment comes. Herein, it seems to me, his Holiness ought to send to say to her, as I have already done, that she should take no step without prudence and self-restraint. To grasp at it without reflection would be seriously to endanger the result, while from waiting to seize the right moment, nothing but good can ensue. Meanwhile she should try to keep her English followers well disposed, and to gain all the support she possibly can, so long as she does nothing and makes no move that may in any way in the world lead

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[1] The Italian recognises but does not elucidate the obscurity: 'che per ciò tiene guerra chiara et appertamente.'

[2] The Italian has 'Non intendo di *rester* fuori.'

the Queen of England to think that anything is to be done during her lifetime. And albeit she continue, as she should always continue, to keep alive the negotiation with the said Queen of England for her recognition in England as heir to the throne, still she must never drive her to a decision, unless she sees the negotiation so advanced, and in such terms, that she feels sure of success. To do so sooner would be to ruin all.

Let the Pope also tell her that when the time arrives for proclaiming her purpose and carrying it into effect, that then his Holiness and I will decide on the manner in which we ought to favour and forward the cause which the Queen of Scotland is sustaining, that is, the cause of God. God's cause it evidently is, for it is the channel through which religion is destined to enter into the kingdom of England, all others being now closed.

[Finally assure his Holiness] that I shall not fail to inform him of all I hear on this subject, and to hold such full correspondence with him as the importance of the matter requires, and I beg him to give orders for the same to be done on his side, so that we may advance in this matter with that unanimity which is befitting, and bring about that conclusion which we desire.

All this you will explain minutely to his Holiness and you will advise me of his answer, and the resolution he takes therein, so that I may confirm myself to it, and to his good will, and also in order that as much time as possible may be gained for what has to be done.[1]

From our royal palace in the Wood of Segovia, on the 16th of October of 1565.

Most reverend, etc.

No. 58

THE CARDINAL OF COMO, VICE-SECRETARY, TO CARDINAL SANTA CROCE, NUNCIO IN FRANCE

Barberini Library, lxii. 19, fol. 228; Contemporary register.

[*Rome, 25 September* 1565]

ERAUAMO stati molte et molte settimane senza lettere di V. Ill^ma^ S., cioe dalla venuta del Vercelli in qua, quando sono comparse le sue di 27 d'Agosto, alle quali per quel che tocca à S. S^tà^ risponde l'Ill^mo^ Signor Cardinale d'Altaemps, poiche l'Ill^mo^ Borromeo é horamai uicino a Milano. . . .

. . . Tutte le lettere che V. S. Ill^ma^ accusa di havere scritte, sono poi comparse, ancorchè stracche, et io le bacio la mano del conto che mi dà delle cose che gli ho chiesto, come dell'

[1] This paragraph is omitted in the Italian translation.

orator Turco, et matrimonio di Scotia[1] &c. nel qual proposito le dirò anch' io che quel Breve, che le mandai della Regina di Scotia, non conteneva altramente la dispensa, ma era responsivo ad una sua lettera officiosa, et la dispensa si manda hora per il Vescovo Domblanense, qual è venuto quà a domandarla. Et benedetto sia Dio poichè da ogni lato s'intende che questo nuovo Re è buonissimo Catholico, et che di tal matrimonio la Religione sentirà gran giovamento. . . .

[THE CARDINAL of COMO to CARDINAL SANTA CROCE.

Rome, 25 September 1565.

WE had been many, many weeks without letters from your eminence, that is, ever since the advent of Vercelli till now, when your letters of 27 August have arrived. Cardinal Altemps will answer the points, which concern his Holiness, as Cardinal Borromeo will by this have nearly reached Milan. . . .

. . . All the letters which your eminence mentions have arrived, although torn. I thank you for the account of the things of which I desired information, as of the Turkish ambassador, and the Scottish marriage," etc. With regard to the latter, I may inform you that the brief of the Queen of Scotland, which I sent you, did not actually contain the dispensation, but was a reply to a complimentary letter of hers. The dispensation I send now by the Bishop of Dunblane, who came here to solicit it. On all sides it is said that this new king is an excellent Catholic, and that the religion will be greatly furthered by the marriage. Thanks be to God !]

No. 59

PIUS IV. DISPENSATION FOR THE MARRIAGE OF DARNLEY AND MARY

[*Rome, 24 September* 1565]

1. SOURCE.—This document is printed from a transcript made by Father Joseph Stevenson about the year 1876, now in my possession. Every effort has been made to find the original, but without success. His description of the codex (Arch. Vat., *Dispen. Matrimonial,* No. 98) is doubtless perfectly accurate, but owing to a misfortune, which frequently befell him, he has noted an old press-mark, which can now no longer be recognised by any of the archivists. Monsignor Wenzel, the custodian,

[1] The very imperfect register of Santa Croce's letters (Arch. Vat., *Pio,* vol. cciv.) does not, unfortunately, contain this letter.

most kindly made several searches to satisfy my conjectures and curiosity, but without any avail. There is a collection of *Brevia Matrimonialia* among the *Minuta Brevium Pii IV. and Pii V.*, vol. xxiv., but the document here copied is not among them. Indeed, it does not show the characteristics of a minute, viz. the signatures and countersigns which may be seen in No. 6. *ante*, but rather those of a register.

As will be seen below, the reading of the date, a point of great importance, is at present left in a very unsatisfactory state of uncertainty.

II DATE.

(*a*) *The date*, viii. Kal. Junii (May 25) *is certainly an error for* viii. Kal. Oct. (September 24).

1. The Cardinal of Como, then Vice-Secretary of State, expressly stated on 25 September that the dispensation had not been granted before, and was granted then. A short while before the Pope had spoken of it openly in consistory as still to be granted. The covering brief to Mary, 25 September (*infra*, No. 60 (i)), shows it was only just granted. The course of the negotiation, illustrated by the previous documents, confirms the same conclusion.

2. Though these authoritative statements render further discussion unnecessary, yet internal arguments against the date can be found.

α. The Pope was at St. Mark's all September, but at St. Peter's during May. Against this, however, I must set down my inability to prove that he was at St. Peter's exactly on the 25th of May.

β. The news of Darnley's promotion to the earldom of Ross (15 May) cannot have been known in Rome in ten days. The ordinary quick posts took six weeks, and the forwarding of confidential letters took very much longer.

(*b*) *The error was probably not made in the original deed.* Father Stevenson could not have had the original deed before him, and the precise degree of authority due to his exemplar is not stated. Moreover, though he was upon the whole a *very* accurate copyist, yet, like all copyists, he was capable of error; and again, copyists are more liable to slip over numbers, dates, etc., the import of which they do not see at the moment, than to err in transcribing words and sentences, the meaning of which they have before them as they write. In any case it is much easier to suppose the mistake took place during subsequent transcriptions than during the first drafting of document. It would be strange indeed to find a secretary in regular employment making a gross blunder over the name of the month in which he was writing.

(*c*) *Could it have been a deliberate falsification?* Under ordinary circumstances, of course, such a discussion would be futile, but here the *possibility* of falsification must not be lost sight of. That there was dishonest dealing somewhere in the course of the negotiations is evident, and we must not too easily acquiesce in the conclusion that the

coincidence, between this ante-dated document and the premature report that it had been issued, was merely fortuitous.

That it was officially falsified seems inconceivable, considering the other equally official documents that were issued simultaneously with it; but that does not exclude the possibility of a copy having been obtained surreptitiously, which might impose on the unwary when seen by itself. Only, if so, why did the forger leave behind him the record of his misdoing? The discovery of a better text is most desirable.[1]

Pius, etc. Charissimæ in Christo filiæ Mariæ, Scotorum Reginæ Illustri, et dilecto filio nobili viro Henrico Stewart, Comiti Rossensi, salutem, etc.

Vestra in Deum pietas et in nos et hanc sanctam Sedem Apostolicam observantia singularis aliæque insignes animi dotes, quibus clare dignoscimini, nos merito impellunt, ut quæ vos pie desiderare cognoscimus, vobis paterno concedamus affectu. Hinc est quod sicut nobis nuper exposuistis vos pro bono publico et conservatione regni Scotiæ ac ex certis aliis suadentibus causis desideratis invicem matrimonialiter copulari; sed quia secundo ab uno et quarto consanguinitatis gradibus ab

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[1] The following information about the reference *Dispensationes Matrimoniales* may possibly help to this end in the hands of any one who has the opportunity of prosecuting the search. Among Stevenson's notes *ut supra*, there is a copy of a matrimonial brief, dated 15 July 1571, with the reference Arch. Vat., M. 147, *Dispensationes Matrimoniales*. (The brief treats of the nullity of the marriage between Mary and Bothwell, and has been already published from another source, Arm. xliv. vol. xix. fol. 486, by Dr. Cardauns in the *Historisches Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft*, vi. 157, Jan. 1885.)

Thus there are two references to the series *Dispensationes Matrimoniales*, that for the year 1565 from the volume numbered *No.* 98, that for 1571 from the volume numbered *M* 147. Does it not seem likely that *No.* and *M* are really the same thing? That is, that both should be *M* or both *No.* (*i.e. M* 98 for 1565, and *M* 147 for 1571; or *No.* 98, *No.* 147 respectively)?

These two references taken together point to the existence of a *series* of registers of matrimonial dispensations. A single volume might indeed get lost in so vast a repository as the Vatican Archives, but there is no fear of a series of codices remaining permanently out of sight. If attention is drawn to the problem, it will doubtless be solved some day.

. . . . . .

Just as the above was going to be printed off, I heard from Rome that Dr. Herzen had succeeded in re-discovering the document, and that the date given in Stevenson's transcript is perfectly accurate. The modern press-mark is, *Armario* xiii., No. 38.

alio stipitibus vos invicem attinetis, desiderium vestrum in hac parte adimplere non potestis, dispensatione Apostolica desuper non obtenta, quare nobis humiliter supplicastis ut vobis super hoc de opportunæ dispensationis gratia providere dignemur. Nos igitur qui Illius vices gerimus in terris Qui pacem et concordiam in sublimibus nutrit, † vos et quemlibet vestrum a quibusvis censentes † ex præmissis et certis aliis nobis notis causis hujusmodi supplicationibus inclinati, vobiscum, ut secundi et quarti consanguinitatis graduum hujusmodi impedimentis, nec non et quibusvis Apostolicis, ac in Provincialibus et Synodalibus Conciliis editis, generalibus vel specialibus Constitutionibus et Ordinibus, cæterisque consimilibus nequaquam obstantibus, matrimonium inter vos publice contrahere et in facie Ecclesiæ solemnizare, et in eo postmodum remanere libere et licite valeatis Apostolica auctoritate præsentium de specialis dono gratiæ dispensamus. Prolem ex hujusmodi matrimonio suscipiendam legitimam pronunciando et decernendo. Nulli igitur paginam nostræ absolutionis, dispensationis, nunciationis et decreti infringere, etc. incursurum.

Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Marcum anno Incarnationis Dominicæ 1565, viij kal. Junii, pontificatus nostri anno sexto.

[Dispensation for Mary and Darnley. *Rome, 24 September* 1565.

Pius, etc. To our most dear daughter in Christ, Mary, Queen of Scots, and to our illustrious and beloved son, Henry Stewart, Earl of Ross—Health, etc.,

Your piety towards God and your singular observance towards us and towards this holy Apostolic See, and your other signal gifts of soul, by which you are so nobly distinguished, constrain us to grant, with paternal affection, to your merits what we understand that you dutifully desire.

Wherefore, as you have lately set before us that you wish to be joined together in matrimony for the public good, for the preservation of the kingdom of Scotland, and for certain other commendable reasons, yet cannot fulfil this your desire without obtaining apostolic dispensation, since you are related in the second degree of consanguinity from one [common] stem, and in the fourth degree from another. For these reasons you have humbly begged us to deign to provide for you thereupon, by dispensing opportunely in your favour. We therefore, who

†† These words appear to be superfluous. They have perhaps been introduced from an ill-cancelled correction in the draft.

hold the place on earth of Him who fosters peace and concord on high,[1] moved by the aforesaid and certain other reasons known to us, do, by the apostolic authority of these presents, through gift of special favour, dispense you, so that—notwithstanding the impediments of the second and fourth degrees of consanguinity, notwithstanding also whatever general or special constitutions and decrees, whether apostolic or published in provincial and synodal councils, or anything of the sort—you may be able to contract matrimony between you, publicly to solemnise it in face of the Church, and thereafter to abide therein freely and lawfully. We, moreover, declare and decree legitimate the offspring that shall be born of such marriage.

To no one therefore [shall it be lawful] to infringe this record of our absolution, dispensation, announcement, and decree [otherwise, etc.] that he shall incur, etc.

Given in Rome, at St. Mark's, in the year of the Lord's Incarnation 1565, the eighth of the kalends of June, in the sixth year of our pontificate.]

No. 60

PIUS IV., FIVE BRIEFS ACCOMPANYING THE DISPENSATION

1. SOURCE AND DATE.—From the original Register, Barberini, xxxi. 10, ff. 199-201. The original drafts of the briefs to the earls and lords, subscribed by the secretary Lavellinus, are preserved in the Vat. Arch., Arm. lxviii, *Epp. Pii IV.*, vol. ii. fol. 627 (another copy, Arm. xliv. tom. ii. Nos. 418, 419). The date of this draft has been misread as 1563, and it has accordingly been placed under that year. Rinaldi, who used this source, followed its erroneous chronology. He has printed parts of two briefs, and omitted the others (*Annales*, 1563, § 113). Philippson also (*Règne de Marie Stuart*, iii. 478-480) has printed extracts from the first two. A translation of the brief to Lord Hume is in Father Forbes Leith, *Narratives*, p. 373. With the original draft above mentioned is preserved the original list of the Scottish nobles to whom the briefs were to be sent. The orthography of this has been here followed, and will be found comparatively accurate, whereas the list, as it appears in Rinaldi, drew from Robertson the remark (*Statuta*, clxvii. *n.* 5), 'the names . . . have been so disguised by foreign scribes or printers, as in some cases to make recognition difficult or impossible.' The justice of the observation is now confirmed. Marronatus here appears as Mar, Cuenes as Catness [Caithness], etc. Besides this, the three last names on our list are printed for the first time, Rinaldi having left them out.

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[1] The text here contains words which appear redundant.

II. COVERING LETTER.—The accompanying letter of Cardinal Borromeo (then cardinal secretary) to the queen is printed in Baluze-Mansi, *Miscellanea*, iii. 528. There are MS. copies (Bib. Vat., *Ottoboniana*, 2419, ii. fol. 679; and Milan, Bib. Ambrosiana, R. 100. *sup.*, f. 33 b.). The letter is dated at Bologna, September 15. The writer, who was on his way to hold a provincial synod at Milan, says that he had conversed with the Bishop of Dunblane before leaving Rome, who would verbally convey to her the interest which the Roman Court took in her and her fortunes.

(i.) POPE PIUS IV. TO QUEEN MARY.

[*Rome, September* 25, 1565]

Charissimae in Christo filiae nostrae Mariae Reginae Scotiae Illustri.

CHARISSIMA, etc. Postquam ex litteris tuis, et ex Venerabilis Fratris Episcopi Dumblanensis Oratoris tui sermone cognovimus de matrimonio inter te et nobilem virum Comitem Russiae contrahendo: de quo litteras quoque a dilecto filio nostro Carolo Cardinali a Lotaringia avunculo tuo accepimus, visa est nobis Majestas tua prudenter ac sapienter admodum fecisse: quae talem virum conjugem, et regni consortem delegerit; qui sicut accepimus, cum multis aliis egregiis virtutibus est insignis: tum inprimis perpetuo Catholicae religionis cultu commendatur; magnamque ex hac re animi voluptatem, ac laetitiam cepimus. Speramus enim talis mariti ope atque auxilio non parum adiutum iri pietatem tuam ad reprimendam in isto Regno haereticae pravitatis pestem, ac religionem Catholicam commodiorem in locum restituendam. Id quod cum a te inprimis in istis nuptiis contrahendis spectatum fuisse certum habeamus; non dubitamus quin nuptiae, quas talis causa conciliat, Deo auctore, auspiceque iungantur: et faustae ac felices vobis, populisque regni vestri futurae sint. Neque vero nostrum vobis idoneo ac maturo tempore auxilium defuturum est, sicut ipsi Episcopo diximus. Cum autem ad ipsas contrahendas propter propinquitatis impedimentum dispensari a nobis vobiscum devote admodum petieritis; nos desiderio vestro benigne satisfecimus, literasque dispensationis nostrae una cum his ad vos misimus. Honoris quoque tui causa, Charissima Filia, literas sub plumbo provisionis Ecclesiae Brechinensis nulla, ut mos est, officialibus curiae nostrae pecunia soluta, confici; et

ipsi episcopo tradi iussimus: quamquam hujusmodi gratias raro admodum, nec unquam sine ipsorum officialium querela facere soleamus. Sed haec tenuia sunt paternae benevolentiae nostrae indicia, prae ea[1] quae parati sumus, quotiescumque occasio dabitur, Majestati tuae, et ipsi conjugi tuo, dare. Nullum est enim tantum paterni amoris officium, quod uterque vestrum a nobis expectare, ac sibi polliceri non debeat. Vos modo, sicut facturos vos esse in Domino confidimus, retinete perpetuo atque augete vestrum pium animum erga religionem catholicam, atque in regno vestro orthodoxae fidei lucem, discutiendis haeresum tenebris restituere studete, ac pro certo habete, tanto vos felicius ac gloriosius regnaturos, quanto acrius et studiosius Dei honorem defenderitis: cujus praesidium piis et Catholicis Principibus nunquam defuit. Reliqua Majestati tuae referet ipse Episcopus Dumblanensis Orator tuus: quem ut benigne advenientem excepimus: ita officio suo magna dexteritate, et diligentia functum, cum nostra benedictione, dimisimus. Datum Romae apud S. Marcum, etc. die XXV Septembris M.D.LXV, pontificatus nostrae anno sexto.

[POPE PIUS IV. to QUEEN MARY. *Rome, 25 September* 1565.

To our dearest daughter in Christ, Mary, Queen of Scotland.

DEAREST DAUGHTER,—Now that we have learned from your letters and from the discourse of your ambassador, our venerable brother, the Bishop of Dunblane, of the marriage to be contracted between you and the noble Earl of Ross, concerning which we have also had letters from our dear son Charles, your uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, it seems to us that your Majesty has done very prudently and wisely in choosing such a man for your husband and consort of your kingdom. We hear that he has many excellent qualities, but is commended especially for constant observance of the Catholic religion, and in this we have found great joy and pleasure. Our hope is that your piety will be much strengthened by the help and aid of such a husband to repress the plague of heretical pravity in that kingdom and to restore the Catholic religion therein to a better state. It was this, we feel sure, which you had in view above all else in contracting these nuptials, nor do we doubt that the favour of the Divine Creator will rest on a marriage which has been entered on in this spirit. It is also sure to bring happiness and blessing upon you and upon your people. Nor will our help be wanting at a fit and opportune moment, as we have told the bishop. But whereas you have

[1] In MS. *ut*.

devoutly asked us for a dispensation from the impediment of kinship in order to contract the marriage, we have willingly complied with your desires and send the dispensation herewith.

To do you honour, dearest daughter, we have likewise set forth letters of provision *sub plumbo* for the Church of Brechin without the payment of any of the ordinary fees to the officials of our curia, and we have ordered them to be delivered to the bishop himself. We are not accustomed to grant such favours except very rarely, and not ever without remonstrance from our officials.

These, however, are but slender tokens of our paternal good will, in comparison with what we are ready to grant your Majesty and your husband as often as opportunity shall be given us. For there is no office of fatherly love so great which both of you may not expect and promise yourselves from us. Only retain constantly and increase, as we trust in the Lord that you will, your pious affection to the Catholic religion, and do your best to restore the light of faith in your kingdom by dispelling the darkness of heresy.

Hold it for certain that the more you defend the honour of God with zeal and activity, the more felicitous and glorious will be your reign. His protection has never been wanting to pious and Catholic princes.

The Bishop of Dunblane, your ambassador, will himself relate to you the rest. As we welcomed him at his coming with all kindness, so we have dismissed him with our benediction, as having discharged his duty with great dexterity and diligence.

Given at Rome, at St. Mark's, 25 September 1565, in the sixth year of our pontificate.]

(ii) To the Cardinal of Lorraine.

Dilecto filio nostro Carolo Cardinali a Lotaringia Sedis Apostolicae Legato.

Delecte fili noster, salutem etc. [1] Non sine maximo gaudio cognovimus charissimam in Christo filiam nostram Scotiae Reginam neptem tuam delegisse sibi coniugem, et consortem regni nobilem virum Comitem Rossensem: cum illum Principem ea esse prudentia ac virtute praeditum, adeoque constantem perpetuo in religione catholica fuisse audiamus, ut sperandum sit, sicut ipse quoque scribis, Reginam talis mariti studio, auxilioque adiutam, redacturam esse illo in regno Deo iuvante propediem religionem ipsam in commodiorem statum. Itaque laudavimus vehementer hac in re prudentissimum ejus iudicium, et pium erga religionem animum, atque optimam voluntatem facile recognovimus: Deum precati, ut his eam

nuptiis magis magisque in dies gaudere, laetarique concedat: quas nos quoque nostra benedictione prosequimur. [2] Ad eas autem contrahendas, quia propter propinquitatis impedimentum dispensationem nostram humiliter requisivit; eam nos libentissime concessimus: ac sine more ulla literas concessionis nostrae confici et expediri iussimus. [3] Quod ad ipsius Reginae pia consilia adiuvanda nos hortaris, ea confidere debet, nostrum sibi auxilium minime defuturum: sed idoneo ac maturo tempore: cuius opportunitatem tamen nondum sese obtulisse iudicamus,[1] propter causas, quas Venerabilis Frater Episcopus Dumblanensis circumspectioni tuae referet: cui caeteris quoque de rebus fidem habebis: [4] Parati quoque erimus in id regnum, sicut hortaris, Legatum, aut Nuncium aliquem Apostolicum [mittere], si Rex et Regina id a nobis postularint. Quod hortaris de potestate illius regni episcopis concedenda, haereticos qui resipuerint, absolvendi et unitati Catholicae Ecclesiae reconciliandi, eam nos potestatem Episcopis illis vel eorum aliquibus, prout magis expedire visum fuerit, libenter dabimus: si qui, ut optamus, haereticorum fide non ficta ad Ecclesiae gremium redire voluerint. [5] Molestiarum[2] tuarum, de quibus ex Mussotto tuo cognoveramus, expertes nos esse nos erat passus amor noster erga te paternus, sed ut tum illis dolebamus, ita postea ex eodem Mussotto laetiora libenter audivimus, et animi tui constantiam laudamus: quod fortiter, quidquid propter Catholicae fidei propugnationem patiendum erit, pati te paratum esse videmus. Datum Romae apud Sanctum Marcum etc. die XXV Septembris M.D.LXV, Pontificatus Nostri Anno Sexto.

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[1] Even if we had not this explicit refusal to send money to Mary, we might be quite certain that none was actually sent, because if it had been, we should not have failed to hear of it over and over again from Roman sources. There were indeed occasional rumours among Cecil's spies that Papal monies were being sent to Mary (*Foreign Calendar*, 1566, No. 303), but they probably only refer to Mary's dowry. Melville (*Memoirs*, 1827, p. 137) says erroneously of the Spanish monies lost with Yaxley, 'The paip send the soum of 8000 crounis to be delyuerit to the Queen,' etc. Mignet, followed by Philippson (*Histoire de M. Stuart*, 1854, p. 196; *Règne de Marie Stuart*, p. 85), has thought it necessary to add the 20,000 crowns, which King Philip assigned to Yaxley to the 8000 spoken of by Melville, thus bringing up the total to 28,000 crowns!

[2] In July of this year Captain Salzedo revolted against the cardinal, but his rebellion was soon suppressed. It is generally called *La guerre cardinale*.

[To the CARDINAL of LORRAINE. *Rome, 25 September* 1565.

To our beloved son Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine, legate of the Apostolic See.

[1] BELOVED SON, Health, etc. To our great delight we have heard that the Queen of Scotland, your niece and our well-beloved daughter, has chosen for herself a noble consort, the Earl of Ross. We are told that he is a prince endowed with such prudence and virtue, and has been so constant in the Catholic faith, that we may hope, as you yourself write, that the queen, seconded by so zealous a husband, will soon, with God's assistance, restore religion to a better state in that kingdom. The prudence of her choice has called forth our warm praise, and her admirable dispositions in regard to the faith have not escaped our notice. We pray God that she may daily have more and more reason to rejoice and be glad in this marriage, to which we on our side impart our blessing.

[2] And whereas an impediment of kinship impeded the contract, she has humbly asked us for a dispensation. This we have most willingly granted, and without any delay have ordered the dispensation to be made out and expedited.

[3] As to the aid you exhort us to give to the queen's godly enterprises, she may trust that our help will never be wanting, but will be given at an opportune and suitable time. For the reasons which our venerable brother, the Bishop of Dunblane, will relate for your consideration, we do not think that that moment has yet arrived.* You will give confidence to the bishop in this, as also in other matters.

[4] We shall also be ready to send to that kingdom a legate or apostolic nuncio, as you advise us to do, if the king and queen shall ask it of us. You also urge us to grant to the bishops of that kingdom the power to absolve penitent heretics and to reconcile them to the unity of the Catholic Church. We will gladly give it to them, or to some of them, as shall seem expedient, if, as we hope, any of the heretics wish with sincerity to return to the bosom of the Church.

[5] Our paternal affection for you constrains us to share in your troubles,* of which your envoy Musotti gave us an account. But as we then grieved, so did we afterwards rejoice, when the said Musotti brought us tidings of better things. We applaud your constancy, which, as we see, prepares you to undergo bravely whatsoever you may have to suffer in defence of the Catholic faith.

Given at Rome, at St. Mark's, etc., the 25th of September 1565, the sixth year of our pontificate.]

(iii.) POPE PIUS IV. TO ARCHBISHOP HAMILTON.

Venerabili Fratri Joanni archiepiscopo S. Andreæ.

VENERABILIS FRATER, salutem, etc. Cum venisset ad nos venerabilis frater episcopus Dumblanensis, orator charissimæ

in Christo filiæ nostræ Reginæ Scotiæ illustris, in eis istius regni prælatis de quibus honorificam mentionem fecit, inprimis collaudavit apud nos egregiam fraternitatis tuæ constantiam in tuenda fide et religione Catholica et synceram fidem erga serenissimam reginam. Quæ etsi antea nobis ex aliorum testimonio notæ erant, tamen jucunda nobis admodum fuit talis ipsius de te prædicatio. Itaque cum is istuc rediret præterire noluimus, quin his litteris fraternitatem tuam salutaremus et hortaremur ut perseveres et Dei honori sedulo inservire et optimæ piissimæque Reginæ fidem tuam obsequiumque præstare, et pro loco quem obtines eniti, ut tua erga religionem Catholicam et Reginam merita quam maxima sint, sicut esse debent, insignia atque illustria. Ea, præterquam quod Deo et Reginæ grata futura sunt, nobis quoque grata erunt, qui parati erimus non solum quibuscumque poterimus officiis saluti ejus regni et communi utilitati consulere sed tibi etiam ipsi, si quid a nobis desideraris, quantum cum Deo licuerit gratificari.

Datum Romæ apud S. Marcum, etc., die XXV Septembris M.D.LXV, pontificatus nostri anno sexto.

(iv.) To the Earl of Lennox and Others.

Dilecto filio nobili viro Malcolino [*sic*] comiti de Lenox.

Dilecte fili, nobilis vir, salutem, etc. Jucunda admodum nobis fuit venerabilis fratris episcopi Dumblanensis cum ad nos charissimæ in Christo filiæ nostræ Reginæ Scotiæ venisset Orator, in sermonibus quos nobiscum de rebus istius regni habuit, perhonorifica de te mentio. Etenim collaudavit apud nos nobilitatis tuæ studium erga religionem Catholicam, devotionis erga Sedem Apostolicam constantiam, fidem præterea insignem erga Serenissimam Reginam. Commemoravit præterea magnos labores quos harum rerum causa pertulisti, . . .[1]

Illud tibi de nobis polliceri debes occasione idonea oblata curaturos nos quantum cum Deo poterimus, ut talia tuæ pietatis fidei et devotionis officia grata nobis accidisse cognoscas.

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[1] The above introduction, and the exhortation to constancy which follows it, have been printed by Rinaldi (*Annales*, 1563 [*sic*], § 113). He omits the conclusion.

Datum Romæ apud S. Marcum sub annulo Piscatoris die xxvij Septembris M.D.LXV, pontificatus nostri anno sexto.

Eodem exemplo scriptum fuit,

Joanni comiti de Atholl.
Jacobo comiti de Nuntle [*sic*].
Gulielmo comiti de Montrois.
Davidi comiti de Eglington.
Jacobo comiti de Cassellis.
Joanni comiti de Catnes.
Gulielmo comiti de Erroll.
Joanni comiti de Mar.

(v.) To Lord Hume and Others.

Dilecto filio, nobili viro, Joanni domino de Hume . . .

Begins, Jucundus nobis sermo fuit venerabilis fratris episcopi Dumblanensis missi ad nos a Ser^ma^ Regina oratoris, qui cum de aliis quibusdam nobilibus viris tum de te nobis retulit quam constanter Deo in religione Catholica defendenda officium tuum præstiteris, et quam fidus et obsequens reginæ fueris. Talis, etc. [Concludes with exhortations similar to the last. Date as before.]

Scriptum fuit eodem exemplo,

Guglielmo domino de Seton.
Joanni domino de Sempill.
Gulielmo domino de Ruthuuen.

The following extracts seem to refer to the transmission of the above briefs to Scotland:

Berwick, 2 January 1566.—'It is said that certain bulls are come 'into Scotland from Rome.'—Bedford to Cecil, *Foreign Calendar*, 1566, No. 1 (3).

Paris, 23 January 1566.—'Here was talk of a legate of Rome who 'should pass by Flanders into Scotland. It is a bishop of Scotland who 'was sent to Rome for a dispensation.'—Smith to Cecil, *Foreign Calendar*, No. 41 (13)).

The Bishop of Dunblane did not return to Scotland, but was ordered to stay in Paris.—Hay to Palanco, 9 January 1566, *infra*, Appendix iii.

No. 61

PIUS IV. SPEECH IN CONSISTORY

[*St. Peter's*, 12 *October* 1565]

I. Text and Date.—Same sources as No. 56, *ante*. Mr. Bliss (R. O. Roman Transcripts) has read the date as vii id. Oct., *i.e.* October 9.

II. Accompanying Correspondence.—The following document should

be read in connection with the brief addressed to the Cardinal of Lorraine three days later. Those parts which refer to Mary are printed in the original Latin by Philippson (*Marie Stuart*, iii. 480), from Barberini MSS., xxxi. 10, fol. 204. 'News has been brought us of the boldness of certain 'heretics, who have of late dared to arouse disturbance and some com-'motions (*turbas et motus quosdam*) in the kingdom of Scotland. We 'were indeed grieved that the calm of our dear daughter in Christ, the 'queen your niece, and the peace of her realm should have been disturbed 'by them, but we trust in the Lord that they will be punished for their 'great and over-bold audacity. But, while we are convinced that neither 'queen nor king wants the courage or the counsel requisite to suppress 'the disorders in a way that shall be worthy of them, and that they will 'never allow themselves to consent to any base conditions, we also hear that 'the Parliament of the realm is to be assembled, and that certain persons 'are going to endeavour to allay those tumults in a way which will 'be very disadvantageous and hurtful to the Catholic religion. We 'have therefore thought well to urge you to endeavour with circum-'spection to deter the king and queen from such a compromise.'

The Pope concludes by declaring his confidence in the cardinal's power to avert the evil.

QUARTO idus Octobris [1565] Consistorium habitum est ad B. Petri, ibi Pontifex meliori loco res esse dixit quam antea sperabamus . . .

Scotiæ regnum intestinis discordiis laborare, populi studia in contrarias partes divisa, regem reginam Catholicos Missam cupere,[1] hæreticos adversari, eorum principes perfugisse[2] atque ab Angliæ regina defendi; in Anglia quoque multos esse Catholicos qui hæreticorum imperium graviter et iniquo animo patiantur. Se quidem belli cupidum nunquam fuisse, imo illud magnopere detestari; at verumtamen quando ab aliis pro religione suscipiatur, suas partes esse tueri Catholicos consilio, auxilio, pecunia, quacumque re possit omnibus locis præsto

[1] The final suppression of the Mass was put first in the demands addressed to the queen by the kirk in the tenth General Assembly (26 June, Keith, iii. 107; cf. Randolph's letter of May 3, *Foreign Calendar*, No. 1140, 1. 9; cf. p. 128, *n.* 1, *ante*). Mary, on her side, seems to have represented to the foreign courts that these demands represented the formal *casus belli*. See *infra*, No. 62, i.

[2] This cannot refer to their flight into England (October 6), of which the news would not reach Rome until five or six weeks later, that being the ordinary quick postal time. It must therefore refer to the beginning of the retreat of the rebel lords before the queen from Paisley and Edinburgh, *i.e.* August 29 to September 3.

futurum. Ideo[1] alios Christianæ reipublicæ principes facere oportere; hortatusque est protectores principum qui aderant ut principes suos, Imperatorem, regem Christianissimum, regem Catholicum admonerent hoc ad eorum officium pertinere, ut Catholicos omni ope atque auxilio tueantur.[2]

[Pius iv. Speech in Consistory. *St. Peter's*, 12 *October* 1565.

On the twelfth of October a consistory was held at St. Peter's. The Pope said that things were in a better condition than we before expected. . . .

The kingdom of Scotland was labouring in civil strife, the people were divided between opposing parties, the king and queen and the Catholics desiring the Mass, the heretics opposing it," but their leaders had fled" and were defended by the Queen of England. In England also there were many Catholics who endured the rule of the heretics with sullen discontent.

As for himself he was never desirous of war, which indeed he greatly detested; but when others began in the name of religion, he would take his part in defending the Catholics with counsel, help, and money, in whatever way he could, and in all places.

That other princes of the Christian commonwealth should do the same, and he exhorted the [cardinals] protectors of princes, who were present, to admonish their highnesses, the Emperor, the Most Christian King, the Catholic King, that it was their duty to defend the Catholics with all assistance and aid."]

No. 62

NEWS ABOUT SCOTLAND FORWARDED TO ROME BY CARDINAL SANTA CROCE, NUNCIO AT THE FRENCH COURT

Vat. Arch., *Pio*, vol. cciv. ff. 304-312b.

[15 *October*-9 *November* 1565]

i. . . . Di Scotia ci sono nuove, come quel Regno è tutto sottosopra per il maritaggio nuouo della Regina, e che si sono

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[1] The correct reading should probably be, *Id et.*

[2] News of this declaration by the Pope presumably reached Mary through Clerneau or Thornton about 27 January 1566 (cf. *Foreign Calendar*, Nos. 21, 56, 77), and influenced her in deciding on the second mission of the Bishop of Dunblane. From La Mothe-Fénelon's despatch of 21 June 1569 (*Recueil des dépêches, etc., des ambassadeurs de France*, 1838, ii. 47) it would appear that Elizabeth heard of what was happening through the emperor.

solleuati gl' Ugonotti, et domandati alla Regina, che lasci la messa del tutto, a che Sua Maestà ha risposto di non uoler consentire, talche sono tutti in armi, et l'Ambasciator suo, ch' è qui, mi ha ricercato da parte di quella Maestà, che io lo douessi far sapere a Sua Santità, e nel raggionar mi ha ben mostrato, che la Regina haueria gran bisogno di aiuto, principalmente de denari, ma non è passato più oltre . . .

Di Nantes alli xv di Ottobre 1565.

ii. . . . Intanto hò uoluto dar auuiso a V. S. Ill^ma^ così di questo, come de gl' articoli, che sono stati proposti alla Regina di Scotia,[1] i quali me gl' ha dati l'Ambasciatore qui di quella Maestà a questo effetto, che si mandino a Sua Santità, et dice di non hauer dapoi hauto altro auuiso, che interpreta in buona parte. E perche mi ha ricercato che io uolessi far officio qui con Sua Maestà, perche aiutasse le cose loro, non hò mancato di farlo efficacemente, et la Maestà Sua ha mandato di gia un huomo in Inghilterra, et poi in Scotia per intendere come la cosa stà, et fare officio per la pacificatione.

L'Ambasciatore di Scotia haueria desiderato, che si fosse mostrata questa Maestà ancor più, per l'antica amicitia, et allianza di quel Regno con questo, ma per adesso non si è possuto ottener d'auantaggio. Di quel che succederà Mons^r^ Nuntio ne auuiserà, il qual resta informatissimo così di questo, come degl' altri negotij da trattarsi di qua . . .

. . . Ritenuta sino alli 9. nel qual tempo è uenuto auuiso, come la Regina di Scotia è preualuta contro i suoi ribelli heretici, et ch' erano fuggiti in Inghilterra 120. de' capi. Così mi ha detto un gentilhomo che uien di Corte degno di fede, però mi riseruo a scriuerne con più certezza et particolarità, come Sua Maestà sia in questa città, che sarà sabbato prossimo. All' hora cercarò di licentiarmi, et uenir a seruir V. S. Ill^ma^ più di appresso . . .

Di Tours alli 9. di Novembre 1565.

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[1] On the six articles, see last document, *n.* 1. Mary's answers are endorsed by Cecil, 29 July (*Foreign Calendar*, No. 1328). Andrew Beaton seems to have shown them to the Spanish and French ambassadors in London as he passed on 15 September (*Spanish Calendar*, p. 479; Teulet, ii. 224), but they had known of them before. Alava sent Spanish translations of them to Philip on 31 October (*infra*, Appendix ii., No. 30).

[*Nantes*, 15 *October* 1565.

i. . . . News comes from Scotland that that kingdom is completely upset over the recent marriage of the queen. The Huguenots have risen, and have required the queen to abandon the Mass altogether, and her Majesty has answered that she will not consent. They are therefore all up in arms, and her ambassador, who is here, has begged me, on her Majesty's part, that I should make this known to his Holiness. In his conference he showed me clearly that the queen would have great need of succour, and chiefly of money, but he did not pursue the matter further. . . .

Tours, 9 *November* 1565.

ii. I have thought well to advise your eminence of these [French] matters, and of the articles which have been proposed to the Queen of Scotland.[a] Her ambassador here gave them to me to forward to his Holiness, and says that he has received no news since, which he interprets as good news. As he begged me to interpose my good offices with the [French] king to obtain assistance for their affairs, I did not fail to do so with vigour, and his Majesty has already despatched a gentleman [Mauvissière] to England and Scotland to see how things are going, and to offer his services for a pacification.

The ambassador of Scotland would have desired the king to do yet more, for the sake of the ancient friendship and alliance of that realm and this, but for the present nothing more could be obtained. Monsignor Nuncio [Francesco Beltrame, Bishop of Terracina, the incoming nuncio] will inform you of what will follow. He is now very thoroughly informed, both on this point and on the other matters which he will have to negotiate here. . . .

P.S.—This has been kept back till the 9th, and meanwhile news has come that the Queen of Scotland has prevailed over the heretical rebels, and that one hundred and twenty of their leaders have fled to England. A gentleman just come from court, a trustworthy person, gives me this news. I shall be able to write with greater certainty, and to give more particulars when the king shall arrive, which will be on Saturday next. I shall then endeavour to say farewell, and to come and serve your eminence nearer home.]

SECTION VII

THE PAPAL SUBSIDY

No. 63

THE BISHOP OF DUNBLANE'S SECOND MISSION TO ROME

[*January-April* 1565-6]

(*a*) 9 December 1565.—Death of Pope Pius IV.

(*b*) 7 January 1565-6.—Election of Michael Ghislieri, Cardinal Alessandrino, and Bishop of Mondovi. He took the name of Pius V.

(*c*) 10 January.—Pius made the customary announcement of his election to Mary and Darnley by the briefs *Vocavit humilitatem* and *Cum f. r. Pius IV*. The original minutes, with many corrections, are to be found in the Vat. Arch., Arm. xxxix. vol. lxiv. ff. 205, 203. They are registered Arm. xliv. vol. xii. ff. 9, 10. The important part of these letters is that wherein he states what he has heard of their doings on behalf of Catholicism. These paragraphs have been printed in Philippson (*Règne de Marie Stuart*, iii. 483).

Pope Pius V. to Queen Mary (Extract)

Most dear Daughter, . . .—We have heard with the utmost joy that you and his Highness, your husband, have lately given a brilliant proof of your zeal by restoring the due worship of God throughout your whole realm. Truly, dearest daughter, you understand the duties of devout kings and queens, the way to establish your rule, and to consolidate your kingdom, you know by what services princes may win from God protection from all dangers. We congratulate your Highness on having by this notable fact commenced to dispel the darkness which has brooded for so many years over that kingdom, and to restore to it the light of true religion. But, whereas you know the

Lord has promised rewards for good holy works, not when begun but when ended—therefore complete what you have commenced, and go on with the greatest diligence you can, weeding out completely the thorns and tares of heretical pravity, and recalling the people committed to you to the right way of salvation. Promise and persuade yourself that on our parts we shall show you all the kind offices that paternal love can suggest, and that we are ready to satisfy your wishes, as far as with God's aid we can. . . .—10 January 1566.

(*d*) 16 January 1565-6.—Randolph 'hears' that a messenger from the Pope, who had come through Flanders, was wrecked and drowned near Aberdeen, and that Yaxley has been drowned near Bamborough. —Stevenson, *Selections*, p. 147.

(*e*) 27 January.—Clerneau and Thornton at Edinburgh. For the message sent by the Cardinal of Lorraine at this time, see *infra*, No. 71, Bishop Laureo's letter, *a parte*, of August 21, *initio*.

(*f*) 30 January.—Mary and Darnley sign the letters patent appointing the Bishop of Dunblane their orator at the Holy See (an English translation in Stevenson-Nau, p. 190, from the original in the Vatican, *Miscell. di Castello*, Arm. xv. caps. xiii. No. 210). At the same time Mary wrote a fuller note to the Pope himself (Laderchi, *Annales*, 1566, § 366, 'ex originali in archiv. card. Alessand., codd. tom. lxvi.'; Labanoff, vii. 8; Stevenson-Nau, p. 191). The address must have been added later, as Mary cannot have known the Pope's name at the date of writing.

(*g*) 7 February.—'There was a bande lately devised, in which the 'late pope, themperor, the king of Spayne, the duke of Savoy, with 'divers princes of Italie, and the queen Mother, suspected to be of the 'same confederacy, to maintaine papistrye throughout Christendome. 'This bande was sent out of France by Thorneton and is subscribed by 'this quene, the copie whereof remayneinge with her and the principall 'to be returned very shortly, as I heare, by Mr. Steven Wilson, a feit 'minister for such develish devises. Yf the copie hereof can be gotten 'it shalbe sent as conveniently I maye. . . . Some in [England] are 'thought to be privy unto the bands and confederacye of which I have 'written, whereof I am sure there is something, though perchance of 'all I have not heard the trouthe.'—Randolph to Cecil, Berwick, 7 February 1566, Stevenson, *Selections*, 152, 153.

(*h*) 14 February.—'There is a league concluded betwene the king 'of Spayne, the duke of Savoye, and dyvers other papists princes for the 'overthrowe of religion, as you shall heare more by other, which is come 'to this queen's hand but not yet confirmed. Thereof and of her uncles

'the house of Guyse she hopeth moche, and Clerevault with his coming 'hathe moche altered her disposicion as well towching religion as to 'the earle of Murray.'—Bedford to Cecil, Berwick, 14 February 1566, Stevenson, *Selections*, p. 159.

(*i*) Mid-February.—Stephen Wilson carries the commission to the Bishop of Dunblane.—Crichton to Borgia, 1 April 1566, *infra*, Appendix iii. No. 29.

(*j*) March.—The bishop posts from Paris to Varennes (near Verdun) to consult the Cardinal of Lorraine (Stevenson-Nau, p. 202). The cardinal had already heard the first rumours of the insurrection (March 9) and would not allow the bishop much money (Crichton's letter, *ut supra*), but wrote to the Pope to urge him to intercede with Christian princes (Pius v. to Mary, *infra*, p. 236) and advised Chisholm to request a nuncio for Scotland at the same time that he asked for a subsidy.—Laureo to the Cardinal of Alessandria, *a parte*, 21 August 1566, *infra*, No. 71.

The bishop then journeyed south, passing through Moulins and arriving at Lyons before the end of March.—Alava to Philip, 29 March, *infra*, Appendix ii., and Crichton's letter, *ut supra*, from which it seems to follow that even on 1 April he had no trustworthy information about the state of affairs in Scotland.

(*k*) April.—At Lyons, where the bishop rested 'a few days,' he learnt definitely the particulars of the death of Rizzio and the escape of the queen to Dunbar. In the discourse he delivered before Pius v. in Rome, he shows no knowledge of events subsequent to this. Possibly, therefore, we may identify the story he then told the Pope (*infra* No. 64 (*e*)), with the substance of the letter sent by Mary from Dunbar (mentioned Stevenson-Nau, p. 198), which is now lost.

No. 64

THE BISHOP OF DUNBLANE'S NEGOTIATIONS IN ROME

[*April-June* 1566]

(*a*) 25 or 26 April 1566.—The bishop arrives in Rome (see *infra*, Appendix i. No. 16).

(*b*) There are hardly any documents in the Vatican connected with this mission of the Bishop of Dunblane, except those which are already accessible in print (Stevenson-Nau, p. 196, *et seq.*, and other sources to be cited immediately). On the other hand, there is abundant news about the Scottish ambassador to be found in the correspondence of the various foreign envoys and messengers then in Rome.

(*c*) 27 April.—Papal, Venetian ambassador in Rome, to the Doge.—The bishop of Dunblane, of late despatched by the King and Queen of

'Scotland to offer obedience to his Holiness, has arrived here. He will 'not do more than this (*non fara altro officio*) until he shall have 'received fresh orders, because of the disturbances which have taken 'place in that kingdom, as your serenity will have heard from other 'sources' (W. M. Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, ii. 329, Italian, omitted in the *Venetian Calendar*). For the French ambassador's report, see Appendix i. No. 16, etc.

(*d*) 30 April 1566. Father Juan de Polanco, S.J., to [?Father Jerom Nadal]. Extract.—'A few days ago a Scottish bishop came to con- 'gratulate his Holiness on his election, and to offer him the obedience of 'the king and queen. While he was on his way, the heretics with their 'wicked practices brought the queen, who is in the sixth month of her 'pregnancy, into danger so great that there was much need of divine 'favour lest she should lose her life, and lest the kingdom should by con- 'sequence be deprived of Catholic religion. While his Holiness read the 'letters which described these events, and heard the account of the need 'in which the queen stood of aid against the heretical rebels, who were 'succoured by the Queen of England, it is said that he sighed, and shed 'tears. When some one said to him that he should not afflict himself 'so much, he answered: "How can you tell me not to afflict myself, '"when I see that kingdom in such extremity, and have not the means '"I desire to be able to assist it. Still, I say, we must hold a Congrega- '"tion of Cardinals, to see if there be any way in which we can send '"help to the queen and king."

'He has restricted the retinue of the Papal household, parting with 'many attendants, in order to incur the less expense and to be able so 'much the more to relieve the necessities that there are in the Church.'

(The Spanish text is printed in the *Analecta Bollandiana*, 1888, vii. 54, from the MS. in archives of the Society of Jesus. A somewhat free Latin version has been printed in *Epistolae aliquot gravium virorum ex urbe ad Germaniae principes*, Coloniae, 1567, on which see *Analecta Bollandiana*, xv. 77, 374). This was re-edited by A. Caraccia, *Enarratio gestorum Pii V.*, 1642, p. 21).

(*e*) End of April.—The bishop's speech before the Pope.

In Father Stevenson's *Nau*, there are two undated speeches for this occasion, pp. 193 and 201 (translations). The second and larger discourse is presumably that which touched the Pope so deeply, as Father Polanco has described in the letter above quoted. (The Latin text is printed by Bellesheim, *Catholic Church of Scotland*, iii. 442, but he cannot be right in assigning the date of April 11 to it, as the bishop had not then reached Rome.) The shorter discourse is a more formal composition, written perhaps in order to be read on some public occasion. Indeed, it is not impossible that it was written at Paris before starting, as there are no clear allusions to the great events of the month of March, to which some distinct reference was surely to be expected. It may be worth noting

that the manuscript of the larger discourse (Barberini Library, xxx. 170) originally closed after the story of Mary's escape with the words *Laus Deo*. This has been cancelled, and the three concluding paragraphs, as we now read them, added.

(*f*) 2 and 4 May.—Pius, acting on the advice of the Cardinal of Lorraine, requested the Kings of Spain and France to help Mary.

The letter to Philip, *Incredibili fuimus*, is printed in Laderchi (*Annales*, § 369), but with the erroneous date 21 May. In English, Stevenson-Nau, p. 199. The letter to Charles IX. is also printed by Laderchi. (Manuscript copies in Vat. Arch., Arm. xliv. vii. ff. 47, 45, and Arm. xliv. xii. ep. 68, 69.)

(*g*) 4 May.—Tiepoli to the Doge. 'I was yesterday with the Pope, 'who praised the Queen of Scotland extremely for having exposed to 'danger her crown and her life in defence of the Catholic faith. He 'wished to show me the letter he had received from her, but could never 'find it among his many papers, which he was searching (*revide*) on the 'right hand and on the left. Then he recollected that he had given it 'to the secretary, and so put into my hands the advices received from 'Scotland. As they were long, and as his Holiness had not yet seen 'them, I did not dare to read them or to ask for them. His Holiness 'said in conclusion that he could not make further disbursements for 'Malta, beyond assigning thereto a certain part of the funds for the 'building [of St. Peter's], and that he would send his own commissary to 'make sure that the money was spent for that purpose [for which it had 'been requested]. All that he had originally designed to spend on 'Malta, he would give as an aid to the queen, so that she might pre-'vail over her rebels, who were favoured and inspired by the Queen of 'England, against whom the Kings of France and Spain ought to league 'together, if they had (as they ought to have) greater regard for things 'spiritual than things temporal. If they did not make war against her, 'they might at least prohibit commerce with her kingdom, which would 'be its total ruin.'—Brady, *ut supra* (*c*).

(*h*) Pope Pius V. to Queen Mary.

Rome, 12 May 1566.

The Latin text has been printed in Laderchi (*Annales*, § 370). I have followed a copy, Vat. Arch., Arm. xliv. xii. ep. 70.

To our most dear daughter in Christ, Mary, Queen of Scotland.

When we had learnt what befel you after your ambassador, our venerable brother the Bishop of Dunblane, had started, we grieved and rejoiced at the same time. We were struck with horror and great distress when we heard of the danger in which

you were, owing to the treasons of the heretics, who are rebels both against you and against God. But the joy we felt was greater still when we heard of your noted valour, your greatness of soul, and admirable constancy, which no danger can shake, in your holy resolution of defending the Catholic religion. This was the reason why God graciously delivered you from the hands of the wicked. We congratulate your piety, because by your constancy you have not only won for yourself great and lasting praise from men, but have also deserved a crown more splendid than that borne in a temporal kingdom—that which Christ has promised and prepared in heaven for those who confess Him.

And because we believe that she, by whose endeavours (as many suspect) these wicked plots against your life and throne were contrived, will not desist at a time like this, we immediately wrote, as your uncle, our beloved son the Cardinal of Lorraine, requested, to our most dear son in Christ, the Catholic King of Spain, earnestly begging him to exert his authority to deter her from such wicked undertakings. We have also exhorted the most Christian King and Queen of the French to lend you aid, so that, when moved by our prayer and exhortations, they might perform with greater zeal a duty which we are sure they would have discharged of their own accord.

Although oppressed by many debts, we have been constrained to give subsidies to the emperor elect and to the Knights of St. John, as war is threatened this summer by land in Austria, by sea in Malta, against the potent foe of the Christian name. We have also been forced to make great disbursements to defend from the hostile fleet the maritime towns that belong to us and to the Roman Church. Nevertheless, we are resolved that we ourselves and our household should suffer want rather than you. We shall therefore immediately send you money, not indeed as much as we should wish, but as much as we can. We shall also send an apostolic nuncio, who will in our stead stand by you in your labours, and do for you and yours all that he can.

We exhort you, dearest daughter, to strengthen yourself in the Lord and to be firm. Be sure that not only will divine

assistance not fail, but neither will human aid. The rest you will hear from the letters of the Bishop of Dunblane, a man approved by us no less than by you.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, etc., on the 12th day of May 1566, the first of our pontificate.

(*i*) 15 May 1566.—'In consistory to-day the Pope, while speaking 'of aid for the Queen of Scotland, praised her for manly courage, and 'said that she shamed many Catholics of Germany, who had not the 'boldness to confess their faith openly' (*Hoggi in concistoro Nostro Signore parlando di aiutare la Regina di Scotia, la laudò di virilità d'animo, e che faceva vergogna à molti Cattolici di Germania, che non havevano ardire di confessare la fede loro publicamente*).—Giovanni Andrea Caligari to Cardinal Commendone, Barberini MS., xlii. 61, fol. 139; a Latin translation in Laderchi, § 367; cf. Tiepoli to the Doge, 18 May 1566, in Brady's *Episcopal Succession*, ii. 329. The news of the subsidy was soon public property, and is embodied in the *Avvisi di Roma* for 18 May, Bib. Vat., *Urbino*, cod. 1040, fol. 229*b*.

(*j*) The same day Pius informed the Emperor Maximilian of his inability to increase the subsidy paid to him, because of the subsidy now to be paid to Mary. This led to a correspondence, of which the principal pieces are printed in Laderchi, §§ 275, 276, 277. The same correspondence has recently been published with great accuracy by W. E. Schwarz (*Briefe und Akten zur Geschichte Maximilians II.* (1889), pp. 23, 30, and 33). Maximilian did not receive Pius's letter until 25 June, and on 1 July he instructed his ambassador, the Count Arco, to renew his suit for aid, as he presumed that Pius would now withdraw the subsidy from Mary, because she had taken back the rebels into her favour. Pius answered on 12 July (Laderchi misprints June for July), repeating his previous excuses and statements about Mary.

(*k*) Middle of May.—About this time, allowing about two months for the post, the news of Mary's triumphant return to Edinburgh (18 March) would have been known in Rome. Her letters of the first and second of April to her ambassadors at Rome and Paris would have come somewhat later. There is a postscript to the letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow (Labanoff, i. 350), in which Mary orders him to communicate her account of what had happened to the foreign courts, and in effect an Italian translation of it is to be found in the Medicean Archives at Florence (Filza, 4185), and there is another at Venice (*Venetian Calendar*, p. 375), which had come through the French court, and a Spanish translation at Simancas (*Ingl. Leg.*, 819), a transcript of which is at Paris (Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, *Mém. et Doc.* Espagne, 270, 24). The Italian text of the letter to the Bishop of Dunblane is printed in Bellesheim, *Catholic Church in Scotland* (1887), iii. 440; an English translation, Stevenson-Nau, p. 198.

(*l*) Early in June the Bishop of Dunblane returned to Paris, arriving there about the 24th.—Appendix iii. No. 32.

(*m*) 17 June 1566. Father Juan de Polanco to [Father Jerom Nadal]. Extract.—'I have already by other letters informed you how 'the Bishop of Dunblane came to offer obedience to the Pope on behalf of 'the King and Queen of Scotland, and how his Holiness was much 'grieved not to have the means of helping them, which he desired. But 'while the bishop was here, it pleased God that the men and money pre-'pared for Malta should not be necessary, as the armada of the Turk is 'not coming, and so the Pope has found more facility for helping that 'kingdom. He has determined to send as nuncio the Bishop of Mondovi, 'that thereby he may succour with spiritual aid as well as with temporal 'that Catholic Queen, who has not power to defend the Catholic religion 'as she would wish to do. He also despatched a Scottish gentleman, and 'shortly after the said Bishop of Dunblane, in order that they may prepare 'the way for the nuncio.

'A little before the said bishop left he was present at the Pope's supper, 'which, as a rule, is a very small one, at which he only drinks once. 'After supper he called the bishop and said to him, "You see, Monsignor, '"the expense of my table. Know that I restrict myself, in order to '"have the more wherewith to aid your queen." Then in the bishop's 'presence he called his *major-domo*, and ordered him to send away a good 'part of his household. After that he said again to the bishop, "This also '"I do for the greater aid of your queen," in order that he might under-'stand that to succour her he had to take the food out of his mouth and 'the goods from his house. He added that it would certainly be found 'that he would do for her more than he could.'—*Analecta Bollandiana*, vii. 59, *supra* (*d*).

(*n*) The news-agents of those days, that is, the compilers of *avvisi* or news-sheets, discovered and chronicled all the chief features of this negotiation. Thus in the *avvisi* now at the Record Office, we find the following points noted: The arrival of the bishop (27 April 1566, *S. P. Foreign, Elizabeth*, vol. lxxxii. fol. 308); the offer of obedience and request for help against heretics and enemies of Catholicism (4 May, *ibid.* vol. lxxxiii. fol. 31); the selection of the Bishop of Mondovi as nuncio and the letter to the King of France (11 May, *ibid.* vol. lxxxiii, fol. 109); the papal subsidy petitioned for by the Cardinal of Lorraine and Pope Pius's exhortations to Philip and Charles to give aid to Mary (18 May, *ibid.* vol. lxxxiii. fol. 242); and finally (25 May, *ibid.* vol. lxxxiii. fol. 295), that the nuncio was to leave next week with 25,000 scudi. Most of these passages have been scored by Cecil or his secretary.

No. 65

DISCOURSE OF A SCOTTISH TO A SPANISH AMBASSADOR

[*Probably May* 1566]

I. SOURCE.—This document is preserved in the Archives of the Society of Jesus (*Anglia Historica*, i. 70), but there is no evidence to show how it got there. It is written in a contemporary Italian clerk's hand, on paper with a watermark of two letters (B, B. or H, R.), joined by a knot; a French mark, I think, but similar paper was often used in neighbouring countries, especially in Queen Mary's correspondence (see *infra*, No. 68 (*a*)). There are a few dialectic peculiarities in the Italian, *e.g. Franza* for *Francia*, *que* for *che*, the use of Latin particles like *tamen*, which, however, are probably only due to the scribe.

II. DATE.—The contemporary events referred to are the relief of Malta, September 7 to 12, 1565, and the fear of the return of the Turks, which lasted on till the next spring. There is no mention of the murder of Rizzio and succeeding events, or of the despatch of a Papal nuncio to Mary (March to June, 1566). There was talk of inviting a Spanish embassy to Edinburgh in 1565, and in 1566 (*Spanish Calendar*, p. 497, and No. 67, *infra*). In the hypothesis that § 4 refers to the slaughter of the French in Florida, the earliest date would be February 1566.

III. AUTHORSHIP.—The object and tone of the writer clearly mark him as an envoy or advocate of Mary between the autumn of 1565 and the summer of 1566. The authorship would therefore seem to lie between Yaxley, the Archbishop of Glasgow, and the Bishop of Dunblane.

Yaxley (*Spanish Calendar*, p. 497) is recorded to have advocated the sending of the embassy, and in his mouth the reference to Thionville in § 4 would be less difficult to accept, as he was an Englishman, and therefore a former enemy of the Guises. He cannot, however, have inserted the reference to Malta till he had left Scotland (September 16 or 17, *Foreign Calendar*, No. 1514), as the news would not have been known there then. In favour of the Bishop of Dunblane's authorship one might urge the similarity of the thoughts to those expressed in No. 67, *infra*, and the presumption in favour of the date being after February 1566.

None of the circumstances above noticed offer conclusive evidence as to the origin of the document, but the best working hypothesis seems to be, that the paper was composed by the Bishop of Dunblane for presentation to the Spanish ambassador at Rome during his stay there in May 1566, or by the Archbishop of Glasgow for presentation to the ambassador at Paris. See Appendix ii. Nos. 36, 39.

BREVE DISCORSO SOPRA LA RIFORMATIONE DELLA INGHILTERRA

[1] IL pio zelo et grande devotione che le MMta. del Re et Regina di Scotia mostrano haver alla suppressione dell' heresia et schisma (che al presente minacciano la total ruina della religione catholica, et la subversione d'ogni monarchia et governo civile) et insieme la bona intentione che hanno a ridurre il regno et dominio loro alla unione et obedienza della chiesa catholica, doveria senza altra causa bastare a mover la Mta. del Re Catholico a porger loro ogni possibile aiuto et favore suo, a poter condurre a fine quella si sancta et bona impresa, per che altramente S. Mta. Catholica non responderà ne a quello che Dio aspetta da lui (a cui honore principalmente si deve fare tal opera) ne manco satisfarà alla speranza et openione che tutti li boni catholici hanno conceputo, ne manco allo antico titolo che tiene di Re Catholico.

[2] Il schisma et heresia d'Inghilterra mantenuta con quel rigore et authorita che hora è, et essendo quelli senza dubio la principale causa, semenza, et radice del mancamento della Scotia dalla fede catholica, della corruptione della Francia, della infettione delli popoli delli paesi bassi, et delli imminenti periculi di rebellione et seditione che si puo dubitare in detti paesi bassi, de sorte che a pena si puo (con prudentia humana) vedere come si possino longamente defender dalli detti pericoli, et essendo la riduttione della Inghilterra alla vera fede di tanta importantia, et portando seco la intiera sigurta et preservatione di tutti li detti paesi circumiacenti, tanto per la salvatione delle anime, quanto delli corpi et beni di tanti millioni di popoli christiani, essendo adunque questa cosa tanto manifesta che ogni uno lo sappia, et che non ha bisogno d'altra pruova, che cosa adunque puo esser piu grata a Dio, piu honorevole a S. Mta. Catholica, ne piu utile a suoi dominii et subditi, che per tutti i modi possibili cercare la riduttione et reconciliatione della detta Inghilterra.

[3] Et se la restitutione de Piemonte et Savoia al suo vero Signore, se la liberatione di Malta, et il haver cacciato li Turchi di la, sono state cose di tanto honore, riputatione et fama a S. Mta., che il simile non è stato concesso da Dio ad alcuno

altro principe ne imperatore christiano, da molti secoli in qua, infinitamente piu honorevole, et cosa piu virtuosa li sara per mezo et assistentia di quelli doi giovanni principi di Scotia, restituere a Dio et alla sua chiesa tante anime, et liberare di captivita tante consciencie (che oltra la captivita corporale) in Inghilterra per timore delli legge, in Scotia et Franza per terrore de oltraggie et privatione delli beni et vita, stanno incatenate et inserrate nelli petti catholici di quelli paesi, et per quel modo cacciare di la il piu grande turco che mai fosse, o sara nel mondo, voglio dire l'heresia et schisma che hanno in questi pochi anni passati ingiottiti et devorati piu anime, piu corpi, piu regni et provincie, che il grande Turco non ha fatto in molti anni a dietro.

[4] Et se la invasione che fecero li francesi sopra Tiunville[1] contra la pace che alhora haveano con S. Mta. fu da quella giudicata insupportabile et di non lassare passare senza qualche vendetta, come potra questo fatto della Regina d'Inghilterra esser riputato supportabile, o honorevole a S. Mta. a comportare, essendo molto piu iniurioso, havendo ella per forza et tirannia cacciata la fede catholica dal suo regno, la quale S. Mta. Catholica poco avanti con suo grande honore ma non meno grande difficulta vi havea piantata, contra la promessa fattali da lei medesima per il Signore Conte di Feria, et contra al honore di lei che nel tempo che regnava S. Mta. Catholica insieme con la sorella di essa, si dissimulava esser tutta catholica, et ha fatto hora questa mutatione con suo grande deshonore senza alcun profitto di lei ne di suoi popoli o regno.

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[1] *Tiunville.* Unless this is a clerical error, it seems clear that Thionville is meant. This town was captured in 1558 by the Duke of Guise, and restored to Philip by the treaty of Cateau Cambresis in 1559.

But this allusion does not at all fit in with the context. The town was not taken during time of peace but of war, and no special *vendetta* was aroused over it. Finally, it is hard to conceive that any of Mary's advocates would speak in the terms here used of one of the most brilliant feats of that uncle whom she admired perhaps most of all men in the world.

On the other hand, an allusion to the extermination of the French colony in Florida by Pedro Melandez de Avilès, in 1565, would exactly suit the context, and was every way to be expected. The news reached Europe early in 1566, so that the writer would be following the chronological sequence of events in mentioning it next after the relief of Malta, which had been effected in September 1565.

[5] Doveria anchora S. Mta. per honore et conscientia havere qualche risguardo al miserabile stato delli incarcerati et in molte modi afflitti catholici di quel regno, la cui restitutione alla fede et chiesa catholica principalmente per mezo di S. Mta. Catholica, potra a loro parere esser stato fatta como una trapola per condurre li a queste miserie et calamita, si cosi saranno da S. Mta. abandonati.

[6] Et senza dubio la prudentia humana et ogni vera et perfetta politia ricerca questo da S. Mta. Perche si egli ha respetto alla conservatione delli suoi paesi bassi nella vera fede et religione, o vero si fa conto di contenere quelli popoli in perfetta obedienza a lui istesso, o desideri conservargli da seditioni et rebellioni, non li rimane altro mezo a cio fare, si non primamente riformare l'insolenza della Inghilterra, d'onde suchiano et tirano tutta questa infettione. Perche mentre si remane cosi vicino speranza alcuna di soccorso o aiuto nelle imprese che la pretensione de la nova religione suole portare seco, come potra S. Mta. esser assicurata o di quïete o della obedientia di quelli popoli, ogni volta che vi vorra fare attentare cosa alcuna che dispiacera alla multitudine. Essendo adunque manifesto che S. Mta. per honore suo et per conscientia, et per la prudentia et politia humana debba et è quasi astretta a cercare per tutti modi la riduttione della Inghilterra a qualche meglior forma de religione, resta solo a provare che l'aiuto et assistenza che S. Mta. daria a questi principi di Scotia lo condurria senza fallo al effetto, il che a provare pochi paroli possono bastare a quelli che hanno alcuna intelligenza del stato d'Inghilterra.

[7] Perche considerando che per mera forza, temore, et authorita di quella Regina sola quel Regno e tenuto dal riconciliarsi, ne vi rimane alcuna difficulta in quella impresa si la detta Regina fosse catholica, o volesse a cio consentire. Hora quanto sono boni catholici et alla detta reconciliatione ben inclinati gli sudetti principi di Scotia è manifestissimo. Quale è il interesse et titolo che hanno a quella corona d'Inghilterra, ogni uno lo sa, et la parte grande che hanno in quel Regno oltra la generale affettione delli catholici, lo sanno ben dire tutti quelli che cognoscono quel paese. Si che questi pochi punti ben considerati et con bon giuditio examinati, si

potra chiaramente veder quanto facil cosa saria a S. Mta. Catholica a metter breve et optimo fine a quel si gran male que perturba tutta questa parte della christianita, et quanto pocho aiuto bastaria, essendo dato hora, in tempo che Dio ci ha dato doi principi dotati de si rare virtu et qualita como sono quelli di Scotia, senza li quali, senza dubio, molto magiore travaglio et spesa non lo potria condurre ad effetto.

[8] Il Regno di Scotia solo essendo una volta intieramente riformato nella religione, il che in breve tempo non si potra fare non siendo quelli principi animati et in cio aiutati dalli altri principi catholici loro vicini, perche li heretici de quel Regno haveranno sempre secretamente aiuto et conforto dalla Inghilterra vicina, ma essendo (come dico) quel Regno di Scotia ben riformato, et quelli boni principi solamente animati et confortati a cio per gli potenti principi di Spagna et Franza, senza alcun dubio la Inghilterra da se stessa faria presto qualche segno di mutatione di quella extremita, nella quale hora si truova (al manco in monstra), con lassare vivere li catholici secondo le conscientie loro. Perche ne è la Regina stessa, ne gli principali della noblezza della Inghilterra tanto affettionati a quella doctrina nova, ne cosi privi d'ogni politia, che, si vedessero quelli principi in tal modo congiungeresi insieme, che volessero tutta via con pertinatia mantenerla, ne aspettarano che quel suo paese fosse assalito et riformato da principi forastieri o dalli suoi proprii catholici, ma senza fallo in tal caso vorrebbono piu tosto farlo loro medesimi.

[9] Si che, per l'aiuto di S. Mta. dato a questi principi con bono corragio et authorita, l'Inghilterra si potrebbe riputare vinta et reconciliata tanto quanto la Scotia stessa, il miserabil clero et catholici di quel Regno liberati di una servitu molto peiore che non fu mai quella di Aegipto. La Francia si potria tener piu che meza quietata. Questi paesi bassi liberati di manifestissimi pericoli di heresia et mutinamenti o seditione, dalle quale altramente sara difficil longamente contenerli.

[10] Il merito appresso Idio et l'honor verso il mondo di tutto questo fatto redonderia solo a S. Mta. Catholica. La Maesta Divina sarebbe in cio molto honorata et servita et per consequentia tutti le altri affari di S. Mta. Catholica anderianno tanto meglio prosperando.

[11] Ma si il dubio della ritornata del Turco, o qualche suspitione di alcun altro simulato amico non permettera che si possi al presente mandare questo soccorso si necessario de homini et danari, mandesi al meno una solemne Ambassaria immediate et di parte della sede Apostolica et delle MMta. di Spagna et Franza, la quale vi debba resedere finche il predetto soccorso possa venire, et sia di homini di riputatione et authorita, et sopra tutto che siano zelosi della religione catholica, et che dilegentemente procurino la suppressione delle heresie, et la reconciliatione di quel Regno alla chiesa catholica. Et cosi facendo è da sperare che faranno tal frutto nella Inghilterra, che per ventura non bisognara altro aiuto a condurla a quel felice fine, che tutti li boni desiderano.

[12] Quanto a quello che alcuni oppongano, cioe che essendo quella Regina di Scotia per tante vie et modi, come ella è, congiunta con Francia et il suo regno di tanto tempo in liga con Franza, si puo dubitare che venendo lei a goder il regno d'Inghilterra, vorebbe in tutte le differentie che potrebbono nascer tra Spagna et Franza piu tosto attacarse con Franza che con Spagna, et in tal caso S.Mta. Catholica haria fatto il suo inimico piu potente che prima.

[13] Questa objectione si ha da dubitare che procede, o da quelli che in secreto favoriscono a questa nova dottrina et desiderano che prosperi per tutto, o vero da quelli che non fanno conto de religione alcuna, ma per loro particulare utile vorrebbono che il mondo andasse in ruina, perche in vero chi la vorra bene considerare, trovera che non vi è pericolo alcuno, come per le infrascritte ragioni si dira.

[14] Non si puo negare che questa obiectione al presente non è altro che un dubio di una cosa che è a venire, o piu testo una suspitione d'una cosa che non potra venire ad effetto di molto tempo, quantunque dovesse alla fine prender effetto come loro oppongono. Perche il stato di Franza considerata como è hora, egli è manifesto che per molti anni non sara in termine di poter molestare ne S. Mta. Catholica ne alcun altro in modo che questa obiectione possa in modo alcuno essere verificato. Et il stato nel quale questi principi di Scotia troveranno l'Inghilterra (sia quando si voglia che vi entrino) sara tale, che vi vorra molti anni di tempo (et forse piu che niuno di loro

regnara) a componer le cose che vi troveranno in disordine, et per ragione et necessita bisogni che prima compongino le cose proprie in casa loro, che pigliare parte con altre di fuora. Si che non vi fosse altro a dire che questo, non si puo con ragione dire che per dubio d'una cosa cosi incerta, et non verisimele a venire in molti anni, S. Mta. Catholica debba lassare questa cosi pia, honorevole et necessaria impresa che ricerca presentaneo rimedio.

[15] Non si puo pensare che Nostro Signore Dio voglia dare male fine et successo a una si sancta impresa comminciata principalmente per honore et servitio suo, ma piu tosto si deve sperare tutto il contrario, sendo questi principi come appare ordinati da Idio stesso, qui humiles elegit ut fortes confunderet, et quasi si puo dire miraculosamente congiunti insieme per esser suoi ministri et instrumenti per restorare la sua chiesa, fede, et religione, hora oppressi in quel regno. Et consideresi anco quello che S. Mta. potra temer et aspettare della mano di Dio si ritenera et negara il suo aiuto a quelli, li quali (considerato il stato loro presente con quello che fu poco tempo fa) non si puo negare, anzi si deve firmamente credere che Dio loro habia ordinati a qualche notabile fine et proposito.

[16] Si fa anco grande iniuria alla detta regina di Scotia a tenerla per cosi ingrata che quando vedesse il stato suo talmente augmentato per mezo et aiuto di S. Mta. Catholica, volesse alhora mostrarsi inimica a quello dal quale havesse ricevuta tal beneficio, et fin hora lei non ha mostrato haver si mala natura in se.

[17] Poi essendo hora mancato in grande parte la solita riputatione et credito che haveano li parenti di essa Regina in Franza, pareria optimo consiglio a S. Mta. Catholica che aiutando in questo modo a lei, verria anco per quel mezo a dare qualche riputatione alli detti suoi parenti, et cosi per consequentia guadagnaria non solamente lei ma ancora loro, cioe le famiglie di Lorena et Guiza di esserle sempre amici et fautori in tutte le differentie che per l'avenire potessero nascere tra S. Mta. Catholica et quella di Franza.

[18] Ultimamente quando quelli doi regni d'Inghilterra et Scotia saranno uniti in uno sotto quelli doi principi o suoi heredi, che dubio vi puo esser, che il piu grande et piu stimato regno non debba tirare sotto di se l'altro che è inferiore. Et

che piu è, et la esperientia noi mostra per tutto, che le conditioni et particulari affari delli grandi stati o regni alterano gli animi et affettioni delli suoi principi spesse volte dalli parente stessi et d'ogni altro amico quantunque antico. Che resta adunque a dire, si non che si ha fermamente a creder, che l'Inghilterra che è sempre stata l'implacabile inimico di Franza et antichissimo amico della casa di Borgogna, la cui amicitia è si necessaria alla Inghilterra, che senza quella non puo stare, vorra tirare li suoi principi con il paese di Scotia, ad accommodarsi al beneficio et utile del stato loro principale, il conseglio del quale non fu mai, ne mai sera, in alcuna differenza che potra nascer tra la detta casa di Borgogna et Franza di lasciare l'amititia antiqua del uno per attaccarsi con l'altro; ma tutto il contrario.

[19] Perho non si deve permetter che la troppo politia humana vinca la vera ragione et saviezza, per che la vera prudentia vole che l'homo in le cose bone, quale anco senza noi potrebbono venire ad effetto, debba tamen guadagnare qualche honore et fama dandone quel aiuto che la cosa ricercasse, cosi per contrario gran mancamento saria, che S. Mta. lassasse scappare dalli mani una occasione offertagli di guadagnare una amititia tale oltra l'honore et fama perpetua, con lassarla pigliar da francesi, o altramente venire ad effetto senza suo merito o aiuto.

[20] Perche in tal stato stanno hora le cose di Scotia, che S. Mta. potra (dandone hora opportuno soccorso) fare grande servitio a Dio, guadagnarne grande honore et riputatione da tutta la christianita, et oltra la perpetua amititia que acquistara a se et suoi heredi con detti paesi que li sara di grandissima importanza, mettera anco questi suoi dominii bassi in grand quiete, sicureza, et obedienza. Cosi per il contrario se lassara passare questa occasione, sin che detti principi per altri mezi perveneranno alla possessione di quelli dominii che a loro apertengono senza l'aiuto suo, quello che al hora sara, Dio solo lo sa, et alla corona d'Inghilterra, o tardi o per tempo bisogna che pervenghino, sia con lo aiuto di S. Mta., o senza. Et di questo non vi è dubio, non vi essendo remasto altro herede che habia titolo alcuno che vaglia, si non loro MMta. soli.

[A SHORT DISCOURSE on the REFORMATION of ENGLAND.

[1] THE piety, zeal, and great devotion which their Majesties the King and Queen of Scotland show with regard to the suppression of heresy and schism (which at present threaten the total destruction of the Catholic religion and the overthrow of all monarchy and civil government), together with their laudable intention of reducing their kingdom and dominions to the unity and obedience of the Catholic Church—these things ought to be reason enough to move his Majesty the Catholic King to extend to them all the help and favour he possibly can, in order to enable them to execute their holy and godly enterprise. Otherwise his Majesty will not be corresponding either with that which is looked for from him by God (for whose honour principally such undertakings should be embraced), nor yet will he satisfy the great hope, which all good Catholics cherish regarding him. In fine he will be acting unworthily of his ancient title of King Catholic.

[2] The schism and heresy of England maintained, as we now see it to be, with rigour and upheld with authority, is without doubt the prime cause of the falling away of Scotland from the Catholic faith, of the corruption of France, of the infection of the peoples of the Low Countries, and of the imminent peril of rebellion and sedition therein. So much so that it is hardly possible for human prudence to see how these said dangers can be long guarded against. On the other hand the reduction of England to the true faith is a matter of great importance and would ensure of itself the entire safety and preservation of all the adjacent countries, and of many millions of good Christians, both in regard to the salvation of their souls, the safety of their bodies and the security of their property. The thing is so obvious that there is no one who does not recognise it, so clear that there is no need of proofs. What enterprise then can be more pleasing to God, or more honourable to his Catholic Majesty, what more beneficial to his dominions and to his subjects than to seek by every possible means the reduction and reconciliation of England?

[3] The restitution of Piedmont and Savoy to their rightful overlord, the liberation of Malta, and the driving out of the Turks from thence, are reckoned matters of such honourable reputation and fame to his Majesty, that the like was never granted by God to any other prince or Christian emperor for many ages past. But infinitely more honourable will it be reckoned, and more praiseworthy, if, by the means and the aid of these two young Scottish princes, he should restore so many souls to God and to His Church, and free from bondage so many consciences—to say nothing of liberating actual prisoners—which now lie chained and fettered in the breasts of the Catholics of those countries: in England through fear of the law, in Scotland and France through apprehension of outrage and privation of goods and life. In this way he will cast out the greatest Turk that ever was or ever will be in this world, I mean heresy and schism, which in these few years have sucked

down and devoured more souls, more bodies, and more kingdoms and provinces than the Grand Turk himself has done for many years past.

[4] The French invasion of Thionville [? Florida]* in defiance of the peace which was then established was judged insupportable by his Majesty, and such as could not be passed over without some revenge. How then can this attempt of the Queen of England be considered bearable, or such as his Majesty can in honour put up with? It is far more injurious. She by tyranny has forcibly driven out the Catholic faith from her kingdom, wherein his Majesty not long before had planted it with great increase to his honour, and at the cost of no little labour to himself. The promise which she herself made to him by the Count de Feria is thereby broken, and she has dishonoured herself, for while her sister and the King Catholic reigned she pretended to be sincerely Catholic. This present change is a great disgrace to her, and has brought no advantage either to herself or to her people or her realm.

[5] Again, both honour and conscience must force his Majesty to have some regard to the unhappy prisoners, and the manifold sufferings of the Catholics of that kingdom. The restoration of that faith and of that Church was accomplished principally by the means of his Majesty, and his action may now in their eyes assume the appearance of a trick to involve them in misery and calamity if they are thus abandoned by him.

[6] Without a doubt both human prudence and every true and sound rule of politics require of his Majesty the same resolution. If he cares for the preservation of his Low Countries in the true faith and religion, if he values the loyal obedience of those peoples to his crown, if he desires to banish sedition and rebellion, no other means to do so remains, except, in the first place, to cure the insolence of England from whence, above all, the infection is imbibed and contracted. For while those people have neighbours, on whom they count for help and succour in such enterprises as the new religion is wont to inspire, how can his Majesty be ensured of their remaining peaceful and submissive if ever an occasion shall arise in which he may desire to act in opposition to the wishes of the multitude? It being therefore manifest that his Majesty, for the sake of his honour and his conscience, to say nothing of prudence and human wisdom, is bound, and even constrained, to seek by every means to reform the religion of England, it only remains for me to prove that the aid and assistance which his Majesty shall give to those princes of Scotland will lead him without fail to the desired end. A few words will suffice to prove this to any one who has any knowledge of the state of England.

[7] If you reflect that that realm is only kept back from being reconciled by the terrible violence and despotism of its queen, you will perceive that such reconciliation would offer no difficulty whatever, if the said queen were herself a Catholic, or agreed to the said enterprise. On the other hand, what could be clearer than that the said princes of Scotland are excellent Catholics, and well inclined towards the said reconciliation? Their interests in the realm, their title to the crown of

England are notorious. They have a large following in the kingdom itself over and above the general affection of the Catholics, as all those familiar with that country will tell you. Thus these few points well weighed and judiciously examined will make it clear how easy it would be for his Majesty to bring to an end, swiftly and successfully, the great evil which distracts all that part of Christendom, and how slight the subsidy need be, if given now, when God has set up two such princes as those in Scotland, endowed with such rare virtues and such good qualities. Without them, no doubt, even far greater travail and expenditure could not bring about the result.

[8] If the kingdom of Scotland alone were once wholly reformed in religion, which cannot be done in brief space unless the above princes are encouraged and aided by neighbouring Catholic princes—the reason being that the heretics of that kingdom will always have secret help and comfort from England—if, I say, this reform were once well executed, and if those good princes were only so much as encouraged therein and supported by the powerful rulers of Spain and France, then, without a doubt, would England of her own accord soon show signs of withdrawing from the extremities which now she affects, at least in outward show, and would let the Catholics live according to their consciences. For, in truth, neither the queen herself nor the greater nobles are so wedded to the new doctrines, nor are they so devoid of policy as to maintain them in sheer obstinacy, when once they saw the aforesaid princes banding together in the way that has been described. They would not wait for their country to be invaded and reformed by foreign princes or by their Catholic subjects, but would without fail attend to it themselves.

[9] Thus by the aid which his Majesty shall without any fear or shyness afford to these princes, he will, we may be sure, overcome and reconcile England not less effectually than Scotland itself. The unfortunate clergy and the Catholics of that realm will be freed from a bondage worse than ever was that of Egypt; France will be more than half pacified; the Low Countries will be freed from the manifest danger of heresy, revolution, and sedition, from which it will otherwise be difficult to preserve them for long.

[10] The merit before God and the glory before man for all this good will redound to the honour of his Majesty only, and the Almighty will repay the honour and service done to Himself by bestowing prosperity on his Majesty's other undertakings.

[11] But it may be that fear of the return of the Turks, or suspicions of the intentions of others, who call themselves friends, will prevent the despatch of men and money, earnestly needed though they may be. Then let an honourable embassy at least be despatched at once from the Apostolic See and from their Majesties of Spain and of France to reside in Scotland till such time as the said relieving force arrives. It should consist of men of reputation and authority, and, above all things else, such as are zealous for the Catholic faith, men who will devote them-

selves with diligence to the suppression of heresies, and the reconciliation of that kingdom to the Catholic Church. There is room to hope that, if this is done, such fruit will be produced in England that the happy results, which all good men desire, may possibly be brought about without further assistance.

[12] A word about an objection which has been raised by some. The Queen of Scotland, say they, being allied to France in so many ways and by so many means, as she is, her realm too having been for so many years in league with France, it may be doubted whether she would not, should she once gain the English throne, take sides with France rather than with Spain in all the differences that might arise between those two countries, in which case his Majesty would have made his enemies more powerful than before.

[13] One may well suspect that this objection is raised by men who, if they do not secretly favour the new doctrines and desire for them entire success, are such as make no account of any religion, but would be content if the world went to ruin, should that favour their particular interests. Surely he who will investigate the subject closely will see that there is no danger of this sort whatsoever, as the following reasons will show.

[14] It cannot be denied then, that this objection has at present no other foundation than a doubt about a thing which is not yet existent—or rather the suspicion of something which cannot take effect for a long time to come, even if it should in the end lead to the results which they object to us. And the reason is that the state of France, as we now see it, is such that that country will not, for many a year to come, be in a position to give trouble to his Catholic Majesty, or any one else, in such a way as would justify this objection. The state, too, in which these Scottish princes will find England (whensoever it shall be that they succeed thereto) will be such, that many years must pass (more years perhaps than either of them will reign) before the disorders, which they will then find, can be set right. Reason and necessity will force them to attend first to the settlement of their own affairs at home before they take part in the affairs of others abroad. So that even supposing nothing else was to be said, it cannot in reason be maintained that the fear of a thing so uncertain, and so improbable of realisation for many years to come, ought to lead his Majesty to abandon an enterprise in itself holy, honourable, and necessary, and which presses for instant remedy.

[15] Furthermore, no one can imagine that the Lord our God will allow an enterprise so holy, and one undertaken principally with a view to His honour and service, to meet with an evil or unsuccessful issue. We should rather reckon on the precise contrary; for these princes, as it seems, have been appointed by God Himself, who chooseth the lowly to confound the strong. He has mated them together almost by miracle to be His servants and instruments for the restoration of His Church,

faith, and religion, now so downtrodden in that realm. Let it be also weighed what return the King Catholic may fear and look for from the Divine hand of God, if he shall withhold and refuse his relief to these who—when one compares their present state with what it was a little time back—seem incontrovertibly, nay indubitably, to have been elected by God for some notable purpose and end.

[16] Again, they do the Queen of Scotland a great injury who hold her for ungrateful, and think that, when she shall see her estate aggrandised by the aid and intervention of his Catholic Majesty, she would then show herself an enemy to him from whom she had received so great a benefit. Never hitherto has she shown signs of having so evil a nature.

[17] Moreover, now that the credit which her kinsmen once had in France has in great part waned, it would seem to be the best of policies for his Majesty to give her aid in the way that has been said, for he would thereby restore some of the glory of her said kinsmen, and would by consequence gain not only her but them, that is, that the houses of Lorraine and Guise would always be his friends and fautors in all the differences that may in future arise between his Majesty and the King of France.

[18] Finally, when these two realms of England and Scotland shall be united under these two princes or their heirs, what doubt can there be but that the greater and more esteemed kingdom is sure to subject to itself the other, which is the lesser. What is more, experience universally shows that the conditions and particular affairs of great states and kingdoms oftentimes alienate the hearts and affections of their princes even from their own kinsmen, and from all other friends however old. What then does there remain for me to say, except that we must firmly believe that England, which has ever been the implacable enemy of France, and the most ancient friend of the house of Burgundy, which depends so much on that friendship that she cannot stand without it, is sure to draw its princes, and the country of Scotland as well, to take sides with a view to the advantage of their principal state. In the troubles arising between France and Burgundy, England's policy never was, and never will be, to leave her ancient ally to attach herself to the other, but just the contrary.

[19] Nevertheless, policy that is too worldly must not be allowed to eclipse true reason and wisdom. True prudence would have a man gain honourable fame by assisting a good cause according to its needs, even when that cause could win its way without him. On the other hand, it would be great oversight if the king should let slip from his hands an occasion of gaining a friendship like this, to say nothing of the honour and lasting fame. He will allow the French to seize the opportunity, or perhaps events will work themselves out without bringing him any merit or advantage.

[20] The reason is, that the present state of Scotland is such that his

Majesty can, by granting at once a timely aid, do God a great service, gain lasting reputation throughout all Christendom, and over and above the perpetual friendship he would acquire with those countries both for himself and his heirs (a matter of supreme importance to them), he would also ensure the peace, the safety and the allegiance of his Low Countries. On the other hand, if he leaves this opportunity unused until the said princes have entered without his aid into the possessions that belong to them, what will then ensue, God only knows. For to the crown of England they are sure to come sooner or later, either with the king's aid or without it. Of this there is no doubt, as no heir remains with any title of value except their Majesties only.

No. 66

CLASSIFICATION OF THE SCOTTISH NOBILITY IN 1566, COLLATED WITH A LATER REDACTION.

I SOURCES.—The list of 1566 is from the Vatican Archives, *Varia Politicorum*, vol. lxxxiii. fol. 90, a contemporary copy. The later redaction is at fol. 30 of the volume of the seventeenth century, French transcripts already described in No. 55. The transcriber in this case has copied the list of 'Mylordis,' at the very end.

II. SIMILAR LISTS.—20 May 1565. Alava from Paris sends Philip 'a 'list of Scottish nobles, ecclesiastical and lay, the Catholics distinguished 'by a cross.' See *infra*, Appendix ii.

3 June 1565.—'They begin here to lay their account who are their 'friends: Athol, Caithness, Errol, Montrose, Fleming, Cassillis, Mont-'gomery, Hume, Lindesey, Ruthven, and Lord Robert' (Randolph to Cecil.—*Foreign Calendar* 1564-5, No. 1222 (2)).

25 September 1565.—The Pope sends briefs (*ante*, No. 60) to twelve Scottish nobles, the list of whose names corresponds closely with the commencement of the following lists.

In later years catalogues of a kindred nature were frequently made. There is one (1569), Brit. Mus., *Calig.* C. v. 105. Ridolfi (1570) presumably drew up that preserved, Vat. Arch., *Castel S. Angelo*, Arm. xiv. caps. 3, No. 5. Sixteen later lists (1572 to 1602) have been published by Ch. Rogers, *Estimate of Scottish Nobility* (Grampian Club), 1873.

III. DATES.—It must *in limine* be noted that the writer is not recording the divisions which actually took place in some past revolution, but is forecasting the sides that may be taken in the next revolt. Thus the list of the heretical nobility, *quae arma sumit contra Reginam*, does not correspond with the list of rebels in arms in 1565, 1566, or 1567. Morton was not in arms in 1565, nor Murray in 1566, and Patrick, Lord Ruthven, died

before 1567. But the writer may very well have reckoned both Murray and Morton as *ready* to take arms during all that time.

The date of the first list may be inferred from the position of the name of Lord Ruthven. In 1565 Pius IV. had sent him a brief (No. 60, v. *ante*), but in 1566 he had been among the foremost of the Rizzio murderers, and died in the May of that year (*Foreign Calendar*, No. 386). Mary, however, pardoned him, and admitted his son William to the title. (The remission is printed, Hay Fleming, *Mary Queen of Scots*, Appendix p. 502.) This William will be the lord who figures fourth in the last class of the second list.

The date of the second list is roughly determined by its references to Mary's imprisonment (June 1567), and to Murray, who died January 1570. The absence of the title of regent in the description of Murray, and the long list of names under those of the Hamiltons, tend to show that it was before August 1567.

IV. AUTHORSHIP.—As we may conjecture that the first list (*printed below, on the left*) was sent to, or drawn up by, the Bishop of Dunblane in May 1566, so the second list (*printed below, on the right*) may have been drawn up by the same envoy during his next embassy abroad in July 1567. (*The titles that run across the page are common to both lists.*)

Nobilitas Scotiæ,

Penes quam est Regni Vis et Potentia.

NOBILITAS CATHOLICA

quæ parata est arma sumere pro regina in quocunque casu.

COMITES

Comes de Lenox.
Comes de Atholia.
Comes de Huntle, regni Cancellarius, vir potens.
Comes de Botual, Admirandus.
Comes de Errelle, regni Conestabilis.
Comes de Montroiss, vir potens ac prudens.
Comes de Catnesia.
Comes de Eglinton.
Comes de Cassellis.
Comes de Crafordia.
Comes de Suderlandia.

Comes de Errelle,
Regni Conestablius.
Comes de Montrois,
vir potens et prudens.
Comes de Eglinton.
Comes de Catnesia.
Comes de Atholia,

Passus est nihilominus se seduci contra partes Reginae, mansit tamen Catholicus pro Regina facturus, ut modo putatur, cum viderit aliquem esse, qui suas partes tueatur.

DOMINI CATHOLICI *minores Comitibus et majores Baronibus, qui Scottice dicuntur Mylordis.*

MYLORDIS

Mylord Hume.
Mylord Seton.
Mylord Seton [*sic*].
Mylord Sempill.
Mylord Gray.
Mylord Fleming.
Mylord Leviston [Livingston].
Mylord Symraevual [Somerville].
Mylord Borthili [Borthwick].
Mylord Endermeyth [Invermeath].
Mylord Roiss [Ross].
Mylord Olimphant.
Mylord Salton.
Milord Sinclaier.
Mylord Lovat.
Mylord Ziester [Yester].

My lord Seton.
My lord Ross [*sic*].
My lord Olyphant.
My lord Synclar.
My lord Sempil.
My lord Gray.
My lord Euindald [Avandale].
My lord Simerual [Somerville].

NOBILITAS HÆRETICA,

quæ arma sumit contra Reginam.

COMITES

Comes de Moravia, frater reginæ nothus.
Comes de Argadia, summus Justiciarius.
Comes de Morton.
Comes de Glencarne.
Comes de Rothes.

Comes de Moyravia, frater reginae nothus.
Comes de Morton.
Comes de Glencarne.
Comes de Mar, lord Erskayn.
Comes de Marchel [Marischal].

MYLORDIS

Mylord Ruthuen.
Mylord Lindesay.
Mylord Boyd.
Mylord Uchiltre.

NOBILITAS HÆRETICA *parata arma sumere pro regina in quocunque casu, quam tamen suspectam habet ac timet in causa religionis.*

COMITES

Comes de Casteauleroy.
Comes de Arrania.
Comes de Marchel.
Comes de Maria, lord Arskyn [Mar].
Comes de Angusia.
Comes de Menteils [Menteith].

Dux de Chasteau le Roy.
Comes de Arania filius Ducis.
Comes de Huntlie, regni cancellarius, et vir potens.
Comes de Argatelius, summus Justiciarius, vir potens.
Comes de Cassellis.
Comes de Crafordia.
Comes de Rhodes [Rothes].
Comes de Angusia.
Comes de Menteith.
Comes de Sunder[land]ia.

MYLORDIS

qui passi sunt se seduci contra Reginam, facturi tamen pro ea, si viderint eam posse liberari.

Mylord Drommond.
Mylord Ogilbe.

My lord Hume.
My lord Indermeyth.
My lord Salton.
My lord Ruthuen.
My lord Lyndsay.
My lord Uchiltrie.
My lord Fleming.
My lord Leuiston.
My lord Dromond.
My lord Ogylby.
My lord Zestier.
My lord Boyd.

Mylord Creichton.	My lord Creichton.
Mylord Glammes.	My lord Glammes.
Mylord Forbes.	My lord Forbes.
Mylord Maxuel.	My lord Mazuel.
Mylord Euindal [Avandale].	My lord Charcard.
Mylord Charcart [Cathcart].	My lord Lovat.
Mylord Meffen [Methven].	My lord Borthik.
	My lord Meffan.

EPISCOPI omnes sunt Catholici et constantes, demptis tribus.	*EPISCOPI omnes sunt Catholici demptis his quinque* [sic]:
	Candidecase.
	Orcadum.
	Argateliae.
	Insularum.

BARONES sequuntur comites quibus subsunt.

URBES et civitates pro majori parte sunt in haeresi pertinaces.

No. 67

A LETTER TO FATHER EVERARD [MERCURIAN]

I. SOURCE.—The following anonymous and undated letter is chiefly interesting because of the bibliographical problem to which it gives rise, and the following discussion of the date, authorship, etc. is primarily intended to reflect light on that difficulty. The document is found in the Bibliotheca Marucelliana at Florence, Cod. C. 73, fol. 116. As the letters in this volume are for the most part addressed to Cardinal Moroni, we may conclude that this note also was once among his papers. It is on a half-sheet of paper with no water-mark. The seal is gone.

II. DATE AND AUTHOR.—As the letter was evidently written not long after the Rizzio murder, and in commendation of the plans which the Bishop of Dunblane had been advocating in Rome, we may provisionally attribute the letter to him or to some person in a similar position. The address, *Reverendo Patri Everardo,* is certainly written in an English or Scottish hand, and my impression on looking at it was that the character was that of the Bishop of Dunblane, but as I had no opportunity of making a collation, I do not wish to lay any stress on that impression. The addressee is presumably to be identified with the Father Everard Mercurian, S.J., who was so often mentioned during the mission of Father

de Gouda. There would be excellent reason for writing to him now, as on 28 July 1565 he had been elected 'Father Assistant' for the Jesuit 'Provinces' of France and Germany, and in that capacity the correspondence with Father Edmund Hay would pass through his hands.

Father Everard being then in Rome, the *questi parti* of the writer must be somewhere else, presumably Paris or some place on the way from Rome thither. See *supra*, No. 64, *l.*

[*No date or place.*]

PER questo libretto stampato in Inghilterra[1] che per molti altri avisi V. P. potra haver intesa come quel giovane Re di Scotia e stato ingannato et come quella bona Regina e stata in grande pericolo, et come ancora la causa generale della religione catholica e stata indebolita et l'Heresia fatta piu forte, et la causa di cio da tutti prudenti di questi parti e imputata

[1] Of the 'little books' about Mary Stuart, so accurately described by Mr. John Scott in *A Bibliography of Works relating to Mary Queen of Scots, 1544-1700* (Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, vol. ii.), that which corresponds best to the data given in this letter is: *Proditionis ab aliquot Scotiae Perduellibus adversus Serenissimam suam Reginam non ita pridem perpetratae brevis et simplex narratio ex amplissimi cuiusdam viri literis fideliter descripta.* Of this two editions are known, a single specimen of either surviving in the Grenville Library at the British Museum. To these editions (Louvain, 8°; and *s.l.*, 4to, both 1566) I am able to add the notice of a third, *Dilingae excudebat Sebaldus Maeyer*, 1566. There is a complete transcript of it in the Vatican Library (Cod. Lat. 6150, fol. 151), and it corresponds exactly to the known editions.

The story is carried down to the 2nd of April, and there is no reason why the book should not have been printed by some friend of Mary's towards the end of that month, and sent to Father Mercurian at a time when *avvisi* about the death of Rizzio were still in request.

There is, however, one point which seems to make this identification impossible. The little book is said to have been printed '*in England*,' while none of the editions of the *Proditionis* bear English place-names, and the nature of the tract is such as to make an English origin most unlikely. It is not only written in a tone and for a cause which the English government much disapproved, but it ends with a very severe censure on the New Gospel, which in England could hardly have been published except by stealth. There is no trace of it in the *Registers of the Stationers Company*, printed by Mr. Arber. The quarto edition, without place of printing, shows no water-marks on the paper. With regard to this edition, an English origin, however improbable, is still not impossible, and there is certainly no impossibility in its having been mistaken for English work. Mr. Arber, in his *Index* to the Registers, seems actually to have done so.

The account of the murder which one might have expected to find printed in England was that circulated under the name of *Lord Ruthven's Relation* or *Testament*. There are several manuscript copies of it at the British Museum, and Bishop Laureo speaks as though he had read it (*infra*, 21 August, the letter *a parte*). This would tend to show that it was also circulating abroad, and that

principalmente alla poca cura o per dire meglio alla negligentia degli altri principi Christiani Catholici, dalli quali il Christianesimo aspetta un poco piu di zelo et cura, et che non debbono cosi lassare et quasi che abbandonare quelli giovani principi (li quali loro vedono bene inclinati a riformare quel monstro della Heresia nel loro Regno et Dominij) e di lassarli come nudi alli assalti della Heresia, senza loro dare tanto soccorso quanto il consilio d'un honorabile Ambassatore loro potrebbe apportare.

Quelli che meglio intendono questi affari tengono li sequenti articoli per verissimi, Vz.

[1] Che la presentia et consiglio de Ambassatori de altri principi Christiani haueria senza dubio impedito il tradimento che in questi di vi è passato.

[2] Et il medemo sarebbe sufficiente soccorso a quelli principi per ristorare la religione Catholica nelli dominij loro, et in brevi tempo da poi di deprimere la contraria.

[3] Che per mancamento di quelli, loro saranno tutta via in pericolo delle vite loro et li dominij piu suietti alla Heresia et schisma.

[4] Che la riformatione della religione in quel regno che al presente e facile, sendo quelli principi a cio inclinati, sara il piu facile e certo mezo a riformare anco quella dell' Inghilterra.

[5] Che li Inglesi intendendo che la reformatione della religione in Scotia fosse fatta e mantenuta dalli altri principi forestieri, vorebbono senza dubio piu tosto de se medesimi riformare anco la sua religione che aspettare che altri lo facessino, o havere a suffrire li pericoli et tumulti che di cio potrebbono nascere.

[6] Et finalmente che questa negligenza delli altri principi, lassando quelli di Scotia cosi nudi et privi d'aiuto in questa sua impresa tanto pia della riformatione della religione, da grand animo e coraggio alli secti contrarij, et fa la recuperatione del

either in French or in Latin. The earliest printed edition, however, seems to be that of London, 1699, described in Mr. Scott's *Bibliography* (*ut supra*), No. 288.

As the above note was going to press, Mr. Scott kindly informed me that he had just been fortunate enough to pick up a copy of the Dillingen edition of the *Proditionis*, of which no example was otherwise known. The quarto edition without place of printing might, he thought, be conjecturally ascribed to the press of Wechel in Paris.

uno et l'altro regno, cio e di Scotia et l'Inghilterra piu desperata, et fara che la Franza et Fiandra saranno piu proni a seguirli nel male.

Queste cose sendo tenute qui per verissime, molto ci merauegliamo come puo avenire che una cosa di cosi poco momento come saria a ciascun principe a tenervi un Ambassatore residente, non possa esser da loro obtenuta poiche da quello dovesse venire tale consequentia.

Et se per qualche rispetto Spagna et Franza non possono coniungersi a fare residentia in un medesimo loco insieme, tamen la S. Sede Apostolica e la Spagna lo potranno fare, et se il terzo, cio e la Franza, non vi volesse intravenire non importeria molto.

[*Addressed in another hand*] Reuerendo Patri Euerardo.

[To Father Everard. *n.d.*

By this little book printed in England,* as by many other advices, your paternity may have heard how the young King of Scotland has been deceived and how the good queen has been in great danger; how the whole cause of the Catholic religion has been weakened, and heresy has been strengthened. All prudent men of these parts attribute this chiefly to the small care, or, to say better, to the negligence of other Christian Catholic princes. In them Christendom looks for a little more zeal and care than thus to desert and almost abandon those youthful princes. They see them well inclined to reform the monstrous evil of heresy in their kingdom and dominions, and yet leave them as it were naked to the assaults of heresy, without giving them so much help as the counsel which an honourable ambassador might afford them.

Those who best understand those affairs hold the following points as most certain, viz.:

[1] That the presence and counsel of ambassadors of other Christian princes would, without doubt, have prevented the treason which in these days has taken place there.

[2] The same would give sufficient help to those princes for the restoration of the Catholic religion in their dominions, and for the depression of the contrary religion soon after.

[3] Owing to the absence [of such ambassadors], they will be in continual danger of their lives, and their dominions will be more subject to heresy and schism.

[4] That the reformation of religion in that kingdom, which at present is easy, those princes being inclined thereto, will be the most easy and certain means of reforming that of England also.

[5] That the English, when they hear that the reformation of religion in Scotland has been achieved and maintained by other princes, who were

foreigners, would without doubt much rather reform their own religion by themselves, than wait till others did so, and undergo the dangers and tumults which might arise therefrom.

[6] And finally, that the negligence of the other princes, in leaving those of Scotland thus exposed and deprived of aid in this their most godly enterprise of reforming religion, gives great heart and courage to the opposing sects, and makes the recovery of both realms, that is of Scotland and of England, more hopeless, and will cause France and Flanders to be more prone to follow them in evil.

These things being held here for most true, we much marvel how it can happen that so small a thing, as would be the maintenance by each prince of a resident ambassador, cannot be obtained by them, seeing that such consequences would ensue from it.

And if for some respects Spain and France cannot combine to establish a residency in one and the same place, yet the Holy See and Spain could do so, and if the third party, *i.e.* France, would not take part, it would not much matter.]

No. 68

QUEEN MARY TO POPE PIUS V.

[17 *July* 1566]

(*a*) Mary's answer to the brief of 12 May (*supra*, No. 64, *h*) was dated at Edinburgh, 17 July. The original is preserved in the Barberini Library, Rome, lxxiv. 55, fol. 3, and has been thence printed in Labanoff, vii. 11. There is also an undated copy of it in the Edinburgh Letter-book, 1559-67, fol. 59 b, which is printed in *Registers of Privy Council*, xiv. 257; also in Keith, iii. 311, and from him in Labanoff, i. 356. The Barberini letter is written broadside, on paper marked with the letters H, R. tied by a knot; the seal is in good preservation. There is no endorsement or note of answer.

Most Holy Father,—From your Holiness' brief and the letters of the Bishop of Dunblane, our ambassador, we have understood your goodwill and favour towards us. Not only did you grieve at hearing of the state of our kingdom, you resolved to support us with helpful, liberal hands, to urge and persuade other princes to aid us, and you determined with great promptitude to send us a Nuncio Apostolic, who might in your stead stand by us in our labours. We cannot thank you as we ought for these benefits, but we promise you that we will never depart from the Catholic religion and the observance due to the Apostolic See. As soon as your nuncio arrives, and we hope he will come soon, he will see the proofs of this.

His arrival, and that of the money you have liberally granted, we look forward to with no little longing. Meantime helped by God Almighty's grace, by your aid, and by the assistance of Christian princes, our affairs will soon, as we assure ourselves, be set in better order. May He who alone can do all grant this and give your Holiness many years of health for His Church's sake and for ours.

From Edinburgh, the 17th of July 1566.

Your Holiness' most obedient daughter, MARIE R̃.

(*b*) With this is found in the Letter-book a damaged letter (*Cognitum ex*), dated 16 July, printed in *Registers of Privy Council*, xiv. 258; Keith, iii. 311; Labanoff, i. 363. It is no doubt intended for Monsignor Michael de la Torre, Bishop of Ceneda, the resident nuncio at Paris, of whom mention will frequently be made in the ensuing correspondence of Monsignor Laureo. Mary's letter is intended to engage his favour in negotiating for subsidies from Rome. As the nearest permanent papal representative, his good offices were very important for her plans.

(*c*) Both the Letter-books referred to in the *Registers of Privy Council*, xiv. 256, contain copies of the commendation from the king and queen in favour of Alexander Campbell, for the succession to the see of Brechin, vacant by the death of John Sinclair. The British Museum Letter-book (King's Library, 18, B. vi. fol. 242) also contains a copy of this commendation.

(*d*) With this is found a letter from Mary to an unnamed Roman prelate, requesting that the expedition may be made gratis.—*Registers of Privy Council*, xiv. 256.

(*e*) A letter to King Philip II. was signed at the same date.—Teulet, *Papiers d'État*, iii. 22, and *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, p. 265; *infra* App. ii., No. 38.)

(*f*) We may presume that at the same time some endeavour was made to obtain the canonical appointment of abbots to some of the vacant monasteries. Apparently, however, the nominees did not meet with the approval of the strict Pope. Thus Tiepoli writes from Rome to the Doge:—12 October 1566. 'The Cardinal Santa Croce wished to propose [*i.e.*, in consistory] a Scottish abbacy *in commendam*. But as the person named had not worn the habit the requisite time, and was born of a priest and a prostitute, [the Pope] would not admit him.' Same to the same.—26 October. 'Yesterday there was a consistory, and the Cardinal Santa Croce again proposed the abbey in Scotland, and made his proposal [? as] the last time. His Holiness would not let him pass, for he had not worn the habit for the year, as the Council requires.'—Maziere Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, ii. 334, 335.

SECTION VIII

THE NUNCIATURE OF VINCENZO LAUREO, BISHOP OF MONDOVI

No. 69

THE PRELIMINARIES

I. May 11.—The date of Laureo's appointment does not appear, but the sellers of *avvisi* knew of it at this date (*supra*, No. 64, *n.*). Tritonio, his biographer, does not give the reason why he was selected, but his previous experience in France and his connection with Cardinal d'Este presumably had something to do with it.—*Infra*, No. 117, iii.

II. June 6.—The brief of introduction (*Ex quo tumultus*), a remarkable letter, vividly portraying the fervent zeal of the new Pontiff, has often been printed by the annalists, Laderchi and Bzovio, and by the biographers of Pius, Mary, and Laureo, *e.g.* Gabuzzi, Conn, and Tritonio. There is a copy in the Vatican Archives (*Varia Politicorum*, vol. lxxxiii. fol. 37), dated June 16.

III. [June 6].—The instructions in their original form are not forthcoming. The anonymous writer of the *Report upon the State of Scotland, written in 1594*, etc. (the original text of the passage in question will be found, *infra*, No. 117, ii., an English translation in Stevenson-Nau, pp. 122-123) appears to give a summary of them, but we have no means of judging whether he was writing from original documents or from general knowledge only.

IV. [June 6].—Provision.—The following undated memorandum (probably eighteenth century) is at present in the Archivio di Stato at Rome. —*Cameralia Diversa*, tom. iii. fol. 263.

La provisione del Nunzio d'Inghilterra[1] per diligenze fatte

[1] Monsignor D'Adda, nuncio to James II., is presumably intended.

non si trova notata in quelli pochi libri vecchi che sono in Archivio.

Si è pero trovato in un libro vecchio la provisione che si dava al Nunzio della Regina di Scotia dell anno 1566 a 1567. La quale era △300 d'oro in oro △300.[1] In detto libro anche si è trovato a p. 69 esser stati pagati △1150 in oro a Mons Vescovo di Monte Regale, Nunzio a detta Regina di Scotia per spese da fare nel viaggio.

[The provision for the nuncio of England has not been found despite diligent search among the few old volumes that remain in the Archivio.

But in an ancient volume we have found the provision made for the nuncio sent to the Queen of Scotland from the year 1566 to 1567. It was 300 gold scudi in gold. Also at page 69 of the said book we found that there were paid to the Bishop of Monreale, nuncio to the said Queen of Scotland, the sum of 1150 scudi in gold for travelling expenses.]

v. June (? 16).—Journey to Paris. Laureo left Rome about the middle of June, and taking the road by Milan visited there Saint Charles Borromeo, the late cardinal secretary. Thence he went to his church at Mondovi (July 7), of which he took formal possession, remaining there ten days in order to acquaint himself a little with his diocese. He also paid two flying visits to Emmanuel Filibert, Duke of Savoy, at Rivoli, informing him of the Pope's wish that he should prosecute his claims against Geneva. The duke's answer was that if the Pope would prevent the French and Germans from assisting the town, he would both take it and hold it without difficulty.—Laureo's Register, ff. 1-3, letters of July 8 and 25.

Continuing his journey (July 26) he reached Lyons on the 29th, and Paris late on August the 10th, after making a detour by Chalon in order to visit the Cardinal of Lorraine.—Letter of August 21, *infra*.

vi. It may not be amiss to note here that the regular post (*il ordinario*) between Paris and Rome must have started every Monday from either town, as an analysis of the dates will show. From Paris, however, various other posts started southwards, of which the nuncio frequently availed himself. The letters from Rome bear the dates of arrival as well as of departure, whence we learn that a fast post took seventeen days, a slow post twenty-four. The nuncio wrote as a rule once a fortnight, the cardinal secretary acknowledged his letters once a month.

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[1] 'In generall the Italian silver crowne . . . is worth almost fiue shillings English, and the Italian gold crowne, vulgarly called *d'oro* . . . is worth almost fiue shillings sixe pence English.'—Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary* (London, 1617), p. 291.

VII. Laureo's registers are described in the Introduction. Here it will only be necessary to say that the letters to him (all originals) are contained in the volume entitled *Polonia*, 171. Those written by him are in his official register, *Inghilterra, I. A.* Both are in the Vatican, and have been copied in the Bliss Transcripts, at the Record office.

No. 70

THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA TO THE BISHOP OF MONDOVI

Polonia, 171, fol. 1.

[*Rome*, 5 *August* 1566]

MOLTO REVERENDO MONS., COME FRATELLO.—Fin à quest' hora si son ricevute due lettere di V. S. R. cioe degli viii et xxv del passato. Non havendo che dirle altro per hora in risposta se non accusarne la ricevuta et laudar la sua diligentia in nome di N.S., il quale havendo publicato qui nuovamente il Jubileo che sarà qui alligato contra Turcas, m' ha commesso ch' io lo mandi similmente a lei, essortandola à farlo publicare costà ancora, con participatione principalmente della Serenissima Regina inviandolo poi all' Arcivescovo di S. Andrea (se cosi si chiamerà nell' Isola ancora) al qual si commette per lettera nostra particolare a publicarlo, come hanno fatto tutti gli altri Ordinarii dei luoghi, che a questo fine si manda à V. S. R. la lettera sua con un' altra appresso a cautela, perchè possa servirsene con un altro, senza soprascritto, con alcuni Jubilei stampati, perch' ella gliene mandi poi in quella parte, che le parerà convenirsi in questo caso. Avertendola a darci particolar conto dello stato di cotesto regno et di Sua Maestà con la prima occasione, et senza stendermi in altro per hora, allei mi offero et raccommando per fine di questa che 'l Signor Dio la conservi. Di Roma à v di Agosto M.D. lxvi.

D. V. S. molto R., come fratello,

IL CARD^{LE} ALES^{NO}.

Nuntio di Scotia.

[*Addressed*] Al molto Reverendo Signor come fratello Mons^{r} il Vescovo del Mondovi, Nuntio di N. S. appresso la Seren^{ma} Regina di Scotia.

[*Endorsed*] Lettera di Mons^{r} Cardinale Alessan^{no} ricevuta alli xxii di Agosto 1566 in Parigi.

[THE CARDINAL of ALESSANDRIA to the BISHOP of MONDOVI.
Rome, 5 August 1566.

VERY REVEREND MONSIGNOR, COME FRATELLO,—Up till now two letters from your Reverend Lordship have been received, viz., those of the 8th and 25th of last month. In answer I have nothing else to say, except to notify you of their receipt, and to praise your diligence in the Pope's name. He has just published here the Jubilee *contra Turcas*, which shall be joined herewith, and has commissioned me to send it to you likewise, with an exhortation to have it published there as well, with the participation of the queen in the first instance, and then sending it to the Archbishop of St. Andrews, supposing that he is still so styled in that country. The publication is entrusted to him by a special letter, all other local ordinaries have done the same. For this purpose his letter has been sent to you, and, as a precaution, an extra letter, without address, in order that you may use it for some one else. Some printed Jubilees are also sent, in order that you may send them to such parts as shall seem to you fitting for the occasion. Remember to give us a detailed account of the state of that kingdom and of her Majesty at the first opportunity, and without saying more at present, I commend myself to you, and you to God's keeping. From Rome the 5th of August 1566.

Your Reverend Lordship's *come fratello*,

THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA.

[*Endorsed*] Received 22 August 1566, in Paris.]

No. 71

THE BISHOP OF MONDOVI TO THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA

Inghilterra, I. A., fol. 4.

[*Paris*, 21 *August* 1566]

Da Parigi alli xxi di Agosto M.D. lxvi.

[1] Scrissi alla S. V. Ill^ma^ dal Mondovi alli viii del passato, havendole dato ragguaglio di quello, che havevo ragionato con il S^r^ Duca di Savoia in nome di N. S^re^ di poi il giorno ch' ultimamente mi parti da Rivoli, che fu alli xxv, avisai V. S. Ill^ma^ si della dimora che feci nel Mondovi x giorni di più di quello che haveva disegnato per servitio di quella chiesa, si ancora di quanto m' era occorso dire à S. Altezza in complimento dell' ordine datomi da S. B^ne^, et inviai la prima et la seconda lettera per via di Monsignor il Vescovo di Geneva, Nuntio appresso di S. Altezza; venni poi alli xxix in Lione et quivi intesi che il S^r^ Cardinale di Lorena s' era insieme con

Madama sua madre partito da Nisi, terra del Duca di Nemours in Savoia, dove era stato alcuni giorni in compagnia di esso Duca et della Duchessa sua consorte, già Madama di Guisa,[1] et se n' andava per via di Borgogna à Rems, et perchè mi bisognava per la commissione che haveva da Sua Santità ragionare con il detto S^r^ Cardinale prima che parlassi con il Re Christianissimo et con la Regina sua madre, mi risolsi andare alla corte per la strada di Borgogna più lunga et più incommoda che quella di Molins. [2] Arrivai al detto S^r^ Cardinale in un villaggio lontano da Chialons tre leghe, et dopo havergli presentato il Breve di Nostro Signore et datogli conto della buona et pronta voluntà di Sua Beatitudine verso la Regina di Scotia, il detto Signore ricevette consolatione et satisfattione infinita, affermando havere grandissimo obligo à Sua Santità, et maravigliandosi forte in che maniera poteva Sua Beatitudine fare si grossa spesa in soccorrere in uno medesimo tempo tanti principi della cristianità contra gli infideli et contra gli heretici. Gli risposi che quantunque N. Signore havesse trovato lo Stato ecclesiastico essausto et havesse levate molte gravezze imposte dai Pontefici passati, nondimeno il Signor Iddio li provedeva a tutti i bisogni, et che Sua Santità dal canto suo faceva ogni spiarmo possibile, vivendo parchissimamente, et contentandosi di poco numero di servitori per poter soccorere l'afflitta christianità. [3] Alzò il Cardinale le mani giunte al cielo, ringratiando Iddio che havesse nel maggior bisogno proveduto alla Christianità d'un Pontefice ottimo et veramente santissimo, et supplicando sua divina Maestà, che'l conservasse per molti anni, volse con sua grande edificatione sentire da me il progresso delle prudentissime et santissime attioni di Sua Beatitudine. Finalmente havendo io inteso da Sua Sig^ria^ Ill^ma^ che si potea liberamente scoprire a queste Maestà quel che Sua Santità ha determinato dare per aiuto ogni mese alla Regina di Scotia, m'aviai alla volta di Parigi, dove gionsi la sera di San Lorenzo, nel qual giorno Mons^r^ il Vescovo di Ceneda, Nuntio, era partito per andare a parlare col Re et con la Regina a Villacutre, luogo lontano

[1] Anne d'Este, daughter of the Duke of Ferrara, was married in 1549 to Francis, Duke of Guise. After his death, in 1563, she married James of Savoy, Duke of Nemours, in 1566.

di qua xviii leghe. [4] Prima ch' io andassi in corte volsi aspettare il ritorno di esso Monsignor Nuntio, con il quale havendo conferito i brevi che io portava à queste Maestà, fui avertito da Sua Sig^ria, che non era bene presentarli imperciochè contenendo i detti brevi nel fine che le Maestà loro facessero, osservare il Concilio dai Cattolici, vengono à mostrare che N. S^re si contenta di manco di quello, che il detto Signor Nuntio ha in nome di S. Beatitudine dimandato nei brevi che ha mandati agli arcivescovi di questo regno, nei quali brevi si contiene la osservatione del Concilio in genere, senza fare distinzione dei Cattolici et Ugonotti, la reformation del clero, il Seminario et l'indice delle persone virtuose et Cattoliche di ciascuna diocese; et anchorchè non abbasti, che i sudetti brevi siano stati mandati agli arcivescovi con licenza solamente à bocca del Re et della Regina, et che bisogna per la osservatione di essi la licenza in scriptis approvata dal Consiglio privato et dal Parlamento, la quale si dimanda editto, over legge, sicome ne ho avertito il detto Monsignor, nondimeno sarà bene primieramente, sicome ha già tentato il detto signor Nuntio, procurare lettere private dal Re et dalla Regina per fare osservare il contenuto di essi brevi, affine che le Maestà loro si rendano manco difficili a fare il compimento, cioè l'editto, il quale quando non si possa ottenere, potranno i Vescovi in virtù delle lettere private farsi obbedire nella osservazione dei brevi almeno, dove non siano contrari all' editto, che qui chiamano della pacificatione. [5] Pertanto parendomi buona l'opinione di esso Monsignore, io non presenterò altrimente i detti brevi et aspettarò che piaccia à N. Signore ordinarne dui altri simili, levando via solamente quell'ultima parte che dimanda l'osservatione del Concilio per i Cattolici, intanto mi tratterrò in questa città insino che la corte v'arrivi; nel qual tempo non potrò mancare di visitare queste Maestà per non dare loro suspetto, et m'iscusaro essere partito da Roma con intentione che Sua B^ne mi manderebbe poi i brevi per le lor Maestà, i quali brevi dirò aspettare di giorno in giorno con la Bolla delle mie facultà. [6] Et questa dilatione non guasta niente, perciochè per le lettere della Regina di Scotia scritte à Monsignor Nuntio et all'arcivescovo di Guasco, qui suo Ambasciatore, et al Vescovo Dumblan, et a

me,[1] delle quali mando à V. S. Ill^ma^ la copia, insieme con la stessa lettera mandata a me, quella Maestà desidera che io me intratenga qui insino che sarà battezzato il Principe suo figliuolo, non potendo assicurarsi di ricevere il Nuntio di N. S^re^ senza mover qualche tumulto in quel regno, et vuol prima tentare, secondo m' ha detto esso arcivescovo di Guasco, fare il battesimo di detto Principe solennemente, secondo il costume della Santa Chiesa Cattolica Romana, la qual cosa se la Maestà sua potrà ottenere dalla nobiltà et dal popolo, confideria poi con satisfattione loro potere ammettere il Nuntio di S. Beatitudine. Ma se 'l battesimo non si potrà fare nel modo suddetto, à gran pena potrà quella Regina ricevere Nuntio, per la molta potenza et numero grande di heretici cosi della nobiltà, come della plebe. Non è ancora determinato il tempo del sudetto battesimo, perchè s' aspetta qui il ritorno d' un gentil huomo chiamato Mauvoysier, mandato da queste Maestà a quella di Scotia per intendere da lei chi Signore le sia più grato che vadi in Scotia a tenere a battesimo il Principe in nome del Re Christianissimo, et credessi che quella Regina si rimetterà alla voluntà di queste Maestà. Et secondo la qualità della persona che sarà mandata da S. Maestà Christianissima si dovrà risolvere la Regina d' Inghilterra mandarne un altro di simile conditione. Del Duca di Savoia non si dubita che debba mandare in ogni evento qualche Signore dei primi della sua Corte. [7] Vedrà V. S. Ill^ma^ nelle dette copie che le mando la instantia grande che fa la Regina di Scotia d' havere tutto, o parte del soccorso che N. Signore le manda, di che esso Ambasciadore con il Vescovo Dumblan m' ha secretissimamente pregato che io facessi libberare in man sua secondo la voluntà della Regina una parte di questa somma. Gli risposi che havevo ordine da N. S. pagar la detta somma in cinque termini, per ciascun mese la quinta parte, in caso però che la Regina n' havesse di bisogno tale, che il detto soccorso fosse per darle manifesto rilevamento, mi fu affermato da essi che il bisogno era grandissimo, et che l' aiuto era di si grande importanza che la Regina poteva sperare con il detto soccorso di conservarsi e di cresciere

[1] The substance of these letters is also indicated by Tritonio. — *Vita V. Laurei*, 1594, p. 21. See *infra*, No. 117, iii. § 3.

ogni di più di forza et di riputatione, et massime che da niun Principe della Christianità era aiutata, cosi prontamente come da S. Beat^{e}. [8] Io ho voluto di ciò prima scrivere al Cardinal di Lorena à Rems, dal quale se mi sarà fatta la medesima istanza, non posso mancare di sborsare una mesata, parendome non poter far altro per riputatione di S. B^{ne} et cosi continuarò di mese in mese, durando il bisogno, se non mi sarà commandato altro da N. S^{re}. Farò bene che la prima paga incominci al principio di questo Settembre, che è quanto potrò tirare avanti per ispiarmo della Sede apostolica con degnità di Sua Santità, il nome della quale è tanto osservato et riverito in queste parti da ciascuno, che non solo i Cattolici, ma gli Ugonotti stessi confessano, che la elettione di N. S^{re} è stata veramente dallo Spirito Santo. Così piaccia a sua Divina Maestà per benefizio della sua santa chiesa et della cristianità conservarci lunghissimamente et felicissimamente S. B^{ne} et concedere alla S. V. Ill^{ma} ogni felicità. Baciole humilissimamente la mano.

[THE LETTER *A PARTE.*]

[*Same Codex fol.* 43 *b, with this note*:] Al sudetto Ill^{mo} et R^{mo} Alessandrino sotta la lettera degli xxi di Agosto M.D.LXVI da Parigi.

[9] Ho inteso dall' Arciv^{vo} Glasgo, ambasciadore che essendosi la regina di Scotia rimessa al Cardinale di Lorena del modo che si dovea dimandar il soccorso a nostro S^{re}, il Cardinale fu di parere che insieme con il soccorso si facesse instantia d'havere un Nuntio per dar maggior riputatione alla Regina et per incitare S. S^{tà} a dare più pronto et maggiore aiuto, parendo al Cardinale essere obbligato di procurare prontamente soccorso alla Regina, si per esserle zio, et si per haverla consigliata et persuasa di proceder contra li ribelli con la confiscatione dei loro beni, dalla quale deliberatione ne segui poi quel tumulto cosi grande con pericolo della morte della Regina, [10] la quale hora si trova in grandissime difficoltà, non solamente per il suspetto della Regina d'Inghilterra, che per il parto di questo Prencipe di Scotia, legitimo herede del Regno d'Inghilterra, è entrata in maggior timore, et dovrà per conseguente tanto più efficacemente aiutare in secreto et fomentare i ribelli di Scotia, ma molto più per la mala intelligenza che essa ha

con il Re suo marito, il quale essendo giovine ambitioso et poco constante, vorria havere il governo di quel Regno, per il che mosse i mesi adietro quel tradimento con l'haver fatto venire secretamente i detti ribelli in corte per farsi coronare Re et come s' è scoperto dal testamento di Mylord de Ruthuen,[1] uno dei ribelli, che ultimamente è morto in Inghilterra, esso Re fece dai detti ribelli ammazzare quel povero David Riccio, Piamontese, Secretario della Regina, volendo che tutti i ministri della moglie dipendessero da lui; [11] di che è nata diffidenza tale tra la Regina e lui, che dopo il parto s'afferma non essersi mai congiunti in letto contra la voglia del Re, il quale ancorchè vadi alla Messa, conserva nondimeno stretta amicitia et prattica con gli heretici ribelli,[2] per conservare et accresciere la riputatione et autorità sua. Per il che la Regina è stata constretta ancora essa per conservation sua perdonare il Conte di Muray, suo fratello bastardo, et il Conte de Arguyl, marito della sua sorella bastarda,[3] et mostrare agli heretici confidenza tale che i capitani della guardia del corpo suo, l'uno di cento cavalli, nominato il conte Boduel, et l'altro di 300 fanti, chiamato il Sig[r] de Traquail,[4] sono heretici, sicome è heretico ancora il

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[1] For Ruthven's *Testament*, see *ante*, No. 67, *n.* 1. Its composers intended from the first 'to send copies of it to France and divers needful places.'—*Foreign Calendar*, 1566-8, 2 April 1566, No. 243; Bain, *Scottish Calendar*, ii. 274.

[2] The broad statement that Darnley was 'maintaining strict friendship and intercourse with the heretical rebels in order to preserve and increase his credit and authority' was not true at the date at which Monsignor Laureo makes it. It had indeed been true at the beginning of the year, and there were times afterwards when it may have seemed probable that the alliance would be renewed (*Foreign Calendar*, No. 508). But broadly speaking there can be no doubt that the feud between Darnley and those 'heretical rebels' whom Laureo had in mind continued from after the Rizzio murder until his own assassination. Darnley's doings at this period have been much obscured by subsequent controversies concerning them. But all parties to that controversy, however widely they may differ in their explanation of the fact, agree in affirming that Darnley stood alone at that time.—Stevenson-Nau, p. 28; Melville's *Memoirs* (1827), p. 153; *Foreign Calendar*, Nos. 362, 650. See p. 272 *n.* 2.

[3] Remission had been granted to Murray and Argyle in March, 'under condition that they retire themselves in Argyle' (Labanoff, *Recueil*, i. 349), but they were soon summoned to court.—*Foreign Calendar*, No. 251.

[4] Sir John Stewart of Traquair seems to have been captain of the guard *before* the murder of Rizzio (Stevenson-Nau, pp. 227, 239). Bedford and Randolph

Castellano della fortezza di Edimburgo chiamato Mylord di Askin,[1] il quale è stato fatto dalla Regina conte di Mar, ancorchè la moglie sua, che è governante del Prencipe, sia Cattolica, nè mancano dei Signori principali [2] che per indebolire et ruinare quel regno fomentano questa divisione et diffidenza; [12] a queste difficultà si potria oviare se il Re Cattolico venisse, come si spera, con grossa forza in Fiandra overamente, come giudicano alcuni Signori d'importanza, se si eseguisse la giustizia contra sei ribelli, capi et autori del tradimento fatto ultimamente contro la Regina, la morte dei quali renderia a fatto la pace et obedientia in quel regno, che sono il Conte di Muray, il Conte di Arguyl, li quali per essere stati, come s' è detto, perdonati, pratticano dimesticamente in camera della Regina, et il Conte di Morton, il Signor di Ledington, il Signor di Balantin, clerico di giustitia, et Jacobo Macguyl, plebeo, clerico di registri,[3] inventore d'ogni male. Et questi quattro,

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indeed gave the title of captain to Arthur Erskine, the brother of the Earl of Mar (Keith, *History*, ii. 420 *note*, and also the text, *ibid.*). But the minute Italian accounts (Labanoff, *Recueil*, vii. 78 and 95) call Erskine a *scudiero*, which corresponds with the description given by Lord Herries and Melville, viz., 'Master Stabler' (Lord Herries's *Memoirs* (1836), p. 78; Melville's *Memoirs* (1827), p. 151). Nau mentions a change in the organisation of the Royal Guards, which seems to have taken place about this time. Four or five hundred harquebusiers were being raised to escort the prince to Stirling (2 September 1566). Their mobilisation may possibly be referred to here.

[1] John, Lord Erskine (Earl of Mar since August 1565) had been made governor of Edinburgh Castle in 1554, and resigned that post to Bothwell in March 1567 (Keith, *History*, ii. 556). For an account of his wife, Annabella Murray, see Joseph Robertson, *Inventories*, p. xlii, *n.* 1.

[2] *Signori Principali.* Nau, however, calls Darnley's companions 'quelques jeunes hommes débauschéz, qu'il avoit près de luy plusque nuls aultres' (Stevenson-Nau, pp. 29, 238). Melville's sententious judgment has been frequently quoted, 'It apperit his desteny to lyk better of flatterers and euell company, then of plane speakers and of gud men; quhilk hes bene the wrak of many princes, wha with gud company mycht have producit worthy effectis.'—*Memoirs* (1827), p. 153.

[3] The criticisms of p. 271, *n.* 2 are especially applicable here. The Earl of Morton was still in England, but Mary, during her confinement, feared that he might come back with his accomplices 'to disquiet her in her travail' (*Foreign Calendar*, 1566-8, No. 462). Lethington was also in retirement, and did not return to court till August or September. On 2 May, before the reconciliations that preceded James's birth, Randolph wrote of him, 'Lethington's friends intercede for him that he may not be banished. The queen is more his friend

ancorchè non siano perdonati, sono nondimeno domestichi et confidenti del Re, il quale per la solita legierezza sua non si renderia punto difficile à lasciarsi con carezze persuadere dalla Regina sua moglie à questa giustissima essecutione, la quale esso Re potrà fare senza tumulto veruno con isperanza certa, come affermano i detti Signori, che con questo si potria poi in breve tempo facilmente rimettere in tutto quel regno la santa religione Cattolica Romana, non

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than Darnley' (Keith, iii. 347). In June he was ordered to ward in Caithness, and there was talk of his going abroad.

Sir John Bellenden (also called Bannatyne) of Auchnowle, the Justice Clerk. Though his name disappears from the sederunts of the Privy Council after March, it is not found on the list of those 'delaitit for the slauchter of David Riccio' (*Register of Privy Council*, i. 437). On the 18th of May he was 'permittit to purge himself of the slauchter of umquhile seinzeour David . . . and wes fund clene' (*Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 100). Knox denounces him as having once been 'not the least . . . amongis the flatteraris of the court' (Laing's *Knox*, ii. 414).

Mr. James MacGill of Rankellour Nethir, the clerk of the Register, was, on the other hand, a friend of Knox, who has interpolated these words in his account of the transactions previous to Mary's return in 1561: 'Maister James Makgill, in that poynt did baith stoutlie and treulie; for Johne Knox and he war than fallin in familiaritie, in quhilk thay yet contineu, 20 Octobris 1567, be ressone that the said Maister James haid embrasit the Religioun, and professit it publiclie' (Laing's *Knox*, ii. 156). He had been 'delaitit' on the 19th of March as a participant in the slaughter of Rizzio (*Register of Privy Council*, p. 437). 'On the Friday after [*i.e.* 22 March] the Lords of the Council sat down again, and that day was the Earl of Huntly chosen Chancellor, Sir James Lawson [Balfour], Clerk Register, and Mr. John Lossels, Secretary' (Cambridge University Manuscripts, see No. 102, *n.* 1). On 4 April Randolph reports that Lethington, Bellenden, and MacGill have been treated with rigour (Bain, *Scottish Calendar*, ii. 274). On 2 May Randolph further reports that 'the queen sheweth herself greatly offended with the Laird of Cessford for receiving the Clerk of the Register, and it is thought that some other man shall have his place' (R. O. *Scotland*, xii. 54; *Calendar*, No. 378), so that Randolph had not then heard of his deprivation. On 18 May he was 'relaxit fra the horne' (*Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 99), but did not recover his office until Murray returned to power in 1567. He then became especially odious to Mary's friends. In the proclamation, in which Mary revoked her resignation of the crown, he and his associates are denounced in no measured terms. 'Thay craftie periureit foxis and oppin traitouris, quhais branes dois neuir ceis fra tressonabill inventiones; airis to Judas, sones of Sathane, and of the progenie of cruell Cayin, Johnne Wischart of Pittarra, Maistiris Hendrie Balknawis, James M'Gill, James Haliburton, Robert Richesone, Johne Wod, and the rest of that pestiferous factioun, qhome fra mair indigence, shameful slavery, and base estait, we promovit and oft pardonit thair offences' (Sir William Fraser, *The Lennox* (Edinburgh, 1874),

restando alcun capo di fattione. Ma si dubita che il Cardinale di Lorena et la Regina per soverchia compassione non verranno a tale essecutione; [13] sicome per giudicio d'alcuni grandi si afferma, che si metteria sicuramente la pace et tranquillità in questo regno, con ruina à fatto degli heretici, se qui si facesse una simile essecutione contra pochi solamente che si potria fare senza molta difficultà; ma il Re per ancora è troppo giovine.

[The Bishop of Mondovi to the Cardinal of Alessandria.

From Paris on the 21 *of August* 1566.

[1] I wrote to your eminence from Mondovi on the 8th of last month, giving you a report of what I had treated with Monsignor the Duke of Savoy in his Holiness' name. Afterwards on the day I finally left Rivoli, which was the 25th, I advertised you both about the stay I made at Mondovi in the service of that church for ten days more than I had intended, as also about what had occurred to me to say to his Highness for the complete execution of the order given me by his Holiness. I sent the first and second letter through Monsignor the Bishop of Geneva, nuncio with his Highness. I arrived at Lyons on the 29th, and there I heard that the Cardinal of Lorraine, in company with his mother, had left Nice, a town in the possession of the Duke of Nemours, in Savoy, where he had been staying for some days with the said duke, and the duchess his wife, late Madame de Guise,[n] and was then journeying by way of Burgundy to Rheims. As I was bound by his Holiness' commission to talk with the cardinal before my interview with the King of

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ii. 439). Lord Herries spoke of him to Elizabeth as 'ung subtil chiccaneur et brouillon de loix.'—Teulet, ii. 386.

It was reported that all these persons, whom Laureo so severely reprobated, would be taken back into the queen's favour in September (*Foreign Calendar*, 1566-8, Nos. 677, 723, 761), as in fact they were, with the exception of Morton, who did not receive remission till after James's baptism in December (*ibid.* 872). This action of Mary was that of which Darnley complained in October. 'Nether will he [the King] declare quhairin his discontentment is, bot in generall that he is not regardit with the nobilitie as he sould be, nether can obten sic things as he sutis, to wyt sic parsonns as the secretare, the justice clark and clark of register to be put oute of their office alledging they suld be gilte of this last odyous fact, quhair of the Quenes Ma^te^ hess takin tryall and fyndis them not gilti therin, with dyvers other things not worthe the rehearsall' (Sir Robert Melville to the Archbishop of Glasgow, 22 October 1566, B. M. Sloane, 3199, fol. 139, printed by Philippson, *Revue Historique* (Paris), tom. xxviii. p. 280).

The list of persons here mentioned by Bishop Laureo should be compared with that mentioned above (No. 60, § 5), and with the complaint of the Archbishop of Glasgow, *infra* Appendix ii. No. 35, p. 474.

France and the queen mother, I resolved to make my way to court *vid* Burgundy, a longer and more troublesome route than that of Moulins.

[2] I came up with the said cardinal at a village three leagues from Chalon, and after having presented the Pope's brief to him, and spoken of the good and ready will of his Holiness in regard of the Queen of Scotland, the said lord cardinal was much consoled and satisfied, declaring himself greatly obliged to his Holiness, and marvelling much how the holy Father was able to pay such great sums in aiding at one and the same time so many Christian princes against the infidels and the heretics. I answered that although he had found the states of the Church exhausted and had remitted many of the burdens imposed by former pontiffs, yet God had made provision for all his needs. On his side his Holiness was as sparing as he could be, living with the utmost restraint, and contenting himself with a small number of servants in order to be able to succour the afflictions of Christendom.

[3] The cardinal joined his hands and lifted them to heaven, thanking God for having provided Christendom in its greatest need with so good a pontiff, who was a real saint, and begging Him to preserve his Holiness for many years. His eminence was pleased to hear from me an account of the holy Father's prudent good works, and was much edified thereat. In fine, after I had been informed by his eminence that I might freely disclose to their Majesties here what his Holiness has determined to give monthly to the Queen of Scotland by way of subsidy, I took the road towards Paris, where I arrived late on the feast of St. Laurence. That very day the nuncio, the Bishop of Ceneda, had started to go and interview the king and queen at Villers-Coterets, a place eighteen leagues distant from hence.

[4] Before going to court I wished to await the return of the nuncio with whom I discussed the briefs, which I was carrying to their Majesties. His lordship then pointed out to me that it would not be well to present them, as they ended with a request to their Majesties to cause the Catholics to observe the Council. This would tend to show that his Holiness will be satisfied with less than that which Monsignor Nuncio has petitioned in his Holiness' name by the briefs he has sent to the archbishops of the kingdom. In them the universal observance of the Council is spoken of, without distinction of Catholic and Huguenot, as also the reform of the clergy, the seminary, and the index of virtuous persons and Catholics of each diocese. These briefs were sent to the archbishops with leave from the king and queen, which was verbal only. This will not be sufficient, and their licence in writing, approved by Privy Council and Parliament, which is called an *Édit* or law, will also be necessary, as I have informed Monsignor the Nuncio. Nevertheless it will be well to procure first, as he has tried to do, private letters of the king and queen to enforce the observance of the contents of those briefs, in order that their Majesties may make the less difficulty in taking the final step, that is in granting the *Édit*, and if that cannot be had, the

bishops will, in virtue of the private letters, be able to have the briefs observed, at least when they are not opposed to the *Édit*, known as that of the pacification.

[5] Meanwhile, as Monsignor Nuncio's idea seems a good one, I shall not present the said briefs, and wait until it shall please his Holiness to order two briefs, similar to the others, but omitting that last part, which requires the observance of the Council by the Catholics. Meantime, I shall stay in this town till the court arrives here, when I cannot but visit their Majesties in order not to arouse their suspicions. I shall excuse myself by saying that I left Rome believing that the Pope would send me the briefs afterwards, and that I expected them day after day with the bull of my faculties.

[6] Moreover, this delay will not do any harm, for the Queen of Scotland has written to the nuncio, the Archbishop of Glasgow, her ambassador here, and to the Bishop of Dunblane, and to myself[n] (I inclose this, and copies of the other letters), desiring that I should entertain myself here until the prince, her son, be baptized. She cannot feel certain of her ability to receive the Pope's nuncio without exciting some tumult, and wishes first to try to have the prince baptized solemnly according to the custom of the holy Catholic Roman Church. If she can obtain this thing from the nobility and the people, she would then feel confident of being afterwards able to admit the nuncio without offending them. But if the baptism cannot be celebrated in that way, it will hardly be possible for the queen to receive the nuncio, owing to the great power and number of the heretics both among the nobles and among the commons. The day of the said baptism is not yet decided. They are waiting here for the return of a gentleman called Mauvissière, who has been sent by their Majesties here to the Queen of Scotland to learn which lord would be most acceptable to her to go to Scotland and stand godfather at the baptism of the prince in the name of the French king. It is thought that she will remit her choice to the good pleasure of their Majesties here. Then according to the rank of the person, who shall be sent hence, another of like rank will have to be chosen and sent by the Queen of England. The Duke of Savoy without doubt will be expected to send, in any event, one of the chief lords of his court.

[7] Your eminence will see, by the copies of letters sent, the great urgency of the Queen of Scotland to receive the whole, or a part of the subsidy, which his Holiness sends her. Her ambassador, with the Bishop of Dunblane, has very pressingly prayed me to cause a part of that sum to be paid in to him, as the queen desires. I answered him that I was ordered by the Pope to make over the sum in five payments, a fifth part every month, on the supposition that the queen was in such need that the said succour would bring her obvious relief. They answered that the necessity was very great, and that the aid was of such great importance, that the queen might hope to maintain herself therewith and to increase in strength and credit day by day, especially seeing that

no prince of Christendom had helped her so promptly as his Holiness had done.

[8] I resolved to write in the first instance to the Cardinal of Lorraine at Rheims. If he is as instant as the others, I cannot avoid disbursing one monthly instalment, for I think that I cannot do otherwise with honour to his Holiness, and I shall continue to do so month by month, whilst the need lasts, unless I receive other orders from our lord the Pope. I will indeed cause the first payment to commence from the beginning of this September, which is the furthest date to which I can postpone it in order to economise for the Holy See without dishonour to his Holiness. His name is so honoured and revered by every one in these parts, that not only the Catholics but the Huguenots themselves confess that his election was really a work of the Holy Ghost. May God be pleased to grant him long and happy life for the good of his Church, etc., etc., etc.

[The letter apart]

[9] From the Archbishop of Glasgow I learn that the Queen of Scotland referred herself to the Cardinal of Lorraine's decision as regarded the form under which she should apply to the Pope for aid, and that the cardinal was of opinion that the mission of a nuncio should be petitioned for simultaneously with the request for the subsidy. This, it was thought, would give the queen more credit and would incite his Holiness to grant money with greater liberality and promptitude. To procure such aid for the queen is regarded by the cardinal, who is her uncle, as his bounden duty, the more so as it was he who advised and persuaded her to take measures for the confiscation of the property of the rebels, from which proposal ensued that great revolt and danger to the queen's life.

[10] She is now in a most difficult position, and this because of the suspicions of the Queen of England in the first place. The latter has now new fears arising from the birth of the Prince of Scotland, who is lawful heir to the kingdom of England, and she consequently is bound to encourage the Scottish rebels and aid them in secret, more efficaciously than ever. But the second and far greater difficulty is the quarrel with the king, her husband. He is an ambitious, inconstant youth, and would like to rule the realm, which was the object of the plot he hatched a few months back, when he made the aforesaid rebels come secretly to court with the purpose of getting himself crowned king, and as has been discovered from the last declaration of the Lord Ruthven, who died lately in England, it was he who got the said rebels to murder poor David Rizzio, the queen's Piedmontese secretary. He wanted all his wife's officials to depend on himself.

[11] Hence has arisen such distrust between him and the queen, that report says they have not cohabited since the child's birth, to the king's displeasure. He continues still to go to Mass, but, on the other hand,

maintains strict friendship and intercourse with the heretical rebels," in order to preserve and increase his credit and authority. This has forced the queen, in self-defence, to pardon the Earl of Murray, her bastard brother, and the Earl of Argyle, the husband of her bastard sister, and to show such confidence in the heretics, that she has appointed heretics as captains of her body-guard, viz. the Earl of Bothwell and the Laird of Traquair, who command a hundred horse and three hundred foot respectively. The governor of Edinburgh Castle, by name Lord Erskin, whom the queen has made Earl of Mar, is also a heretic, though his wife, the governess of the prince, is a Catholic. Finally, there are persons of influence to be found who foster this division and distrust, in order to enfeeble the kingdom and bring it to ruin.

[12] These difficulties might be obviated if the King of Spain should come, as it is hoped, with a strong force to Flanders, or, as certain persons of weight believe, if justice were executed against six rebels, who were leaders and originators of the late treason against the queen, and whose deaths would effectually restore peace and obedience in that kingdom. These are the Earls of Murray and Argyle, who, now that they are pardoned, as has been said, go on making domestic mischief in the queen's own household; the Earl of Morton; the Laird of Lethington; Bellenden, Justice Clerk; and James MacGyll, Clerk Register, a man of no family, and contriver of all evil. These four, albeit not pardoned, are nevertheless of the king's household, and in his confidence (*domestici et confidenti del Re*). But he is so fickle that the queen will find no difficulty in persuading him, by endearments, to consent to this well-deserved act of justice. The king himself (so these *signori* say) could execute it without any disturbance arising, and with the assured hope that afterwards the holy Catholic and Roman religion could soon be restored with ease throughout that kingdom, as no leader of faction would remain. The danger is that the Cardinal of Lorraine and the queen, in their excessive kindness (*soverchia compassione*), would not consent to such an act. [13] In the same way there are some persons of high position here who are of opinion that peace and order would be assured to this kingdom, and heresy be effectually ruined, if similar execution were done here on a few only. It could be done without much difficulty, but the king is still too young.]

No. 72

THE BISHOP OF MONDOVI TO THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA

Inghilterra, I. A, fol. 6.

[*Paris*, 9 *September* 1566]

Da Parigi alli IX di Settembre M.D. LXVI.

[1] Io haveva ultimamente dato aviso alla S. V. Ill^ma^ che non

poteva mancare per riputatione di N. S^re^ et per il bisogno della Regina di Scotia sborsare una mesata all' Arcivescovo di Glasgo, suo ambasciatore quà, purchè il Signor Cardinale di Lorena ne facesse la medesima instanza, et perciocchè esso signor Cardinale mi persuade a questo con una sua lettera in Francese, la quale insieme con la tradottione in Italiano mando a V. S. Ill^ma^, feci la settimana passata da M. Tomaso del Bene con fede di notaro pagar al prefato ambasciatore la detta somma, la quale s'è mandata sicuramente per il fratello di esso ambasciatore, che s'è partito questa mattina in secreto. Et con questa occasione non ho potuto mancare di rispondere alla lettera di quella Maiestà con una mia, della quale, per rendere conto alla S. V. Ill^ma^ del tutto, le ne mando la copia;[1] [2] et è opinione dei buoni che questo soccorso sia per apportare profitto et riputatione grande à gli affari di quella Maiestà, la quale, sicome si può comprendere dagli avvisi, che mando allegati con questa alla S. V. Ill^ma^ si sta hora in pace con il Re, suo consorte, et con quelli signori del Regno, ma non vi può essere fermezza alcuna, perchè sono ancora in essere i medesimi sospetti ch' erano prima, c'è ben speranza che se il Re Cattolico viene in Fiandra, (come si spera) la Regina possa con non molta difficultà accomodare le cose del suo regno, et con l'aiuto di Dio rimettervi la santa Religione Cattolica, in tanto si sforzerà conservarsi nel miglior modo che potrà; [3] Attende hora al battesimo del Principe suo figliuolo, et in nome del Re Christianissimo è destinato il conte di Brienne, Cavaliere dell' ordine, et della casa di Luxemburgo, che dovra in breve partirsi alla volta di quella isola; et questa deliberatione s'è fatta al ritorno di Scotia di Monsignor della Mauvaissiera in questa corte, havendo riferito che quella Maiestà si contenta della persona che piace a queste Maiestà per compare. Si è per questo

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[1] There is a summary of this letter in Tritonio's life of Laureo, p. 22. See *infra*, No. 117, iii., § 3. Captain Cockburn of the Scots Guards in France wrote on 4 September to Cecil to inform him of the proximate transmission of money to Scotland. His figures, however—20,000 crowns of dowry and 30,000 ducats from the Pope—show that, where accuracy was most requisite, his information was not reliable. He had been responsible for similar errors in the previous April (*Foreign Calendar*, 1566-8, Nos. 303, 701). Compare No. 76, § 4, and the Spanish letters in Appendix ii., Nos. 35, 37, *infra*.

rispetto sollecitato il Duca di Savoia à mandare il suo, et cosi ancora la Regina d'Inghilterra. [4] Credesi per fermo che il battesimo si farà secondo il rito antico della Santa Chiesa Cattolica Romana, il che sarà un bel principio. Dopo il qual battesimo si dovrà presto intendere la risolutione che farà la Regina circa l'andata mia in quel regno, ancorche il detto arcivescovo suo ambasciatore dubiti che sua Maiestà possa innovare cosa alcuna senza tumulto, come sarebbe d'ammettere la persona mia, se prima il Re Cattolico non arrivi in Fiandra. Intanto mi trattengo in questa città, non mancando di vedere spesso Mons^r Rev^mo di Ceneda, Nuntio, il quale, sicome ha gran zelo dell' honor di Dio et di S. B^ne, cosi con la molta confidenza, che queste Maiestà hanno nella bontà et prudenza sua, potrà apportare non poco servitio alla Sede apostolica; ma quel che hora non è permesso per la mala qualità dei tempi, s'ha a sperare con la gratia di Dio potersi condurre a ottimo fine all' avvenire. Et nondum est abbreviata manus Domini et massime con le santissime orationi, et prudentissimo et veramente piissimo governo di nostro Signore, sub quo nihil desperandum nobis est.

[5] Subito che io ricevei la lettera di V. S. Ill^ma con le santissime indulgentie di Nostro Signore, feci alle lettere che ella scrisse alli due arcivescovi di Scotia le soprascritte, et presentai l'una al sudetto Arcivescovo di Glasgo, ambasciatore, et insieme quattro Bolle, che tante ne volse per mandare alla sua diocese et alli suoi suffraganei, et a sua persuasione ne mandai all Arcivescovo di Santo Andrea nuove,[1] insieme con l'altra lettera di lei, havendole accompagnate con una mia, della quale V. S. Ill^ma n'havrà la copia con questa. Ne lasciai d'essortare esso signore ambasciatore che ne scriva alla Regina, persuadendola a ricevere con il Re, suo consorte, il perdono di questo santissimo Giubbileo, si per salute della loro Maiestà, et si per dar' animo col essempio loro ai Cattolici di celebrarlo, et allettare ancora qualch' uno della parte contraria à non ricusarlo; et il detto Signore che è di bonissimo zelo et molto valente, mi promise di scrivere a quella Maiestà efficacissi-

[1] On the Scottish hierarchy, see *ante*, pp. 55, 122. It is not clear why the Archbishop of St. Andrews should have had nine bulls sent him, seeing that he had but seven suffragans.

mamente, et cosi ancora il Vescovo Dumblanen, il quale ha ordine dalla Regina di trattenersi quà per accompagnarmi in Scotia, dove ancorchè non vi sia chiesa niuna publica per i Cattolici, ne etiandio per la Regina, nondimeno vi sono molte cappelle private, nelle quali si potrà commodamente celebrare il detto Santo Giubileo, sicome ancora si celebrerà il battesimo del Principe non nella chiesa publica, ma nella cappella regia di Strivelin.

[6] Dall' ultima lettera di V. S. Ill^ma^ al detto Signor Nuntio ho inteso che l'ordine di Nostro Signore è, che il detto Monsignor presenti quelli brevi, nelli quali sua B^ne^, con parole piene di somma pietà et di sommo zelo essorta queste Maiestà che faccino accettare il Santo Concilio, almeno per la riformatione del Clero, affinchè l'essempio della vita buona degli Ecclesiastici dia occasione agli heretici, non solamente di non biasmare et maladire, ma ancora di ridursi, con la gratia di Dio, alla via della verità. Per questo, desiderando io esseguire in tutto la santissima volunta di S. B^ne^, mi partirò fra due di verso la corte di consentimento di esso Signor Nuntio, et massime che le loro Maiestà dovendo, come si dice, andar a Gaglione per fiume, s'avvicinano in quà, et presentarò i miei Brevi, i quali nell' ultima parte quasi contengono il medesimo che li sudetti. [7] Ne aspetterò (sicome havea scritto a V. S. Ill^ma^ volere aspettare) nuovo ordine di lei, perciochè questo viene a essere commune al prefato S. Nuntio et a me; et ancorchè io habbia tardato tanto a far riverenza a queste Maiestà, non guasta però niente, imperocchè esse dopo l'arrivo mio in questa città sono sempre ite a spasso, hor in uno et hor in un altro luogo, con pochissima compagnia, mostrando non haver molto caro fino ad hora di essere visitata. Et dopo che haverò compito questo debito con le Maiestà loro, me n'anderò a trovare il Signor Cardinal di Lorena a Rems, il quale nella sudetta lettera, che mi scrive, si mostra desideroso ragionare con me; et starò con S. S. Ill^ma^ quanto vedrò essere necessario per gli affari di Scotia. Et con questo fine bacio la mano di V. S. Ill^ma^, pregando il Signor Iddio che per la salute della Christianità si degne concedere lunghissima et felicissima vita a S. B^ne^ et alla S. V. Ill^ma^ ogni felicità.

[THE BISHOP of MONDOVI to the CARDINAL of ALESSANDRIA.

Paris, 9 September 1566.

[1] IN my last I informed your eminence that for the honour of our lord the Pope, and to meet the needs of the Queen of the Scots, I could not help disbursing to the Archbishop of Glasgow, her ambassador here, one of the monthly instalments of the subsidy. The Lord Cardinal of Lorraine made the same demand, and wrote to me in French to press it, which letter I send you with an Italian translation. Last week therefore I made Monsieur Thomas del Bene make payment of the said sum to the ambassador under notarial attestation, and it has been safely sent by the ambassador's own brother, who left secretly this morning. On this occasion I could not fail to answer the queen's letter by a letter of mine, of which I send you a copy,[n] that you may have a full account of all.

[2] It is the opinion of the good Catholics (*i buoni*) that this subsidy will bring much advantage and credit to the queen's affairs, who, as your eminence may perceive from the advices I send, together with this letter, is now at peace with the king her consort, and with the lords of her kingdom; but this cannot be stable, for there are the same suspicions as before. There is indeed hope that, if the Catholic King should come to Flanders, as is hoped, the queen could with no great difficulty arrange the affairs of her kingdom, and with God's help restore therein the holy Catholic religion. Meanwhile she will strive to retain her advantage as best she can.

[3] She is now preparing for the baptism of the prince, her son, and the Count of Brienne, knight of the order, and of the House of Luxemburg, is appointed to attend in the name of the Most Christian King, and he is to leave for Scotland soon. This resolution was taken on the return of Monsieur Mauvissière to the court here, who brought word that the queen would be happy to receive any person whom the King of France should please to appoint as godfather. For this reason the Duke of Savoy has been asked to send his representative, and the Queen of England hers.

[4] It is believed for certain that the baptism will be according to the ancient rite of the Holy Catholic and Roman Church, which will be a good beginning. After the baptism word should soon come about the queen's decision concerning my going to Scotland. The archbishop, her ambassador, however, doubts the possibility of her making any such innovation, as my reception would be, without a tumult, at least not until the King of Spain comes to the Netherlands. Meanwhile I wait on here in this city, and do not fail frequently to visit Monsignor di Ceneda the nuncio. He is full of zeal for the honour of God and of our Lord the Pope, and their Majesties have the greatest confidence in his goodness and prudence, and he has it in his power to do no little service to the Apostolic See. What is for the moment prevented by the misery of the times, we must hope to accomplish happily at some future

time. The 'hand of the Lord is not shortened,' and aided by the Pope's holy prayers and prudent pious rule, *nihil desperandum nobis est.*

[5] As soon as I received your eminence's letters with the indulgences of the Pope, I set addresses on the letters to the two archbishops of Scotland, and presented the one to the Archbishop of Glasgow, the ambassador, and with it four bulls (the number he asked for) to send to his diocese and to his suffragans; and at his persuasion I sent nine to the Archbishop of St. Andrews, together with your second letter, along with which I sent one of my own, of which you shall have a copy enclosed. I did not fail to exhort the said ambassador to persuade the queen to gain the pardon of this most holy jubilee in company with the king her consort. This would be both for the salvation of their Majesties, would give courage and good example to their Catholic subjects to celebrate it, and might even induce some of the adverse faction not to refuse it. The said archbishop, who is a man of fervent zeal and considerable power, promised to write earnestly to the queen about it. So too did the Bishop of Dunblane, who has orders from the queen to wait here to accompany me to Scotland. For although there is no public church in the country for the Catholics, nor even for the queen, there are nevertheless many private chapels, in which the holy jubilee may be conveniently kept. So too the baptism of the prince is not to be celebrated in a public church, but in the royal chapel of Stirling.

[6] From the last letter of your eminence to Monsignor Nuncio, I have understood the holy Father's order, that the said Monsignor should present those briefs, in which his Holiness, in terms eloquent of piety and zeal, exhorts their Majesties to cause the Council [of Trent] to be accepted at least for the reformation of the clergy, in order that the good life and example of the ecclesiastics may give occasion to the heretics not only to stop blasphemy and abuse, but also to return to the truth with God's aid. Therefore as I desire to carry out in every thing the wishes of his Holiness, I shall go to the court within two days from this by agreement with the nuncio. The more so as their Majesties are said to be going to Gaillon by the river, and will pass near here. I shall then present my briefs, which conclude in much the same strain as those above mentioned.

[7] I shall not wait for further orders from your eminence, though I wrote to you that I would wait, for your last were common to my fellow-nuncio and myself. Although I have long delayed to do reverence to their Majesties, this waiting has done no harm, since, from the time of my arrival in this city, they have always been abroad amusing themselves, now to one place, now to another, with very small retinue, showing that they have as yet no desire to receive visits. And after having fulfilled my duty to their Majesties, I shall go to see the Cardinal of Lorraine at Rheims, who in the aforesaid letter to me showed himself desirous of speaking with me. And I shall remain with his eminence as long as I think necessary for the affairs of Scotland. Herewith I kiss your

eminence's hands, praying that for the welfare of Christendom, God may grant long and happy life to his Holiness, and to your eminence every blessing.]

No. 73

THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA TO THE BISHOP OF MONDOVI

Polonia, 171, fol. 3.

[*Rome*, 16 *September* 1566]

MOLTO REVERENDO SIGNORE, COME FRATELLO,—[1] Dalla lettera di V. S. R. de xxi del passato, non meno lunga, che prudente, Nostro Signore ha inteso con sua molta satisfatione gli avisi et avertimenti datigli dallei et gli è piacciuto in particolare assai il contenuto del foglio scritto a parte, in che ha molto laudato la diligentia di V. S. R. alla quale non lascierò di dire ancora per suo aviso che con la sua si son ricevute insieme due copie di lettere della serenissima Regina à quei due Vescovi in Francia, et un originale scritto allei da Sua Maiestà.

[2] Quanto al ricordo che ella dà in materia dei Brevi, le dico in nome di Nostro Signore ch' essa ha pensato bene insieme con Monsignor di Ceneda et prudentamente, et se saranno spediti a tempo, se le mandaranno stasera con questa, racconci come ella medesima avertiva.

[3] Il primo pagamento da farsi alla Regina di Scotia Sua Santità si contenta che cominci da questo mese presente. È ben vero che se l'andata di V. S. R. si differisse molto, saria di parere che non si continuasse a farlo gli altri mesi seguenti, sicome vorebbe ancora che non si sborsasse più cosa alcuna, se giunta ch' ella sarà nell' isola vedrà il danaro già pagato non far frutto alcuno alle cose della religione, ne poter anco sperare che lo possa fare per l'avvenire, come saria il desiderio et l'intentione principale di S. S^{ta}. Di che dovrà pigliarsi cura di considerar bene, trovandosi in fatto, et avisarne qua il tutto con la sua solita diligentia. Non mi occorrendo altro per hora se non pregar il S^{r} Dio per la sanità et conservatione sua, offerendomi allei di continuo per fine di questa.

Di Roma a xvi di Settembre M.D.LXVI.

Di V. S. molto R. come fratello IL CARD^{E} ALES^{NO}.

[*Addressed as before*]

[*Endorsed*] Ricevuta in Parigi alli v d'Ottobre. L'ordina quello deve fare intorno al pagamento da farsi alla Regina di Scotia.

[THE CARDINAL of ALESSANDRIA to the BISHOP of MONDOVI.

Rome, 16 *September* 1566.

[1] MOST REVEREND MONSIGNOR, COME FRATELLO—Our lord the Pope has heard with much satisfaction the information and advertisement given in your long and prudent letter of the 21st of last month. He was especially delighted with what was in your *foglio a parte*, and praised much your diligence therein. I must also not omit to tell you for your information, that together with your letter we received copies of the two letters of the queen to the two bishops in France, and the original of her Majesty's letter to you.

[2] As regards the suggestion which you give about the briefs, I answer in his Holiness' name, that your idea and Monsignor di Ceneda's was a good and very prudent one. They shall be sent you betimes, and will start this evening with this letter, amended as you suggest.

[3] The first payment to the Queen of Scotland may be begun this current month with his Holiness' permission. But assuredly if your departure is much delayed, he would desire that they should not be continued in the following months. So too he would not wish you to disburse anything at all, if on your arrival you should see that the money already paid has borne no fruit for religion, or if you did not hope that it might do so in future, in accordance with the desire and principal intention of his Holiness. About this you must take care to consider well, when you find yourself actually [there], and to inform us here about everything with your accustomed diligence. There being nothing further, etc., I commend myself, etc.

Your Lordship's *come fratello*, THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA.

From Rome, 16 September 1566.

[*Addressed as before.*]

[*Endorsed*] Rd. in Paris, 5 October. Orders him what he ought to do regarding the payment to be made to the Queen of Scotland.]

No. 74

THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA TO THE BISHOP OF MONDOVI

Polonia, 171, fol. 4.

[*Rome*, 30 *September* 1566]

MOLTO REV^o^ MONS^re^, COME FRATELLO.—[1] Scrissi a V. S. R. xvi di questo quanto occorreva in risposta della sua di xxi del

passato. Hora questa sarà per accusar la ricevuta della sua de ix insieme con due copie di lettere, una cioè alla regina di Scotia, et l'altra all' arcivescovo di S. Andrea, et un originale insieme di Monsig^r Ill^mo di Loreno allei, con gli avisi copiosi delle cose di quel regno degli viii et xv del passato, nei quali N. S. ha veduto la sua solita diligentia et prudentia, et l'ha commendata in questa parte quanto meritamente si conveniva.

[2] Quanto alla prima paga ch' ella avisa haver già fatta sborsare costi all' ambasciator di detta regina, è piacciuto a N. S^re d' intenderlo dallei, alla quale si scrisse ultimamente di commission sua, che eseguisse questo medesimo a punto che scrive haver già fatto. Quanto poi alle altre che seguiranno, mi remetto alla precedente mia, non havendo per hora da darle altro nuovo ordine sopra di ciò.

[3] Circa l'andata sua in Scotia, la qual par che dependa da quella della Maiestà del Re Cattolico in Fiandra, et dal battesmo di quel principe, N. S. giudica che possino facilmente valersi di queste simili occasioni per differirla quanto più coloratamente potranno. Onde in questo caso se ben S. S^ta può credere che S. M^ta sia per andarvi presto in ogni modo, secondo l'intention datale dallei ultimamente per lettere sue proprie, massime sapendosi quanto sia necessaria l'andata sua et di quanto profitto possa essere alle cose della religione, tuttavia allongandosi l'andar di V. S. R. in quell' isola senza vederci di presente speranza certa ch' ella vi possa pur pensare d'andarvi in breve, S. S^ta saria d' opinione, che se ne ritornasse indrieto quanto prima et si fermasse alla sua chiesa, finchè habbia altr' ordine dallei, nella quale potrà fare maggior frutto per ogni rispetto con la sua presentia che non fa a quella M^ta hora stando costi in Francia. Questo è il senso di N. S^re in questa parte, et s' ella non havera in contrario cosa di molta consideratione, dovrà conformarsi con quello et avisar alla giornata il successo.

[4] Poi che V. S. R. scrive haver già rissoluto di presentar quei brevi alle due Maestà senza aspettar altra risposta di qua, non occorre dirle altro intorno a ciò, ma laudarla solamente del partito preso dallei. Il quale in essentia non può discordare in parte alcuna con la santa intentione di N. S^re in questo particolare. Se ben con le mie precedenti già io gli haveva mandati quei brevi medesimi, ch' ella domandava corretti a

modo suo, il che le sia per aviso, offerendomi allei di continuo per fine di questa.

Di Roma a di ultimo di Settembre 1566.

D. V. S. molto R. come fratello, IL CARLE ALESNO.

[*Addressed as before*]

[*Endorsed*] Ricª in Parigi a 20 d' Ottobre.

[THE CARDINAL of ALESSANDRIA to the BISHOP of MONDOVI.

Rome, 30 September 1566.

VERY REV. MONSIGNOR, COME FRATELLO,—I wrote to your reverend lordship on the 16th of this month of all that occurred in reply to yours of the 21st of the past month. Now this will be to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 9th, with copies of two letters, one to the Queen of Scotland, and the other to the Archbishop of St. Andrews, with an original letter from the Cardinal of Lorraine, as also long advices about the events of that country [? France] from the 8th to the 15th of the last month. In all this the Pope has recognised your usual diligence and prudence, and has commended it as it deserved.

[2] As to the first instalment, which you notify that you have caused to be disbursed to the ambassador of the queen, his Holiness is pleased to hear of it from you. In my last his commission was given you to do exactly what you write that you have now done. As to the other payments which are to follow, I refer you to my preceding letters, as I have at present no further orders to give you on the matter.

[3] With regard to your going into Scotland, which it seems depends upon the coming of his Catholic Majesty into Flanders, and upon the baptism of the prince, his Holiness judges that we can very well avail ourselves of such eventualities to put it off with the best grace we can. Now though his Holiness can well believe that the king really means to go there soon in any case—as in his own letters he has lately said that he meant to do, especially considering the necessity there is for his going, and the profit that would ensue—nevertheless if your journey to Scotland be delayed, without present prospect or clear hope of your being able to go, or even to think of going soon, then his Holiness would desire you to go back as soon as possible, and to establish yourself in your church, until he sends you further orders. You would be able to do more good in every way by your presence there than you can do to that queen at present by remaining over there in France. Such is the Pope's mind on this subject, and unless you know of some very important consideration to the contrary, you must conform yourself to it, and inform us frequently of what ensues.

[4] Now that you write that you have already resolved to present those briefs to their Majesties of France without awaiting further answers

from hence, I need say no more on the subject, except to praise the resolution you have taken, which cannot essentially differ anyway from his Holiness' pious intention in this matter. Nevertheless I have already sent you, along with my previous letters, the briefs you asked for corrected in your own way. This for your information; I conclude by continuing my offers of service.

From Rome the last day of September 1566.

Come fratello, etc., THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA.

[*Addressed as before.*]

[*Endorsed*] Received in Paris, 20 October].

No. 75

THE BISHOP OF MONDOVI TO THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA.

Inghilterra, I. A, fol. 7 b.

[*Paris, 7 October* 1566]

Da Parigi, alli vii di Octobre M.D.LXVI.

[1] Io scrissi ultimamente alla S. V. Ill^ma^ che per l'ordine che ella havea dato a Monsignor di Ceneda sopra quelli brevi che toccavano la osservatione del Concilio per il clero, delibberai di consentimento et consiglio di esso Monsignore andare in corte a presentare li miei, li quali in questa parte erano poco differenti da quelli di S. S^ria^, ma havendo inteso che queste Maiestà s'erano in Suession imbarcate sul fiume per andare a Gaglione,[1] et essendo ancora stato soprapreso d'un poco di flusso, non potetti proseguire il viaggio; et come che il male mi habbia durato pochi giorni, nondimeno mi risolsi aspettare la risposta di V. S. Ill^ma^ avanti che facessi questo officio con le Maiestà loro; parendomi che il S^r^ Iddio m' havesse mandata quella poca indispositione per farmi poi intieramente eseguire la santissima voluntà di Nostro Signore, come farò hora che ho ricevuti i secondi brevi acconciati nel

[1] The French court was making one of those royal progresses, in which the sovereigns of that age took so much pleasure. When Laureo arrived (21 August, § 3, *ante*) it was at Villers-Cotterets, now it has reached Soissons, and embarked on the Oise, in order to travel down stream to the Seine, and then down the Seine to Gaillon, which would be some fifty miles from Paris by road. By the time Laureo leaves (*infra*, 26 March) they have come round to Fontainebleau, on the south-west.

modo che si desiderava; li quali presenterò quanto prima a queste Maiestà, [2] non lasciando di dire alla S. V. Ill^ma^ che non mancherò, siccomo essa per la lettera dei xvi del passato m' ha comandato per parte di Nostro Signore d' havere quella consideratione che si debbe circa i danari che piacque a Sua Santità impiegare in aiuto della Regina di Scotia, affinchè a gloria di Dio et di Sua B^ne^ et per salute di quella Maiestà, et per pace et tranquillità dei suoi popoli, si restituisca in quel regno la santa religione Cattolica. Di che, come haverò compito questo debito con le Maiestà Christianissime, anderò à trovare Monsignor Ill^mo^ di Lorena per cavarne qualche buona et santa risolutione; della quale S. S. Ill^ma^ questi giorni con una lettera scritta di suo pugno dall' abbatia di San Dionigi me ne da non piccola speranza, essendo passata di là per andare a visitare Monsignor d'Omala, suo fratello, che era gravemente ammalato in Annet, con intentione di dovere in breve ritornare a Rems nel suo arcivescovato.

[3] Dopo gli ultimi avisi che mandai a V. S. Ill^ma^ delle cose di Scotia non s' è inteso altro, eccetto che il fratello di Monsignore di Glasgo ambasciatore, che era ito a portare quei danari alla Regina, era arrivato a salvamento in Inghilterra, et per havere il salvo condotto di potere libberamente passare in Scotia s'era condotto nella corte d'Inghilterra, di dove ha scritto dei xvi di Settembre al detto ambasciatore che si ragionava di mandare in nome di quella regina al battesimo del Principe di Scotia ò la Contessa di Rotland, ò Milord Robbert, ò il Conte di Bedford, i quali anchorchè siano Luterani, non dovranno però come si persuade il prefato Monsignor di Glasgo, ricusare di trovarsi in quella santa cerimonia, non essendo il modo del battesimo della setta Luterana molto differente da quello che s'usa dalla santa chiesa Cattolica Romana. Et il Conte di Brienna, che è destinato à questo effetto per il Re Christianissimo, è già spedito, et partirà fra pochi di verso quel regno. Della persona che manderà il Duca di Savoia, esso Mons^r^ di Glasgo non havea ancora nuova alcuna.

[4] Restami solamente di avvertire la V. S. Ill^ma^ che il sudetto ambasciatore di Scotia et il Vescovo Domblan per alcuni avisi che erano scritti d'Italia, li quali facevano mentione che Nostro Signore mandarà a quella Regina la somma

di xx ò xxv m. △., persuadendosi che la cosa fosse scoperta (il che però non si sapeva eccetto in genere) havevano prima che io arrivassi quà, detto à molti, et alla stessa Maiestà di questa Regina il particolare, talchè à me sarà necessario riferire alla Maiestà, loro il tutto minutamente. Pure questo non solamente non ha nosciuto, ma ha ancora apportata riputatione al negotio; imperochè oltra che il soccorso di iiii m. △. il mese è di grande importanza à quel regno che è poverissimo di danari, ha accresciuto l'animo dei Cattolici et all' incontro diminuto in parte quello degli heretici etiandio di questo regno, per la opinione che essi hanno che l'autorità di Nostro Signore, la quale per Dio gratia è grandissima, tiri con seco la intelligenza del Re Cattolico in una così pia et santa impresa. La quale piaccia alla divina Maiestà per gloria sua presto condurre à ottimo fine, con somma et perpetua felicità di S. Bne per beneficio universale della Christianità.

Bacio riverentemente la mano di V. S. Illma che il Sigr Iddio la conserve felicissimamente.

[The Bishop of Mondovi to the Cardinal of Alessandria.

Paris, 7 October 1566.

[1] I wrote lately to your eminence that, by reason of the order which you had given to Monsignor di Ceneda about the briefs which touched the observation of the Council by the clergy, I was deliberating, with the consent and advice of the said monsignor, to go to court and present mine, which were in this respect little different from his. But after having heard that their Majesties had embarked at Soissons to go to Gaillon,[a] and having been attacked by a slight flux, I could not continue my journey. The ailment lasted but a few days; nevertheless I made up my mind to await your answer before I paid my respects to their Majesties. Indeed, I believe that the Lord God sent me that little indisposition to ensure my executing exactly the will of the Holy Father, for I have now received the second set of briefs amended in the way that was desired, and I will present them as soon as possible.

[2] I must add that, according to your recommendations made in his Holiness' name by your letter of the 16th of last month, I shall without fail be as careful as I ought about the money which the Pope has employed for the relief of the Queen of Scots, that is, for the restoration of the Catholic religion in that realm, to the glory of God and his Holiness, for the welfare of that queen, and the peace and tranquillity of her people. After I have performed my duties with their most Christian Majesties, I will betake myself to the Cardinal of Lorraine, in order to

arrive at some good and holy resolution on this point. His eminence has just sent to me a letter in his own hand, giving me no slight hopes about this matter. He writes from the monastery of St. Denis, having passed there on his way to visit his brother, Monseigneur d'Aumale, who has been seriously ill at Anet. He means to be soon back in his archbishopric of Rheims.

[3] Since my last despatch of Scottish news nothing new has been heard except that the brother of the Archbishop of Glasgow, the ambassador who went to carry the money to the queen, had arrived safely in England, and having a safe-conduct to pass freely to Scotland, had visited the English court, whence he had written on the 16th of September to the said ambassador that there was talk there of sending in the queen's name to the baptism of the Prince of Scotland either the Countess of Rutland or Lord Robert [Dudley], or the Earl of Bedford. These, although they are Lutherans, should not, so the Archbishop of Glasgow persuades himself, refuse to take part in the holy ceremony, as the mode of baptism in the Lutheran sect does not much differ from that used by the holy Catholic Roman Church. The Comte de Brienne, who is the envoy of the King of France for this purpose, is now ready, and in a few days will be on his way towards that country. Nothing is yet known, not even by the Archbishop of Glasgow, of the person whom the Duke of Savoy will send.

[4] The last thing of which I have to inform you, is that the above-named Scottish ambassador, and the Bishop of Dunblane, owing to certain advices sent from Italy, which stated that the Pope would send to that queen the sum of twenty or twenty-five thousand scudi, believed that the matter was public (though in point of fact nothing was known except in general terms) and had spoken of it to many persons, and in particular to the queen here before I came, so that I shall have to inform their Majesties about the whole matter in detail. This, however, far from proving a hindrance, will rather add to the credit of the undertaking. Besides the great importance of the subsidy of four thousand scudi a month to that kingdom, which is so very poor in money, it has also raised the spirit of the Catholics, and somewhat quelled that of the heretics even in this realm, who think that the authority of the Pope (which by the grace of God is very much respected) carries with it the consent of the King of Spain in so godly and holy an enterprise. Praying God soon to bring it to a happy issue, etc., I humbly kiss your hand, etc.]

No. 76

THE BISHOP OF MONDOVI TO THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA

Inghilterra, I. A, fol. 8 b.

[*Paris*, 21 *October* 1566]

Da Parigi alli xxi di Ottobre M.D.LXVI.

[1] Io presentai a queste Maiestà l'ultimi Brevi, che piacque alla S. V. Ill^ma^ mandarmi, insieme con la lettera dei xv di Settembre per l'altro ordinario, li quali con questa data mi poterono benissimo scusare di non havere subbito che arrivai in Parigi secondo l'ordine datomi da Nostro Signore, fatta riverenza alle Maiestà loro et rendutole conto della mia andata in Scotia. Non mancai nel meglior modo che potei riferire alle lor Maiestà che S. Santità havendo li mesi passati con suo molto dispiacere intesi i tumulti della Scotia per avisi de molti, e in particolare per relatione del Vescovo Domblanen, mandato espressamente a Roma dalla Regina di Scotia e dal Signor Cardinale de Lorena, non potette come padre universale della Christianità mancare d'aiutare e favorire la molta constantia et il pio et santo zelo di quella Regina e difenderla da cosi gravi pericoli e ingiuste persecutioni; [2] volse per tanto consolarla con la presenza del suo Nuntio, essendosi degnata in questo fare elettione della persona mia, con espressa commissione che debba sforzarmi di servire la detta Maiestà e fare ogni opera affine che si restituisca in quel regno la Santa Religione Cattolica, per la gloria di Dio et per salute di quella Maiestà e dei suoi popoli, li quali sua Beatitudine à imitatione di quel Santissimo Pastore che espone la vita propria per il suo grege desidera etiamdio con la effusione del proprio sangue ridurre alla via della verità. Et come che Sua Santità non habbia potuto lasciare d'impiegare una gran parte delle sue forze in aiuto dell' Imperatore, della Religione di Malta, e d'altri contra gli infideli, nondimeno s'è sforzata mettere insieme la somma di xx ^m^.△ per mandarne chiascun mese iiii m. alla sudetta Maiestà, come di già se le mandarono ultimamente per il fratello di Monsignor di Glasgo; con delibberatione che se il Signor Iddio si degnerà libberare i Christiani dal pericolo

del Turco, Sua Santità non mancherà, se sarà il bisogno, con maggior soccorso aiutare quella Regina a rimettere l'antica religione nel suo regno. La qual cosa risultando à beneficio universale della Christianità, et in particolare apportando profito e riputatione grande a questo Christianissimo regno, si per la vicinità che è tra l'uno e l'altro regno, et si per l'antica protettione che i Christianissimi Re hanno sempre havuta della Scotia, Sua Beatitudine sommamente prega le Maiestà loro a continuare la medesima protettione e porger qualche rilevato aiuto alla sudetta Regina, la quale essendo stata moglie di Francesco II. di felice memoria, fratello del Re Christianissimo et figliolo primogenito della Regina, merita per questo solo rispetto essere abbracciata e favorita dalle lor Maiestà, et di questo oltra che ella faranno opera veramente pia e degna della grandezza del Christianissimo nome loro, Sua Santità ne serberà sempremai gratissima memoria verso le lor Maiestà, alle quali non lasciai ancora di dire che la Regina di Scotia, ancorchè si mostrasse molto desiderosa d'havermi appresso di se, s'era nondimeno per il suo ambasciatore scusata con me non potersi risolvere à questo avanti il battesimo del Prencipe, suo figliolo il quale Sua Maiestà voleva sforzarsi di celebrare secondo il costume antico della Santa Chiesa Cattolica Romana, dopo la quale celebratione la Maiestà sua sperava con dignità di Nostro Signore e sua potere più sicuramente ricevere il Nuntio di Sua Santità. [3] Soggionsi poi che Nostro Signore amava tenerissimmamente la Maiestà del Re, non lasciando ogni di nelle sue santissime orationi di pregare il Signor Iddio che con lunga e felicissima vita conserve la Maiestà sua constantissima nella Santa Religione, e le conceda la gratia di potere in breve ridurre il suo regno all' antica e solita ubidienza sua sotto una santa fede Cattolica. E perciochè le Maiestà loro conoscono bene il santissimo zelo et la grandissima osservantia e devotione che in ogni tempo i Re Christianissimi havevano con essempli memorabili mostrata verso la religione Cattolica e la Santa Sede apostolica, di che n' hanno meritamente conseguito non solo il nome di Christianissimo, ma infinite vittorie e grandissima felicità, sua Santità pregava con ogni affetto paterno le Maiestà loro che si sforzassero con la solita pietà et prudenza loro continuare di condurre à perfettione questa santissima opera à

honor di Dio, per conservatione et augmento della gloria et grandezza delle Maiestà loro, e per pace e tranquillità del loro regno. E a questo Sua Beatitudine offeriva alle Maiestà loro etiandio con la vita propria tutte le sue sante forze spirituali; la qual felicità si dovea sperare alla bontà divina, che s'habbia presto a vedere nella degnissima persona della Maiestà del Re, e massime con il piissimo e prudentissimo consiglio della Maiestà della Regina sua madre.

[4] La Regina mi rispose in nome del Re et suo, havere per li medesimi rispetti che io le haveva detto sempre desiderato aiutare la Regina di Scotia come propria sorella et figliuola e non volere abbandonarla in tempo alcuno. Vero è che non l'havevano dato notabile soccorso, perchè erano stati avvertiti che scoprendosi le loro Maiestà in favore della detta Regina haveriano posta in grandissimo sospetto la Regina di Inghilterra, e data a quella Regina occasione di scoprirsi apertamente in favore delli ribelli di Scotia contra la loro Regina, ma che havevano ben ordinato, sicome l'era stata fatta instantia dal Signor Cardinale di Lorena et dall' Ambasciatore di Scotia farle pagare una buona somma dei denari che si dovea alla detta Regina di Scotia per conto del suo Doario, i quali danari non s'erano però riscossi tutti per difficultà de tempi, et che all' avvenire le loro Maiestà, quando saranno richieste, si sforzeranno tuttavia mostrarle con gli effetti la grande e vera affettione che le portano, et il molto conto che fanno delle raccomandazioni di N. Sig^{re} in giovamento di quella Regina. [5] Et il Re con molto affetto replicando spesso approvava quello che si diceva dalla Regina sua madre. Ringratiavano poi sommamente Nostro Signore della prontissima e veramente paterna voluntà sua verso le Maiestà loro, affermando havere obbligo grande alla Santità sua, e massime che da ogni banda intendono tuttavia l'ottimo animo di Sua Beatitudine verso di loro, et che si sforzeriano con quella osservanza e veneratione che debbono, esseguire per quanto sarà loro concesso dalla conditione dè tempi presenti, i santissimi e prudentissimi ricordi e ammonitioni di Sua Santità, vero è che non potevano cosi presto prendere qualche risolutione, come desiderariano per rimettere intieramente la santa Religione cattolica in questo regno, dubitando di qualche tumulto et seditione, et massime

che hanno l'essemplo et dimestico et de vicini, cioè della Fiandra, dove il Re Cattolico, che è un Prencipe cosi grande e maturo d'età, è stato sforzato concedere l'essercitio di più religioni nuove in quelli Stati; et in Francia, non ostante la guerra dimestica passata e la tenera età del Re non ve n'è più che una nuova; et che speravano con gli anni del Re che va tuttavia crescendo d'età et di riputatione potere con l'aiuto di Dio accommodare ogni cosa, nè lascierò di dire alla S. V. Ill^ma^ che il Re affirmando i detti della Regina sua madre, soggiunse che si lascieria più tosto morire che cambiare l'antica e vera religione dei Re Christianissimi suoi antecessori. Volsero poi le Maiestà loro con molta contentezza et edificatione loro intendere da me il modo del procedere di Nostro Signore cosi nell' audienze come nel vivere, et nelle sante opere pie, essendosi consolate grandemente con ringratiare il Signor Iddio della speranza che per mia relatione presero della sanità et lunga vita di Sua Santità.

[6] Salutai poi per parte di Nostro Signore i Signori duci d'Angiou et d'Alanson, fratelli del Re, che erano presenti dicendo sua che sua Beatitudine li mandava la sua santa beneditione, di che quei Principi giovinetti mostrarono allegrezza grande, accompagnata con somma divotione del nome di Sua Beatitudine. Visitai poi il Signor Cardinale de Borbon; et sapendo io che si communicheria il tutto al sudetto Signore come confidentissimo del Re e della Regina, giudicai che fosse servitio di Dio et di nostro Signore mostrare a S. S. Ill^ma^ che sua Beatitudine teneva conto di lei, le communicai pertanto in nome di Sua Santità quanto havevo riferito alle lor Maiestà, soggiongendoli che Sua Beatitudine conoscendo la pietà et il buon zelo di S. S. Ill^ma^ sperava che per mezzo di lei si dovesse tuttavia non solo conservare, ma accrescere la divotione della Santa Religione Cattolica nelli animi del Re, dei fratelli et della Regina. Per questo la essortava et pregava che con la desterità et prudenza che si conviene a Cardinale et Principe nato del Christianissimo sangue Reale, come esso è, continuasse à consigliare, persuadere et sollecitare le Maiestà loro affinchè quanto prima si rimetti intieramente in tutto il regno l'antica et vera religione. [7] Di questo officio il prefato Signore ne ricevette infinita satisfattione, ringratiando humilissimamente Nostro Signore della buona opinione che se degnava havere

di lui, affermando con giuramento ne esso non pretermette occasione alcuna per servitio della santa religione verso le lor Maiestà e gli altri principi e signori di questo regno, et che per questo esporria volentieri la propria vita, et sopra la conscientia sua assicura Nostro Signore, che il Re et i fratelli sono intieramente et veramente Cattolici, et nella Regina, per quanto può comprendere, ha sempre conosciuto il medesimo; vero è che per la malignità de tempi ella è costretta bene spesso condescendere a molte cose contra la propria voluntà per evitare qualche tumulto o seditione, ma che sperava che con l'età del Re le cose del regno si ridurranno presto in buon termine. Assicuromi ancora d'Avignone, che con l'aiuto di Dio conserveria quello Stato senza pericolo alcuno et senza spesa della Sede apostolica, et la cagione della sicurezza era oltra la diligenza et il rispetto della persona sua l'havere intorno a quello Stato tutti i Governatori intieramente Cattolici, cioè nel Delfinato il Duca di Monpensiero, nel Languadoca il Marescial d'Anvilla, et nella Provenza il Conte di Tenda. Sua S. Ill^ma^ bacia riverentemente i santissimi piedi di Sua Beatitudine, mostrando un desiderio infinito che Nostro Signore resti satisfatto di lei, et questa cosi pronta volontà et innata bontà sua veramente merita essere in particolare consideratione et raccomandatione di Sua Santità.

[8] Ho havuta commodita in due volte ragionare a lungo con il Signor Cardinale di Lorena delle cose di Scotia. Nella prima volta,[1] che fue innanzi che io andassi in Corte, dissi tra l'altre cose a sua S. Ill^ma^ che oltra che io haveva ordine espresso da Nostro Signore non isborsare i danari della Sede apostolica eccetto per servitio della Santa religione, Sua Santità confidava tanto nella pietà et bontà del sudetto Signore, che esso non permetteria mai che questo soccorso s'impiegasse per altro fine che per quello della Religione, per la quale quando si vedesse fare qualche cosa notabile in quel regno con isperanza di rimettere l'essercitio della detta Religione, spererei al sicuro che Sua Beatitudine esporra volentieri non solo questa ma maggior somma di danari et etiamdio la vita propria per la

[1] Concerning this conference, further and more important details than might be sent by a letter *in piano* will be found in the next cipher despatch, *infra*, November 12.

salute di quella Maiestà e dei suoi popoli. Il sudetto Signore mi rispose, che non darà mai occasione a Nostro Signore di cambiare la buona opinione che si degna havere di lui, et che non consentirà in modo alcuno che il detto soccorso habbia a servire eccetto alla Religione tal che era della medesima opinione, che haveva io, cioè che questo II° termine non si sborsasse insino a tanto che quella Maiestà prendeva qualche buona et santa risolutione, affinchè con degnità di Nostro Signore e sua, et per salute dei suoi popoli possa quanto prima sicuramente ricevere il Nuntio apostolico, et à questo effetto S. S. Ill^ma^ scrisse all' hora per un suo gentilhuomo espresso alla sudetta Regina dalla quale se ne dovrà presto havere risposta.

[9] Nella seconda volta, che fu dopo il mio ritorno dalla Corte, il giorno appresso che io ricevetti la lettera di V. S. Ill^ma^ dell' ultimo di Settembre, esplicai al prefato Signore essermi stato comandato da Nostro Signore che se io non havessi certa speranza di potere in breve andare in quel regno a fare qualche servitio alla santa religione et alla Maiestà sua, me ne ritornassi subbito alla mia chiesa dove potrei fare maggior servitio à Dio che non fo hora a quella Regina dimorando in Francia, e mostrandomi in questo desiderosissimo, come è il mio debito, pregai instantemente sua S. Ill^ma^ che le piaccia darmi qualche certa risolutione, acciocchè possa avverterne la Santità Sua et mettermi in camino per arrivare quanto più presto mi fosse possibile alla detta mia chiesa. Lodò il detto Signore sommamente questa delibberatione di sua Santità, ma mi pregò con molto affetto che poi che sua Beatitudine s' era degnata fare questa santa et favorevole opera a quella Regina et al suo regno con haverle mandato il suo Nuntio, mi contentassi aspettare insino alla risposta dell' ultima lettera che esso scrisse a Sua Maiestà, persuadendosi al sicuro dovere di questo intendere la intiera risolutione, la quale al più lungo s'haveria dopo il battesimo del Principe di Scotia, che dovrà celebrarsi al più tardi in termine d'un mese, e per sollecitare maggiormente quella Regina e scoprire intieramente l'animo suo, il sudetto Signore è stato di parere che andasse in Scotia Monsignor Domblanen, che partirà fra sei giorni, il quale ancorchè io conosca persona veramente Cattolica, pia et molto integra, nondimeno a maggior cautela, di consentimento e satisfattione

di esso Signore Cardinale e del detto Monsignor Domblanen si mandarà in compagnia sua il Padre Emondo della Società di Giesù, il quale era destinato a venire con meco, persona di molta fede e integrità, e nata si nobilmente in quel regno, che è stretto parente di quel Conte Scozese che negli ultimi tumulti s'offerse aiutare a salvare la Regina per la fenestra della camera dove sua Maiestà era tenuta prigione dai ribelli,[1] per mezo del quale spero fermamente intendere più particolarmente et minutamente lo stato di quel regno e quello che si può sperare dalla Maiestà sua per servitio della Religione per il che potrò poi presto risolvermi di quanto ho a fare con intiera riputatione di Nostro Signore vedendosi che dal canto del Nuntio di Sua Beatitudine non s'è lasciato usare ogni debito modo e diligenza per mettere in essecutione la piissima et santissima intentione di Nostro Signore per salute di quella Maiestà e del suo regno, et testis est mihi Deus et conscientia mea quod per me non stetit di fare tutto quello che m' è stato possibile per compire il debito mio verso il Signor Iddio et sua Beatitudine. [10] Il prefato Signor Cardinale con l'ambasciatore di Scotia sono rimasi grandemente sodisfatti dell' offitio che s'è fatto in favore della Regina di Scotia per parte di Nostro Signore con queste Maiestà, e dell' amorevole risposta che esse mi han data; et esso Signor Cardinale dopo havere visitato il Duca d'Omala, suo fratello in Annet, et fattolo condurre et lasciatolo in assai buona convalescenza in Medon, luogo di esso Signor Cardinale vicino a Parigi due leghe, anderà fra tre di alla corte con animo di ritornarsene presto à Rems per far la festa d'ogni Santi, et poi avviarsi alla volta di Lorena, dove pensava fermarsi qualche tempo. Io intanto non posso, ne debbo mancare d'aspettare questa ultima risposta

[1] Mary, in her letter of April 2nd, said that Bothwell and Huntly 'devised that we should have come over the walls of our palace in the night upon towes [ropes] and chairs' (Labanoff, i. 348). Further details are given in Nau's narrative (Stevenson-Nau, p. 10). In a cancelled passage of the Bishop of Dunblane's address to Pius v., a story is told of the Earl of Huntly (Stevenson-Nau, p. 204), which agrees better still with Bishop Laureo's allusion. But then Father Hay's near relative was the Earl of Errol, and it seems doubtful whether he was present on that occasion. Can it be that the bishop was confusing the Earl of Errol with the Earl of Athol? He was at least present at the time of Mary's capture, and was considered in Rome as one of the leading Catholic nobles, *ante*, No. 60.

e risolutione, con fermo proposito di esseguire poi subbito in ogni tempo l'ordine di Sua Santità, riputando qualunche fatica et etiam mori lucrum et summum gaudium per servitio di Dio et di Sua Santità.

Bacio humilissimamente la mano di V. S. Ill^ma^ pregando sua Divina Maiestà che conceda a Nostro Signore il compimento di tutti i suoi degnissimi et santissimi desiderij, et conserve la S. V. Ill^ma^ in sua santa gratia con ogni felicità.

[THE BISHOP of MONDOVI to the CARDINAL of ALESSANDRIA.

From Paris, 21 *October* 1566.

[1] I PRESENTED to their Majesties the last briefs which your eminence was pleased to send with the letter of the 15th of September by the last post. These, with that given me, will very well excuse me for not having waited on their Majesties as soon as I arrived in Paris, according to the commands of our lord, and given them an account of my journey to Scotland. I did not fail to relate as well as I could to their Majesties, that his Holiness had heard in the past months with great grief of the tumults of Scotland from many advices and particularly from a report by the Bishop of Dunblane, who had been sent to Rome from the Queen of Scotland and from the Lord Cardinal of Lorraine for that purpose. As universal father of Christendom, he could not fail to help and encourage the great constancy and the pious holy zeal of that queen, and defend her from such grave dangers and unjust persecutions.

[2] In the meantime he wished to console her by the presence of a nuncio, and had deigned to choose me for that purpose, and had ordered me to exert all my strength to serve her Majesty, and do all in my power for the restoration in that kingdom of the holy Catholic religion, for the glory of God and salvation of her Majesty and her subjects, whom his Holiness, after the example of that most Blessed Shepherd who gives His life for His sheep, desires to bring back to the way of truth even at the cost of shedding his own blood. And although his Holiness could not avoid spending a great part of his resources in helping the emperor, the Knights of Malta, and others against the infidels, still he has contrived to put together the sum of twenty thousand scudi, to send every month four thousand to her Majesty, as was done lately through the Archbishop of Glasgow's brother. If God, I added, is pleased to liberate the Christians from the fear of the Turk, then the intention of his Holiness is to assist that queen to restore the ancient religion in her kingdom with still more abundant means if that be necessary. This would be for the universal good of Christendom, and particularly for the profit and honour of this most Christian kingdom, both on account of the near neighbourhood of the two kingdoms, and of the ancient protection which the Most Christian Kings have always given to Scotland. His Holiness, therefore,

earnestly begs their Majesties to continue the same protection, and give substantial assistance to the queen, who having been wife of Francis II. of happy memory, brother of the Most Christian King, and first born of the queen, deserves on this account alone the support and favour of their Majesties. And besides that they will perform a really pious work, worthy of the grandeur of their name of Most Christian, his Holiness will evermore preserve a most grateful memory of their Majesties on this account. I did not neglect to tell them that although the Queen of Scotland seemed very anxious to have me near her, yet she excused herself through her ambassador for not deciding on this before the baptism of the prince, her son, which her Majesty would do her best to celebrate according to the ancient custom of the holy Catholic Roman Church; after which celebration her Majesty hoped to be able to receive the nuncio of his Holiness safely, and with due regard to pontifical power and dignity as well as to her own.

[3] I also added that our lord tenderly loved his Majesty the king, never forgetting to ask God daily in his holy prayers to give his Majesty, in long and happy life, constancy to holy religion, and grace to be able to bring his kingdom back soon to its ancient and customary obedience under the one holy Catholic faith. And since their Majesties well know what holy zeal and high observance and devotion the Most Christian Kings have always shown by memorable examples to the Catholic religion and the holy Apostolic See, for which they not only merited to obtain the title of Most Christian, but also numberless victories and the greatest prosperity, his Holiness, with all his fatherly affection, begged their Majesties to endeavour, with their wonted piety and prudence, to continue to prosecute this holy work for the honour of God, the preservation and increase of their Majesties' own grandeur, and the peace and tranquillity of their kingdom. To this effect, his Holiness offered to their Majesties all his holy spiritual resources, together with his life, and hoped the divine goodness would soon grant a happy issue through his Majesty the king, and especially through the pious and prudent counsel of her Majesty the queen, his mother.

[4] The queen replied in the king's name and her own, that for the same motives which I had expressed, they had always desired to help the Queen of Scotland as their own sister and daughter, and would never abandon her. It is true that they had not given her any notable assistance, because they had been warned, that if their Majesties were discovered to be in favour of the queen they would arouse great suspicion in the Queen of England, and give that queen an occasion to show herself openly in favour of the rebels of Scotland against their queen, but that they had arranged, at the instance of the Lord Cardinal of Lorraine and the ambassador of Scotland, for the payment of a good sum of the money which was due to the Queen of Scotland from her dowry, but which had not been fully paid on account of the difficult times; and that in future their Majesties, when they are required, will continue to

give effectual proof of the great and real affection they bear to her, and the great account they make of the recommendations of his Holiness in favour of that queen.

[5] During this speech the king very feelingly and frequently approved what the queen, his mother, said. They then thanked the Pope warmly for his ready and truly paternal will in their regard, declaring themselves under great obligations to his Holiness, particularly because they hear on every side of the great benevolence of his Holiness for them. They said that they would endeavour, with that observance and veneration which was due, to carry out as far as the present conditions allow his holy and prudent admonitions and recommendatious. It is true that they cannot carry their resolutions into effect for the entire re-establishment of the holy Catholic religion in this kingdom as fast as they would, for fear of tumult and sedition, especially considering the precedents there had been at home and in their neighbourhood in Flanders, where the King of Spain, a prince so great and a man in years, has been compelled to grant the exercise of various new religions in those states. Yet in France, notwithstanding the late civil war and the tender age of the king, they had only one new religion. They hoped that, as the king, who goes on growing in age and credit, increases in years, they will be able with God's help to put everything into order. I must not omit to say that the king confirmed all the queen said, and added that he would rather die than abandon the ancient and true religion of the Most Christian Kings, his predecessors. Their Majesties then desired the satisfaction and edification of hearing from me how our lord gives audience, and about his life and pious exercises. They were greatly consoled, and thanked God for the hope which from my account they conceived for the health and long life of his Holiness.

[6] I then saluted in the Pope's name the Dukes of Anjou and Alençon, the king's brothers, who were present, telling them that his Holiness sent them his holy blessing, at which those young princes showed great joy, accompanied with reverence for the name of his Holiness. I then visited the Cardinal of Bourbon, and knowing that everything would be told to him as the most trusted friend of the king and queen, I thought it for the service of God and the Pope to show to his lordship that his Holiness held him in great esteem, and accordingly communicated to him in the name of his Holiness all that I had told to their Majesties, adding that his Holiness, knowing the piety and good zeal of his lordship, hoped that through him devotion to the holy Catholic religion would be not only always preserved but increased in the minds of the king, the princes, and the queen. Therefore I exhorted and prayed him, with the tact and prudence becoming a cardinal and a prince born of the blood royal of France, as he is, to continue to counsel and urge their Majesties to re-establish completely in the whole of their kingdom the ancient and true religion.

[7] The said monsignor listened with very great satisfaction, humbly

thanking his Holiness for the good opinion he was pleased to have of him, swearing that he would lose no occasion to serve the cause of our holy religion with their Majesties and the other princes and nobles of their kingdom, and that for this he would willingly risk his life; and on his conscience assures his Holiness that the king and his brothers are entirely and truly Catholic, and as for the queen, so far as he can make out, he has always known her to be one likewise. It is true, that on account of the wickedness of the times, she is often constrained to condescend to many things, to avoid disturbance and sedition, but he hoped that as the king grew older the affairs of the kingdom would soon fall into order. With regard to Avignon, he assured me that by the help of God he will preserve that state from danger, without any expense to the Holy See. The reason of his assurance was—to say nothing of his own diligence and the respect he commanded—because all round that state the governors were quite Catholic; that is to say, in Dauphiné, the Duc de Montpensier, in Languedoc, the Maréchal d'Anville, and in Provence, the Comte de Tende. His eminence reverently kisses the feet of his Holiness, and is very desirous that the Pope be completely satisfied with him; indeed this ready will of his and innate goodness truly deserves special consideration and commendation from his Holiness.

[8] I have twice had the opportunity of discussing at length the affairs of Scotland with the Cardinal of Lorraine. The first time,[n] before I went to court, I said to him among other things, that the Pope, besides giving me express orders not to disburse the moneys of the Apostolic See except for the service of religion, firmly trusted that his eminence's piety and goodness would never permit this subsidy to be employed for any object other than religion. Wherefore as soon as something notable for religion should be done there, and hope be given of re-establishing its exercise, I should certainly expect that his Holiness would willingly give this or a greater sum of money, and even his own life, for the welfare of her Majesty and her people. The said cardinal replied that he will never give our lord the Pope reason to change the good opinion he is pleased to have of him, and that he will never consent in any way to allow the said subsidy to be used except for religion, so that he was of the same opinion as myself, namely, that the second instalment of the subsidy should not be paid until her Majesty had as soon as possible taken some good and holy resolution to ensure the safe reception of the Apostolic nuncio for the welfare of her people and with the respect due to his Holiness and to herself. For this end his lordship then sent a letter by one of his gentlemen by express to the said queen, from whom an answer must come shortly.

[9] The second time, which was after my return from court, the day after that on which I received your eminence's letter of the last of September, I explained to the said lord cardinal that I was commanded by the Pope to return without delay to my church, unless I had sure

hope of being able to go to Scotland soon, there to do some real service to holy religion and to her Majesty. In truth I should do greater service to God there than I am now doing to that queen while I remain in France. I showed myself most earnest in this matter, as I am bound to be, and begged his lordship to give some definite answer, that so I may let his Holiness know, and begin my journey to my church as soon as possible. The said lord fully approved his Holiness' determination, but begged with much earnestness that, since his Holiness had deigned to make this gracious effort on behalf of that queen and her kingdom by sending his nuncio, I should wait for an answer to the last letter which he had written to her Majesty, assuring me that we should then learn the whole of her plans. They would be finally settled after the baptism of the prince, and the baptism should be celebrated within a month at latest. In order to press the queen the more, and to discover the whole of her mind, the said cardinal is of opinion that Monsignor of Dunblane should go to Scotland, and he will start in six days. Albeit I know he is a true Catholic, pious and very honest, nevertheless, with the consent and approbation of the cardinal and the bishop, we are sending with him as an additional safeguard that Father Edmund who was destined to come with me. He is a man of great fidelity and integrity, and nobly born in that kingdom, a near relation of that Scottish earl who in the late disturbances offered to save the queen through the window of the chamber in which she was kept prisoner by the rebels.[n] By means of him I firmly hope to understand more particularly and in detail the condition of that kingdom, and what is to be hoped from her Majesty for the service of religion. Then I shall soon be able to decide what to do, having regard to the reputation of his Holiness, and show that on the part of his Holiness' nuncio no effort or diligence has been spared to carry out the pious and holy intention of our lord the Pope for the welfare of her Majesty and her kingdom. *Testis est mihi Deus et conscientia mea quod per me non stetit,* if everything possible is not done to fulfil my duty to God and his Holiness.

[10] The said lord cardinal and the ambassador of Scotland are highly satisfied with the offices in favour of the Queen of Scotland which his Holiness has undertaken with their Majesties here, and with the loving answer they gave me. The lord cardinal, after paying a visit to the Duc d'Aumale, his brother, at Anet, and conducting him to Meudon, a place belonging to his eminence two leagues from Paris, left him there in fair state of recovery. He will go to the court in two or three days, with the intention of returning shortly to Rheims to keep the Feast of All Saints, then he will journey towards Lorraine, where he thought of staying some time. Meanwhile I cannot and ought not to refuse to await this final answer and determination; after that, I am firmly resolved to obey at once the command of his Holiness, and shall reckon every labour *et etiam mori lucrum et summum gaudium* for the service of God and his Holiness.

I most humbly kiss the hand of your eminence. etc.. etc., etc.]

No. 77

THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA TO THE BISHOP OF MONDOVI

Polonia, 171, fol. 5.

[*Rome*, 28 *October* 1566]

MOLTO REV^O^ MONSIGNOR, COME FRATELLO,—L' ultima ch'io ho di V. S. R. è de' vii di questo, la quale fu letta da N. S^re^ con molto suo piacere, intendendo che i secondi brevi erano giunti a tempo, et ch'ella gli haverebbe presentati quanto prima a quelle M^ta^ la risposta de' quali si starà intanto aspettando di saper dallei con le prime che verranno.

Circa lo sborso dei danari non ho da darle per hora altro ordine nuovo, ma rimetterla solamente alle mie precedenti de xvi et xxx del passato secondo le quali si havrà da governare in questo negotio che tale è la mente di N. S^re^.

Non mi occorrendo altro per questa, il S^r^ Dio la conservi come desidera.

Di Roma à xxviii d'Ottobre M.D.LXVI.

Di V. S. molto R. come fratello, IL CARD^LE^ ALES^NO^.

[*Addressed as before.*]

[*Endorsed*] Ric^ta^ in Parigi alli 16 di Novembre.

[THE CARDINAL of ALESSANDRIA to the BISHOP of MONDOVI.

[*Rome*, 28 *October* 1566.]

VERY REVEREND LORD, COME FRATELLO,—The last letter I have of yours is of the 7th of this month, and it was read by our lord the Pope with much pleasure, hearing that the second briefs had arrived in time, and that you would present them as soon as possible to their Majesties. We shall expect now to hear their answer from you by the first letters that come.

With regard to the disbursement of the moneys I have no other new order to give you at present, but only refer you to my preceding letters of the 16th and 30th of the past month, according to which you will have to regulate yourself in this business, for such is the mind of our lord the Pope.

Nothing more occurs to me to say in this letter. May the Lord God preserve you as you desire.

From Rome the 28th of October 1566.

Come fratello, etc., THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA.

[*Endorsed*] Received in Paris on the 16th of November.]

No. 78

THE BISHOP OF MONDOVI TO THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA

Inghilterra, I. A, fol. 13.

[*Paris*, 4 *Nov.* 1566]

Da Parigi alli iiii di Novembre M.D.LXVI.

Con l'altro ordinario detti aviso alla S. V. Ill^ma^ di quello che ragionai con questa Maiestà dopo haverle presentati i Brevi di Nostro Signore e della risolutione che s'era presa con il Signor Cardinale di Lorena circa le cose di Scotia. Hora sicome V. S. Ill^ma^ potrà vedere dall'allegate copie d'una lettera di quella Regina all'arcivescovo di Glasgo, suo ambasciatore e d'un'altra dell'eletto Rossense al Vescovo Dumblanense, il quale per questo rispetto non s'è altrimenti partito alla volta di quel regno, la Maiestà sua era già risoluta mandare qui quel M. Stefano che fu ultimamente in Roma con il detto Dumblanense, per chiamarmi appresso di lei, con desiderio, secondo mi riferisce esso Monsignor Dumblanense essergli stato scritto dal prefato Stefano, che mi trovassi al battesimo del Principe suo figliuolo, ma è piaciuto al Signor Iddio permettere che la sudetta Regina il di medesimo che spedi il corriero dei xvi del passato per dar avviso al sudetto ambasciatore della risolutione che havea presa della mia andata in Scotia incominciasse a sentire alcuni suoi soliti dolori della milza et del lato manco, li quali, come s'è ultimamente inteso per lettere dei xxiii mandate a queste Maiestà con un corriero espresso da Monsignor di Croch, loro ambasciatore in Scotia, s'accompagnorono poi con vomiti continui, con svenimenti e con tal peggioramento che si dubitava grandemente della vita di Sua Maiestà, e massime che gli ultimi due vomiti erano stati con molta copia di sangue, et come che per la sudetta lettera dell'eletto Rossense si possa sperare bene della vita di quella Maiestà nondimeno in questa corte per gli avvisi di esso Monsignor di Croch se ne ha pochissima speranza.[1]

[1] These despatches of du Croc and Leslie appear to be missing, but are referred to in subsequent letters. Leslie mentions (Keith, *History*, iii. 286) that the bearer of du Croc's despatch of Wednesday the 23rd was Sanderis Bog. The forebodings of the French court about Mary's health were not unreasonable, as the crisis came on the Friday following (*ibid.*).

Ne lascierò di dire alla S. V. Ill^ma^ che alla detta malattia s'aggiunge anco la poca contentezza che quella Maiestà ha del Re suo marito, il quale vedendo non poter ottenere dalla Regina l'auttorità che havea innanzi gli ultimi tumulti di quel regno, ciò è di sedere in consiglio e nei luoghi publici a lato alla moglie, di mettersi il nome suo nelli bandi e nelle cose pubbliche con quello della detta Regina, com'era solito farsi, e altre cose simili, e insomma vedendosi senza riputatione, s'era sdegnato si forte che, dopo essersi dal dì di San Michele absentato dalla Regina, era finalmente tornato in Corte, ma non haveva voluto dimorarvi eccetto una notte sola in compagnia della moglie; et la mattina seguente si licentiò da lei, dicendo a Dio à tutti i Signori del Consiglio con delibberatione d'imbarcarsi in un navilio che havea in ordine senza manifestare la causa di questa sua subbita partita, e il luogo ove havesse animo d'andare, nè alla Regina, nè alli detti Signori, i quali insieme lo pregavano humilmente che non partisse, offerendosi i principali, et etiandio la Regina stessa, a dargli ogni intiera satisfattione se l'havessero contristato in parte veruna, et come che esso rispondesse non havere alcuna mala satisfattione verso di loro, et che fosse in ogni modo risoluto andarsene, nondimeno ai prieghi d'alcuni di essi Signori mostrò lasciare il pensiero della navigatione et si ritirò con il Conte di Lenò suo padre in un luogo vicino alla corte, et ultimamente si trovava in Glasgo, di dove essendo lontano dalla Regina una piccola giornata, et non havendola in questa gravissima indispositione mai visitata, mostra bene d'essere troppo giovane.[1]

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[1] This paragraph represents the contents of the letter of the Scottish Council to Catherine of Medici, 8 October 1566 (Teulet, ii. 282; Keith, ii. 453), and du Croc's of the 17th (Teulet, ii. 289). But Michaelmas Day (29 September) was the date of Darnley's return to court, not that of his leaving it. His abstention from visiting his sick wife will have been learnt from the letters of the 23rd and 24th, mentioned in the last note, which fully substantiates Laureo's blame. Du Croc says: 'Le Roy est à Glasco, et n'est point venu icy. *Si est ce qu*'il a été adverty par quelqu'un, et a eu du temps assez pour venir s'il eust voullu; c'est une faulte que je ne puis excuser' (Keith, *History*, iii. 285). Dr. Small translates the phrase printed above in italics by, '*It is certain* he has been informed of it,' *i.e.* of the queen's sickness (*Queen Mary at Jedburgh*, 1881, p. 17). Sir William Fraser, perhaps inadvertently, has rendered *si* by *if*

S'aspetta di giorno in giorno qualche altro corriero da quella banda; piaccia al Signor Iddio che sià con la nuova della sanità di quella Regina, per salute del suo regno, il quale con tal perdita verrià ridursi in manifesta ruina, ancorchè queste Maiestà per interesse proprio non possino mancare d'aiutarlo, almeno affinchè non si unisca la Scotia con l'Inghilterra, per la stretta prattica e intelligenza, che hanno insieme gli heretici dell'uno e l'altro regno. E già il Castellano della fortezza d'Inskait,[1] isola d'una lega di circuito, appresso d'Edimburg otto miglia, di grande importanza a quel regno, chiamata dai Francesi isola de cavalli, ha scritto a queste Maiestà di volere in caso che mancasse la Regina tenere la detta fortezza a riquisitione delle Maiestà loro, s'esse voranno attendere alla solita et antica protettione e conservatione di quel regno. Sopra di che Monsignor Reverendissimo di Ceneda, con la solita diligenza e prudenza sua, non si lascierà perdere l'occasione d'aiutare appresso queste Maiestà (come fa ardentissimamente) questa santissima causa publica a gloria di Dio per servitio di Sua Beatitudine e della Santa Sede apostolica. Et io in simile occorrenza, se non mi sarà comandato altro da Nostro Signore, non mancherò quanto prima avviarmi verso la mia chiesa, dove mi sforzerò con l'aiuto di Dio non dare occasione a sua Santità di diminuire la buona openione che s'è degnata havere di mi; pregando di continuo sua divina Maiestà che per salute della Christianità conserve Sua Beatitudine con ogni felicità, et conceda alla S. V. Ill^ma^ la gratia in questa cariga d'adempire la sua santa voluntà.

(*The Lennox*, i. 510). But, 'Si *in the beginning of a speech now and then implies* (*among some auncient Authors*) *a kind of certainty or resolution*; *as*, si advint en ce iour mesme que le heraut arriva, *Surely it happened the very day whereon the herald arrived*' (Cotgrave, *Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues*, 1632, *sig.* Dddd ij *verso*). Du Croc frequently uses this particle in the affirmative sense (Teulet, *Relations*, ii. 292, lines 3 and 18, p. 326 line 20), and twice again in this letter (Keith, *History*, iii. 285). Mr. Hay Fleming regards du Croc's words as 'somewhat ambiguous,' because of the use of the indefinite '*quelqu'un*,' from which he thinks, 'it may be inferred that no special messenger was sent' (*Mary Queen of Scots*, p. 419). Would it not be simpler to infer that du Croc did not know the messenger's name?

[1] Of the keeper of Inchkeith Teulet (*Relations*, ii. 301) says, 'Suivant toute apparence [il] était un officier français, mais il ne m'a été possible de retrouver son nom.'

[The Bishop of Mondovi to the Cardinal of Alessandria.

Paris, 4 November 1566.

By the last post I informed your eminence of the conversation I had with their Majesties after presenting to them our lord the Pope's briefs, and of the determination come to with the Cardinal of Lorraine on the affairs of Scotland. From the annexed copies of letters from the queen of that country to the Archbishop of Glasgow and from the Bishop-elect of Ross to the Bishop of Dunblane, who on account of it has not yet left for Scotland, your eminence will see that her Majesty had already decided to send here that M. Stephen, who was lately in Rome with the Bishop of Dunblane, to call me to her, in order, as the Bishop of Dunblane tells me that he hears from the same Stephen, that I should be present at the baptism of the prince her son. But God was pleased to allow that the queen should feel some of her usual pains of the spleen and left side on the very day she despatched the courier of the 16th of last month to tell the ambassador of her decision concerning my coming to Scotland. These pains, as we have heard by the latest despatches sent on the 23rd to their Majesties by an express courier from Monsieur du Croc, their ambassador in Scotland, were accompanied with continual vomitings, faintings, and such failings, that they were in great fear for her Majesty's life, especially as the last two vomits were accompanied by a great quantity of blood; and although, according to the letter of the Bishop-elect of Ross, one may still have good hope for the queen's life, nevertheless this court, on account of the advices of Monsieur du Croc, hardly expect it.[a]

I must not forget to tell your lordship that besides the illness of her Majesty, there is also her unhappiness with her husband the king. Seeing that he cannot obtain from the queen the authority he had before the late tumults, that is to sit by the side of his wife in council and in public places, to set his name with hers in treaties and public affairs, as was wont to be done, and so forth, in fine, seeing himself unhonoured, he was so violently indignant that, after keeping himself away from the queen from St. Michael's Day, he at last came to court, but would not stay except for one night only in his wife's company; and on the following morning took his leave of her, saying good-bye to all the Lords of the Council, with the intention of going on board a ship which he had waiting for him, without giving a reason for this sudden departure, or naming the place to which he meant to go, either to the queen or to the said lords. They all humbly begged him not to leave, the principal lords and the queen herself promising to give him complete and entire satisfaction in case they had offended him in any way. He replied that he had no grievance against them, and that he was quite resolved to go; nevertheless at the prayers of some of the lords he appeared to give up the idea of going to sea, and withdrew with his father, the Earl of Lennox, to a place near the court. He was last at Glasgow, a short

day's journey from the queen, and as he never came to see her in her dangerous illness, he shows plainly that he is all too young.[n]

From day to day we expect another courier from that country. God grant that he brings news of the queen's recovery, for the sake of her kingdom's salvation, for it would go to manifest ruin with her death, although their Majesties here could not fail to aid that country for their own interest, at least in order that it should not unite with England, because of the close communication and understanding which the heretics of the two kingdoms have together. Already the keeper of the fortress of Inchkeith,[n] an island a league in circuit, eight miles from Edinburgh, and of great importance to that kingdom, called the 'Isle of Horses' [Isle aux chevaux] by the French, has written to their Majesties here offering to hold the fortress at their disposition in case of the queen's death, if they will continue the accustomed ancient protection and defence of that kingdom.

Upon this point the very reverend Monsignor of Ceneda, with his usual care and prudence, will not fail to deal with their Majesties (as he does with great spirit) in the holy common cause, both for the glory of God, and for the service of his Holiness, and of the holy Apostolic See. And I, if such a thing should befall, unless I have orders to the contrary from his Holiness, will as soon as possible start for my own church, where I will try with God's help to give no cause to his Holiness to diminish the good opinion he has been pleased to have of me, praying always the Divine Majesty for the welfare of Christendom to preserve his Holiness with every happiness, and grant to your eminence grace in your office to accomplish His holy will.]

No. 79

THE BISHOP OF MONDOVI TO THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA

Inghilterra, I. A, fol. 14 b.

[*Paris, 5 November* 1566]

Da Parigi, alli v. di Novembre.

Questa mattina è arrivato un corriero che parti dalla corte di Scotia alli xxvii. del passato con la nuova che quella Regina stava per gratia di Dio meglio, come V. S. Ill^ma^ potrà vedere dalla copia che le mando d'una lettera scritta al Vescovo Domblanense.[1] Piaccia alla Divina Maiestà che questo miglioramento apporti l'intiera sanità alla sudetta Regina, perchè

[1] This enclosure has not been found, but it presumably was of the same tenor as that sent on the same day by Bishop Leslie to Archbishop Beaton, which is printed in Keith, *History*, iii. 286.

quello regno e tutti quei paesi di là n' hanno di bisogno grandissimo, e massime che si puo sperare che la Maiestà sua dopo questa gravissima malattia habbia ad abbracciare più efficacemente e con maggior zelo la causa santissima della Religione Cattolica. Et perchè v'è un gentilhuomo che vuol partire hor hora in posta alla volta di Lione, farò fine, baciando riverentemente la mano di V. S. Ill^ma^ con pregare il S^re^ Iddio per la lunga e felice vita di S. B^ne^.

[THE BISHOP of MONDOVI to the CARDINAL of ALESSANDRIA.

Paris, 5 November 1566.

THIS morning a courier arrived, who started from the court of Scotland on the 27th of last month, with the news that the queen was better, by the grace of God, as your eminence will be able to see from the copy I send you of a letter written to the Bishop of Dunblane.[a] May it please the divine Majesty that this improvement bring perfect health to the said queen, both because that kingdom and all the countries thereabout have very great need of her, and especially as we may hope that her Majesty, after this serious illness, will embrace more efficaciously and with greater zeal the most holy cause of the Catholic religion. As there is a gentleman who wishes to post off at once towards Lyons, I will make an end, reverently kissing your eminence's hand, and praying the Lord God for the long and happy life of his Holiness.]

No. 80

THE BISHOP OF MONDOVI TO THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA (in Cipher)

Inghilterra, A, fol. 44.

[*Paris*, 12 *November* 1566]

Da Parigi alli xii di Novembre M.D.LXVI.

[1] HAVENDO io per l'ultimo spaccio[1] dato avviso à Nostro Signore della risolutione che havea presa la Regina di Scotia di chiamarmi appresso di lei, non voglio hora mancare di farli intendere che per qualche secreto avertimento che ho havuto

[1] As a point of *diplomatique* it may be noted that the letter *in piano*, which doubtless accompanied this cipher, has not been registered. Presumably it contained no news at all. It should also be noted that the little *biglietto* of 5 November, given to the gentleman posting to Lyons, has not been reckoned as a *spaccio*.

di buon luogo, la Regina s'era con gran difficultà risoluta a questo dopo l'arrivo in quella corte del Signor Betun, fratello dell' Ambasciatore di Scotia con li iiii [m]. △ mandati in nome di Nostro Signore, li quali perciocchè il detto Betun dichiarò per mia parte alla Regina che l'animo di sua Beatitudine era che non s' impiegassero in modo alcuno ad altro fine che a quello della Santa Religione, la Regina trovandosi in grandissime necessità fu consigliata da quelli Signori del suo conseglio di farmi andare in Scotia per valersi del resto di questi danari, et voglio credere che il Signor Iddio per questo l'habbia subbito visitata con quella gravissima et pericolosissima malattia, per la quale si può sperare che l'habbia tocco l'animo et inspiratala a fare qualche buona e santa delibberatione, et massime che s' è inteso che la Regina in quello estremo del suo male si dichiarò intieramente Cattolica e grandemente contrita e pentita[1] di non havere fatto tutto quello che poteva et doveva a servitio di Dio et della Religione per il soverchio rispetto che portò alli Signori del suo regno. [2] Hor questo sospetto non è di poca consideratione, perchè i Signori principali e di maggior autorità appresso di lei sono heretici. S'aggionge à questo che la prima volta che io ragionai[2] qui con il Cardinal de Lorena, avanti che io ricevessi la lettera del Cardinal Alesandrino dell' ultimo di Settembre, durai molta fatica à persuaderlo che non si doveria tardar più a fare qualche cosa notabile per servitio di Dio in Scotia, poichè non solo si vedeva chiaramente l'ottima et prontissima voluntà di Nostro Signore verso della Regina, ma si sapeva anco l'autorità grande di Sua Santità con il Re Filippo, ancorchè per rimettere la vera Religione in Scotia, li mostrassi che per openione dell' Ambasciatore di Scotia e del Vescovo Domblanense bastava l'aiuto solo di Nostro Signore, la qual cosa non potendo negare il Cardinale mi oppose il sospetto che si fa della vita di Nostro Signore per la sua indispositione,

[1] Mary's repentance is mentioned by Father Hay in his letter to Father Francis Borgia, 6 November 1566 (Stevenson-Nau, cxlii), but not so clearly in Leslie's letter of 27 October (Keith, iii. 286), or in the *Declaration . . . made . . . during the time of her extreme malady*.—Stevenson-Nau, cxxxvii.

[2] The first account of these conferences had been sent on 21 October, *supra*, § 8.

dicendo che non vorria tentare una cosa così importante e restare poi abandonato. Gli risposi che la vita degli huomini e dei principi e massime quella del Sant^mo^ Vicario di Christo, era in mano di Sua Divina Maiestà, et che essendo questa causa di Dio, si dovea sperare fermamente che non mancheria mai la sua divina gratia, et che circa la sanità di Nostro Signore, per quanto io poteva humanamente comprendere, assicuravo il Cardinale sopra la conscientia mia, di non havere conosciuta in Sua Santità indispositione tale che non potesse vivere molti e molti anni, et che havevo speranza grandissima che Nostro Signore per la molta sobrietà et ottimo governo che usa nel vivere, si saria con l'aiuto di Dio conservato lunghissimamente talchè il Cardinale non dovesse all' avvenire dar fede a questa falsa openione, la quale si potria spargere da huomini interessati et appassionati con grandissimo detrimento delle cose publiche. [3] Con questo il Cardinale prese delibberatione di mandare un suo gentilhuomo confidentissimo per consigliare et persuadere la Regina che si risolvesse à rimettere la Santa Religione nel suo regno, e non trovandosi rimedio più pronto secondo la openione stessa del Cardinale e dell' arcivescovo di Glasgo e del Vescovo Dumblanense et etiandio del Padre Emondo Scozzese, coretto il castigo di alcuni pochi scelerati sedittiosi, siccome io n'avverti Nostro Signore per quel foglio a parte delli xxi d'Agosto, la Regina non mancasse d'eseguire generosamente a gloria di Dio questa giustissima punitione. Et perciochè il Cardinale dubita che facendosi intendere il particolare di questa sua ultima delibberatione per mezo de Segretarii potria essere scoperta qui con pericolo d'essere fatta ammazzare da questi Scozzesi della guardia del Re di Francia che sono la più parte e tutti Ugonotti, mi ha pregato che ordinassi qualche altra via di scrivere che fosse sicura, la per cui cominciasse nella solita maniera vostra. [4] Il suddetto gentilhuomo haverà ordine di trovare il Scoto a Roma che parla di quella corte M. Stefano Scozzese, talchè se la Regina si fosse per risolvere a permettere degli heretici nuova volta a chiamarli il Scoto per altro fine che per aiuto della Religione, all' arrivo del predetto gentilhuomo, et massime dopo questa grave malattia haverà speranza che sia risoluta a restituire e seguire il suo santissimo consiglio [illegible] Nostro Signore Cardinale. Ma per evitare, quanto si può, ogni

sospetto d'inganno et per iscoprire la voluntà di quella Regina e la speranza che si può havere circa la Religione in quel regno, sono già partiti con questa nuova del meglioramento della Regina il Vescovo Domblanense et il Padre Emondo Scozzese della Società di Giesù; li quali essendo amendue di grandissimo zelo verso la santa Religione daranno animo alla Regina per proseguire questa santissima causa della Religione; et esso padre Emondo ha ordine di tornarsene quanto prima per avvertirmi della verità delle cose. Et perchè io conosco questo Padre persona molto pia, intiera et sensata, non pigherò risolutione, etiamdio se saro chiamato dalla Regina, di mettermi in viaggio insino al suo ritorno, che spero non sarà tardi. E poichè è piaciuto a Nostro Signore mandarmi a questa santa opera, non voglio mancare dal canto mio procurare tutti quelli oportuni rimedii che mi paiono necessarii per la salute di quelle anime; e quando poi quella Regina con il suo popolo ricusi di riceverli, io sarò escusato nel conspetto di Dio et di sua Beatitudine.

[The Bishop of Mondovi to the Cardinal of Alessandria (in Cipher).

Paris, 12 *November* 1566.

[1] Having in my last despatch[a] communicated to our lord the determination of the Queen of Scotland to call me to her, I would not fail now to let you know, from secret information which I have received from a good source, that the queen formed this determination with great difficulty after the arrival in that court of M. Beaton, brother of the ambassador of Scotland, with the four thousand scudi, sent in the name of the Pope. M. Beaton declared to the queen on my behalf that these moneys, according to the mind of his Holiness, were not to be employed in any way for any other end except for that of holy religion. The queen, finding herself in great straits, was advised by the lords of her council to get me to come to Scotland in order to avail herself of the rest of these moneys. I am inclined to believe that it was for this that God suddenly visited her with that very grave and dangerous illness. Let us hope He may have touched her heart thereby, and inspired her with some good and holy resolution. We expect this all the more as it is said that the queen, in the extremity of her malady, declared herself entirely Catholic, and greatly contrite and repentant[a] for not having done all she could and should for the service of God and of religion, because of the extreme respect she bore to the lords of her kingdom. [2] Now this suspicion is of no small moment, for the chief lords of the greatest influence around her are heretics. Take also into account that the first

time I spoke with the Cardinal of Lorraine,[n] before I received the letter of the Cardinal of Alessandria of the last of September, I had great difficulty in persuading him that there ought not to be further delay in doing something signal for the service of God in Scotland. Not only was the most favourable and ready will of the Pope towards the queen clearly seen, but the great influence of his Holiness with King Philip was well known; though, in the opinion of the ambassador of Scotland and the Bishop of Dunblane, the help of the Pope alone was sufficient for restoring true religion in Scotland. As the cardinal could not deny this, he objected to me the doubts that were entertained about the Pope's life, on account of his illness. He said that he would not like to attempt so important an enterprise and then be abandoned. I replied that the lives of men and of princes, and above all of the Supreme Vicar of Christ, were in the hands of God; and this being God's cause, we ought firmly to hope that the divine favour will never be wanting. As to the health of the Pope, so far as I could humanly see, I assured the cardinal on my conscience that I never knew any such indisposition in his Holiness as would prevent him living many, many years; and that I had every hope that the Holy Father, with his great sobriety, and the good regimen under which he lived, would, by the help of God, long be preserved to us. The cardinal, therefore, should not in future give credence to this false opinion, which was perhaps spread by interested and passionate persons to the great injury of public affairs.

[3] Upon this the cardinal determined to send one of his gentlemen, in whom he confided much, to advise and persuade the queen to decide on restoring the holy religion in her kingdom, and as there seemed to be no more expeditious remedy, in the opinion of the cardinal himself and the Archbishop of Glasgow and the Bishop of Dunblane, and also Father Edmund the Scot, than the punishment of a few seditious wretches (as I informed the Pope in the *foglio a parte* of the 21st of August), the queen should execute with a brave heart this most just punishment for God's glory. And because the cardinal is afraid that if this last counsel of his comes to be known here through your secretaries, he runs the risk of being assassinated by the Scots Guard here, who are mostly, if not all, Huguenots, he asked me to find some other safe way to write; still, I trust to your unfailing good faith. [4] The said gentleman should arrive in Scotland before M. Stephen, the Scotsman, leaves that court, so that if the queen, moved perchance by the persuasion of the heretics, were calling me to Scotland for some other motive than zeal for religion, we might hope that, on the arrival of this gentleman, and especially after such a dangerous illness, she would decide on carrying out the pious and prudent advice of the lord cardinal. But to avoid, as far as possible, every suspicion of deception, and to discover the will of that queen, and what hope there is for religion in that kingdom, the Bishop of Dunblane, and the Scottish Father Edmund, of the Society of Jesus, started at the news of her convalescence, and being both full of zeal for holy religion, they will

give courage to the queen to prosecute the holy cause of religion; and Father Edmund has instructions to return as soon as possible and give me an account of the truth about affairs there. And as I know this father to be a pious, sincere, and intelligent man, I will take no resolution about starting on my journey, even though I am called by the queen, till his return, which I hope will not be long delayed. And since it has pleased our lord the Pope to send me on this holy work, I will not fail on my side to procure every appropriate remedy which seems necessary for the salvation of those souls; and if that queen and her people refuse to receive them, I shall be excused in the sight of God and of his Holiness.]

No 81

THE BISHOP OF DUNBLANE TO CARDINAL MORONI

Original holograph, Vatican Library, Cod. Lat. 6410, fol. 194.

[*Rouen*, 16 *November* 1566]

Ill^mo^ et Rev^mo^ S^re^ mio Osserv^mo^.

Il successo dei nostri negotij di Scotia et l'andata del Nuntio di Nostro Signore in quelle bande, sono state di continuo in tale puncto dopo che io ricevetti le vostre lettere ch' io ho differito di giorno in giorno farne risposta per haver dare con essa qualche bon aviso; la malignità pero de' tempi è stata tanta et tale, che dove ogniuno non poteva sperare altro che bene, ne videmo riuscire de fatto tutto il contrario. Doppo la natività del nostro Principe la Regina pensava tra pochi giorni d' haver fatta la solennità del Battesmo, et insieme con quella della natività haverne dato l'aviso a Sua Santità della renascencia del suo figliuolo alla santa catholica madre nostra chiesa romana, con ringraciamento della bona volontà di Sua Santità et V. S. Ill^ma^ particolarmente verso le cose della chiesa et corona di quel Regno. A questo medesimo tempo contra l'opinione di tutti occorrevano grandissimi disturbi et fattioni tra la Regina, il Re et i Signori del Regno, i quali non senza grandissima faticha per la prudenza et patienza meravigliosa della Regina sono alcunamente pacificate. Questo è stato causa che S. M^ta^ pigliò dispiacere grande, onde seguitò maladia tale che nessuno pensava che S. M^ta^ poteva vivere, per la misericordia di Dio che non ha voluto cossi presto levar la

speranza di quello povero Regno, le darà gratia doppo tanti pericoli di fare qualche servitio grande al honore suo. Non posso però pensare che queste fattioni finalmente et in tutto serranno cosi presto d'accordo, come darò da intendere a V. S. Ill^ma^ quando serrò in Scotia dove con l'adiuto di Dio penso trovarmi presto, esendo hora nel viaggio come forsa V. S. Ill^ma^ haverà già inteso per lettere mandate a nostro Signore per il Nuncio di Scotia, il quale trovando necessario et desiderando ch'io andasse avanti, ho voluto mostrar la mia obedientia nondimeno che serrà con grandissimo pericolo della mia vita. Trovandomi appresso di S. M^tà^ non mancharò per la gratia di Dio fare tutto 'l servitio che serrà possibile per il bene pubblico della santa chiesa, informandola ampiamente del grande, pio et santissimo zelo et volontà di S. S^tà^ et particolarmente del bon' animo et officij che V. S. Ill^ma^ ha mostrato et dimostra di continuo cosi et massimente verso il bene di quella corona come anch' a tutti suoi servitori che si trovano nelle nostre bande. Quanto a me stesso io sono tanto et talmente obligato non solamente per il favor grande, l'honore et beneficio ch' io ho ricevuto più volte da lei oltra la humanità incredibile d' havermi visitato per le sue lettere et haver' in tanto per raccomandati quelli che io ho lasciati in Roma, che haverò per beneficio singolare si piacia cosi al Sig^re^ Iddio darmi quella gracia ch' io vi possi fare servitio grato avanti che partirmi di questo mondo. S' io non posso altro non mancharò mai continuare di pregare per la sua conservatione et felicità temporale, et eterna. Sicurandola che non haverà mai servitore in questo mondo più affetionato di me overo che li serrà più obediente et prompto a tutti servigij, farò fine basciando le mani di V. Signoria Illustrissima et Rev^ma^ con ogni major humilità et riverenza.

Di Rouana il di xvi di Novembre 1566.

Di V. S. Ill^ma^ et Rev^ma^, Humill^o^ et affettionat^mo^ servitore
GUGLIELMO VESCOVO DI DUMBLANE.

[*Addressed*] A Monsignor Ill^mo^ et Rev^mo^ Cardinale Morono suo patrono osserv^mo^. A Roma.

[The Bishop of Dunblane to Cardinal Moroni.

Rouen, 16 *November* 1566.

The progress of our undertaking for Scotland, and the voyage of the Pope's nuncio there, have been in such a condition ever since I received your letters, that day after day I have deferred making an answer in order to have some good news to send with it. The wickedness of the times, however, has been such and so great, that whereas no one could have hoped for anything but good, the very contrary is, as we see, actually ensuing. The queen, after the birth of our prince, desired to celebrate the solemnities of the baptism in a few days, and to announce to the Pope both the birth of her son and his re-birth to our mother the holy Catholic and Roman Church, and also to thank his Holiness and your eminence in particular for your good-will to the interests of the Church and the crown of that kingdom. At this conjuncture, contrary to everybody's expectations, very grave divisions and disturbances broke out between the queen, the king, and the lords of the realm, which have been somehow pacified by the prudence and wonderful patience of the queen, though not without very severe labour. This caused her Majesty great displeasure, from whence followed an illness, such that no one thought her Majesty could live, but God's mercy would not take away the hope of that poor kingdom so soon, and will give her, after such great dangers, the grace to do some signal service for His honour, though I cannot think that those factions will be finally and entirely appeased very soon. I will send information on this point when I shall be in Scotland. I hope to get there soon, with the help of God, being now on my journey thither, as perhaps you may have heard already from letters sent to the Holy Father through the nuncio of Scotland. He found it necessary and desirable that I should go first; and I wished to show my obedience, although this should be attended with very great danger to my life.

When I shall find myself at her Majesty's side, I shall not fail, by the grace of God, to perform every service I can for the common good of Holy Church. I will give her full information of the great, pious, and holy zeal and good-will of the Pope, and especially of the friendly services which your eminence has shown and does continually display, especially for the benefit of that crown, and of all its servants who are on our side. As for myself, I am under very great obligations for the signal favour, honour, and beneficence with which you have several times treated me, and still more for your unexpected courtesy in favouring me with your letters, and treating those whom I left in Rome as if commended to yourself for the time. I should account it a singular benefit, if God were pleased to give me the power to do you an agreeable service before I die. If I can do nothing else, I will not fail to continue to pray for your preservation and your happiness, temporal and eternal. Assuring you that you will never have a more affectionate servant in this world than myself, nor one more obedient and ready for

all service, I conclude by kissing your eminence's hand with the utmost humility and reverence.

From Rouen, the 16th of November 1566.

Your eminence's humble and affectionate servant,

WILLIAM, BISHOP OF DUNBLANE.]

No. 82

THE BISHOP OF MONDOVI TO THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA

Inghilterra, I. A, fol. 14 b.

[*Paris*, 18 *November* 1566]

Da Parigi, alli xviii di Novembre, M.D.LXVI.

[1] Ho ricevuta la lettera di V. S. Ill^ma^ delli xxviii del passato; in risposta della quale dirò solamente che circa i danari che Nostro Signore si degnò impiegare per le cose della Religione in Scotia, si sono come ho già scritto, sborsati solamente iiii mila △ del rimanente io assicuro Sua Santità sopra la fede che debbo al Signor Iddio et a Sua Beatitudine, et sopra la mia vita propria, che non se ne darà un soldo che non sia in evidentissimo giovamente della Santa Religione Cattolica in quel regno, et con somma satisfattione di Nostro Signore, et spero fermamente con la divina gratia in questa mia cariga dare occasione a Sua Santità di non haversi mai a pentire della buona opinione et confidenza che s'è degnata havere nella persona mia.

[2] Di Scotia non essendo venuto dopo le mie lettere delli iiii et delli v altro corriero espresso, si fa certa cogiettura della sanità di quella Regina, et di già dalla Corte d'Inghilterra s'è ultimamente inteso che la detta Maiestà stava bene, et che s'era riconciliata con il marito, per la soverchia giovenezza del quale si sentiranno spesso discordie et riconcilationi tra loro, et massime che non mancano molti di quelli signori principali che per interesse proprio nutriscono volentieri simili dispareri tra la Regina et il Re, per tenerli più debboli. Dopo la nuova della convalescenza di Sua Maiestà seguendosi la delibberatione, che scrissi a V. S. Ill^ma^ havere presa con il Signor Cardinale di Lorena, s'è partito il Signor Vescovo Domblanense et il Patre Emondo, Scozzese della Compagnia di Giesù, verso Scotia, per

mezzo delli quali ho grandissima speranza dover fra poco tempo essere a pieno et con verità informato delle cose di quel regno, et di quello che si potrà sperare per rimettervi la santa Religione à gloria di Dio et di Sua Beatitudine, alla quale degnisi Sua divina Maiestà concedere lunghissima et felicissima vita, et alla S. V. Ill^ma^ ogni contento. Baciole riverentemente la mano.

[THE BISHOP of MONDOVI to the CARDINAL of ALESSANDRIA.

Paris, 18 *November* 1566.

[1] I HAVE received your lordship's letter of the 28th of the past month, in reply to which I will only say that in regard to the moneys that our lord the Pope was pleased to employ for the affairs of religion in Scotland, only four thousand scudi, as I wrote before, have been disbursed. For the remainder, I assure his Holiness upon the fidelity I owe to the Lord God and to him, and upon my own life, that not one *soldo* shall be spent, which shall not be to the most evident advantage of the holy Catholic religion in that kingdom, and give the utmost satisfaction to our lord the Pope; and I firmly hope, with the divine grace, in this my charge, never to give occasion to his Holiness to have to repent of his good opinion of me and the trust in me which he has deigned to entertain.

[2] No other special courier having come from Scotland since my letters of the 4th and the 5th, one may make a sure guess about the health of the queen, and already the last news from the English court is that her Majesty was well, and that she had been reconciled to her husband. On account of his extreme youth, one will often hear of discords and reconciliations between them, especially as there are not wanting many among the principal lords who, for their own interests, gladly nourish such differences between the queen and king, the better to keep them weak. After the news of her Majesty's convalescence, the plan I formed with the Lord Cardinal of Lorraine, as I wrote to your lordship, was followed, and the Bishop of Dunblane has started with Father Edmund, a Scot of the Company of Jesus, towards Scotland. Through their means I have great hopes of being in a short time amply and truthfully informed about the affairs of that kingdom, and of the hope one can have of restoring there the holy religion to the glory of God and of his Beatitude, to whom may His divine Majesty concede a very long and happy life, and to your lordship every satisfaction. I reverently kiss your hand.]

No. 83

THE BISHOP OF MONDOVI TO THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA

Inghilterra, I. A, fol. 15 b.

[*Paris*, 3 *December* 1566]

Da Parigi, alli iii. di Dicembre, M.D. LXVI.

[1] La Regina di Scotia ha finalmente mandato quà quel M. Stefano Vuilson, Scozzese, con ordine che debba venire a Roma per ringratiare Nostro Signore in nome di Sua Maiestà della buona et paterna voluntà che si degna portarle, e del soccorso mandatole con il Nuntio. Debbe anco scusare quella Maiestà appresso di Sua Santità non haverle fatto prima intendere la natività del Prencipe suo figliuolo, havendo voluto assicurarsi dai suoi popoli di potere in un medesimo tempo fare intendere à Sua Beatitudine con la temporale la natività spirituale; cioè che voglia et possa battezzarlo secondo il costume antico della Santa Chiesa Cattolica Romana.

[2] Subbito che il detto M. Stefano è arrivato qui, persuadendosi per essere il tempo contrario di navigare da Francia in Scotia, che il Vescovo Domblanense non si sia ancora potuto partire da Diepe, è ito a trovarlo là, e havendo tardato già presso a xii. giorni a tornarsene qua, mi fa credere che habbia trovato il detto Vescovo ancora in Diepe, et massime che il tempo non s'è acconcio per quella navigatione, eccetto da quattro o cinque giorni in quà. Il medesimo Stefano m'ha portate tre lettere della detta Regina; l'una in latino delli ix. et l'altra in Francese, tutta scritta di suo pugno, delli xvi. d'ottobre et la terza pure in Francese del primo di Novembre; delle quali mando le copie alla S. V. Ill^{ma}, per le quali la Maiestà Sua fa instantia et mi sollecita che me ne vadi a trovarla; io ancorchè sià in ordine per partirmi, nondimeno a maggior sicurezza non posso mancare d'aspettare il ritorno del padre Emondo, Scozzese; et massime che la Regina nella lettera che mi scrive di suo pugno, scusandosi di non havermi chiamato prima, dice che non ha potuto assicurarsi dei suoi sudditi, et che finalmente ha trovata obedienza in loro (cio è che essi acconsentino di ricevermi sotto altro colore che di Religione), il qual colore

io non ho potuto intendere nè dall' Ambasciatore di Scotia nè dal detto Stefano.

[3] S'aggionge a questo che havendo il Signor Cardinale di Lorena, sicome scrissi alla S. V. Ill^ma^, mandato un suo gentilhuomo espresso per persuadere quella Maiestà a pigliare una risolutione giudicata da S. S. Ill^ma^ stessa, et dall' Ambasciatore sudetto, dal Vescovo Domblanense e dal detto P. Emondo, e da tutti i buoni Cattolici necessaria per accommodare le cose della Santa Religione in quel regno, sua Maiestà non l'ha trovata buona, ma desidera grandemente parlare con me, sicome la S. V. Ill^ma^ può considerare il tutto dalla copia della lettera d'esso signor Cardinale in risposta d'una mia, della quale mando anco l'allegata copia. E perciò che i detti Ambasciatore, Vescovo Domblanense e P. Emondo m'hanno affermato non trovarsi rimedio per hora, eccetto quello che fu proposto dal detto Signor Cardinale, et non essendosi trovato buono dalla Regina, mi fa dubbitare o che il detto Signor Cardinale forse non habbia usata quella efficacia che si conviene in simil negotio per persuadere la Regina, overo che quella Maiestà habbia altro fine, o che l'intenda bene, ma altrimente, et massime che per potersi eseguire questo utilissimo et prudente consiglio, io in nome di Nostro Signore m'offersi dare alcuni aiuti necessari, per tutti questi rispetti io aspettero il ritorno d'esso Padre Emondo, per mezzo del quale spero al sicuro intendere fedelmente tutto quello che si può sperare in questo negotio per servitio della Santa Religione Cattolica.

[4] Io intanto ho data speranza al Cardinal de Lorena et all'Ambasciatore di mettermi in ordine per far il viaggio, et di già l'Ambasciatore in nome della sua Regina ha incominciato a tentare con l'Ambasciatore di Spagna qui, che scriva all'Ambasciatore suo compagno in Inghilterra, et che v'interponghi l'autorità del Re Cattolico per farmi havere il salvo condotto da quella Regina acciò che possa fare il camino per Inghilterra. Io mi risolverò poi d'andare per qualunche via potrò, non ostante qualunque pericolo, pure che dal ragguaglio del detto Padre abbià speranza di poter fare qualche buon servitio per la santa fede Cattolica, in salute di quel popolo secondo la piissima et santissima intentione di Sua Beatitudine.

[5] Ho havuto medesimamente la risposta della mia lettera

che mandai insieme con la lettera di V. S. Ill^ma^ et con le sante Indulgentie al Signor Arcivescovo di Sant' Andrea, et di questa risposta fatta in caratteri oltramontani e difficili a leggere, mando la copia alla S. V. Ill^ma^, per la quale si può ben comprendere la pietà et il buon zelo di quel Prelato, e l'Ambasciatore qui m'afferma che gli altri Vescovi, levatine due o tre, non sono punto inferiori a lui di buona voluntà.

[6] Dopo che il prefato Vuilson sarà qui tornato da Diepe, non dovrà tardar molto di venirsene subbito a Roma ad eseguire quello che gli è stato comandato dalla sua Regina appresso di Nostro Signore, che e quanto per hora m'occorre dire alla S. V. Ill^ma^, baciandole riverentemente la mano e pregando il Signor Iddio che con la lunga e felicissima vita di Sua Beatitudine conceda a lei il compimento dei suoi santi et honestissimi desiderij.

[THE BISHOP of MONDOVI to the CARDINAL of ALESSANDRIA.

Paris, 3 *December* 1566.

[1] THE Queen of Scotland has finally sent here M. Stephen Wilson, a Scotsman, with orders to go to Rome to thank our lord the Pope, in the name of her Majesty, for the kind and paternal affection he has for her, and for the subsidy sent with the nuncio. He must also make excuse to his Holiness for not announcing sooner the birth of the prince her son. She wished first to make sure of her people, so as to be able at one and the same time to announce his spiritual with his temporal birth; that is to say, her wish and power to baptize him according to the ancient custom of the holy Catholic and Roman Church.

[2] As soon as the said M. Stephen arrived here, believing that on account of the weather, which was unfavourable for sailing from France to Scotland, the Bishop of Dunblane was still detained at Dieppe, he went to see him there, and as he has delayed his return now nearly twelve days, it makes me believe that he found the bishop still at Dieppe, especially as the weather has not been suitable for sailing, except the last four or five days. The same Stephen has brought to me three letters of the said queen, one in Latin, of the 9th, and another in French, all written in her own hand, of the 16th of October, and the third also in French, of the 1st of November. Of these I send copies to your lordship. In them her Majesty urges me with instance to come and see her. For my part, although I am ready to go, yet for greater security I wait for the return of Father Edmund, the Scot, especially as the queen in the letter which she has written to me in her own hand, excusing herself for not calling me sooner, says that she was not able to assure herself

about her subjects, but that at last she finds them obedient, that is, they consent to receive me under some other colour than that of religion. What that colour is to be I cannot make out either from the ambassador of Scotland or from the said Stephen.

[3] Add to this that the Lord Cardinal of Lorraine, as I wrote to your lordship, having sent one of his gentlemen to her Majesty to persuade her to take a resolution, which was judged necessary by his lordship himself, by the ambassador, by the Bishop of Dunblane, and by Father Edmund, and by all good Catholics, in order to put matters of holy religion to rights in that kingdom, her Majesty did not consent to it, but much desires to speak with me. Your eminence will be able to see and understand all from the copy of the letter of the lord cardinal in answer to mine, of which also I send a copy herewith. And since the said ambassador, the Bishop of Dunblane, and Father Edmund have assured me there was no remedy for the present, except what was proposed by the lord cardinal and not found good by the queen, I begin to fear, either that the said lord cardinal did not use all the urgency needed to convince the queen in such a matter, or that her Majesty has another end in view, or that she has good intentions, but different [from ours]. Finally, and above all, it was to execute this useful and prudent counsel that I, in the name of our lord the Pope, offered to give some necessary aids. For all these reasons I shall await the return of Father Edmund, through whom I hope for sure to be faithfully informed of all that is to be expected in this matter for the service of the holy Catholic religion.

[4] Meanwhile I have given hopes to the Cardinal of Lorraine, and to the ambassador, that I am preparing for the journey, and already the ambassador, in his queen's name, has opened negotiations with the ambassador of Spain here, to write to his colleague the ambassador in England, to use the influence of the King of Spain to enable me to have a safe-conduct from the Queen of England that I may make the journey through England. I am determined to go by any route open to me, in spite of every danger, if only from the said father's report I can gather any hope of being able to do good service to the holy Catholic faith, for the salvation of that people, according to the most pious and holy intention of his Holiness.

[5] I have also received the answer to my letter which I sent, along with the letter of your eminence and the holy indulgences, to Monsignor the Archbishop of St. Andrews. Of this answer, written in northern (*oltramontani*) characters, difficult to read, I send a copy to your eminence, from which you will clearly understand the piety and zealous goodness of that prelate. The ambassador here assures me that the other bishops, with two or three exceptions, are no wise inferior to him in good-will.

[6] After the aforesaid Wilson has returned here from Dieppe, he should not delay long before going directly to Rome, to transact, with

our lord the Pope, what has been committed to him by his queen. This is all that occurs to me to say at present to your eminence. Kissing reverently your hand, etc., etc.]

No. 84

THE MISSION OF STEPHEN WILSON

I. John Beaton left Paris on 9 September, carrying moneys due from Mary's dowry and the first instalment of the Papal subsidy (*supra*, No. 72, § 1.) He arrived at Stirling on the 22nd (Keith, ii. 448, but Labanoff and Teulet, i. 374, and ii. 289, respectively, give the name as Sethon). He would have taken with him Laureo's exhortations (*infra*, No. 117, § 3), and apparently also some letters which Laureo had brought with him from Rome, perhaps Pius v.'s letter of 6 June 1566.

II. On 6 October the Privy Council sanctioned a grant of money to provide for the ceremonies of the baptism of the prince (*Register of Privy Council*, p. 485), and from the second head of Wilson's instructions (*infra*) it seems clear that the nobles on that occasion agreed to allow the nuncio to enter. Bishop Leslie's recollections of this episode (Forbes-Leith, *Narratives*, p. 115) are very confused, and inaccurate in detail.

III. 9 October, Mary sent letters by Stephen Wilson to summon the nuncio and explain her position in religious matters to the Pope. Her letter to the nuncio of this date seems to be lost, that to Cardinal Moroni is given below, that to the Pope is printed in Labanoff (*Recueil*, i. 369, and Jebb, ii. 51). In it she thanks him for his letters, his succour, and his nuncio, whom she is now having escorted to Scotland, where he will be received and treated with all honour. Her messenger will inform him about her new-born son, for whose baptism, according to the Catholic rite, she has obtained the consent of her nobles *non sine magna difficultate*. She hopes that this baptism may be the harbinger of the return to Catholic observances.

IV. The following letter was originally in the Marucelliana Library at Florence (Cod. C. 73, fol. 134), but during the Napoleonic wars was cut out of its place, and a copy of the time inserted in its stead. It then passed into the hands of a French autograph hunter, whose collection has been bought by the British Museum, where the original is now preserved (Egerton, vol. xxiii. fol. 72). The signature is autograph, the paper-mark a hand and star, the seal is gone.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS TO CARDINAL MORONI

[*Edinburgh*, 9 *October* 1566]

REVERENDISSIME ET ILLUSTRISSIME DÑE,—Perlatae fuerunt ad nos Litterae tuae ex quibus intelleximus obfirmam Summi

Pontificis erga nos voluntatem, eumque in hac opinione constantissime persistere, ut omnes vires suas in nostrum et totius reipublicae Christianae commodum et sublevamen libentissimo animo conferat. Quod quidem faelix faustumque nuncium dici non potest quantum nobis laetitiae atque jucunditatis attulerit. Tibi vero persuasum habeas nos nihil prius aut potius habere, quam ut sanctam religionem nostram a nobis et huius regni primoribus constantissime observatam, nostro tamen aevo quorundam hominum malitia pene subversam ad suum pristinum nitorem quibuscunque possimus mediis reducamus. Quantum autem difficultatis et periculi hoc negotium nobis attulerit, aliorum sit iudicium. Nos certe decrevimus in vita, communem hanc causam, Dei Opt. Max. gratia et sanctissimi Dñi Nri. liberalitate, quoad poterimus, virili et intrepido animo tueri atque defendere. Non possumus etiam non laudare tuam erga nos satis propensam benevolentiam, eamque diligentiam quam summa cum sollicitudine in nostrorum negotiorum procuratione apud Sanctitatem suam adhibueris, a te etiam instanter petimus, cum consilio et favore plurimum valeas, nobis in tam sancta causa non desis. De nobis autem Ill^ma^ Dominatio tua sibi ea omnia polliceatur, quae a Regina pietati cuivis addictissima expectari possunt. Interim familiarem nostrum Stephanum Wilsonem ad Sanctissimum misimus, qui C. V. et Regni nostri et rei publicae statum, nostrum quoque erga te benevolum animum declarabit, cui in rebus nostris istic agendis fidem habeas. Vale diuque faelix superstes sis. Edimburgi septimo idus Octobris 1566.

E. D. V. Amica ex animo addictissima, MARIA. R̃.

[*Addressed*] Reuerendissimo et illustrissimo Dño, D. Cardinali Morono, consanguineo ñro, etc.

[*Endorsed*] Non si rispose, ne bisognava.

[MARY QUEEN of SCOTS to CARDINAL MORONI.

Edinburgh, 9 *October* 1566.

MOST REVEREND AND ILLUSTRIOUS LORD,—Your letter has been delivered to us, and from it we have learnt the constant favour of the Supreme Pontiff in our regard, and that he perseveres unswervingly in this resolve, that he will most gladly spend all his resources for the good and assist-

selves and of the whole Christian commonwealth. This like a good omen, has brought us more joy and consolation — we can say. For yourself, be persuaded that we esteem it a duty, second and inferior to none, to bring back to its ancient glory, by all the means we can, that holy religion of ours which used to be so steadfastly observed by ourselves and by our predecessors on this throne, but which has in our time, by the malice of some, been brought almost to ruin. To estimate the greatness of the difficulty and danger which this our course has brought upon us is a task we leave to others. Our resolve assuredly is to guard and defend the common cause whilst we live with virile, fearless courage, with the aid of God's grace and his Holiness' liberality.

Again, we cannot but praise your friendliness so readily extended towards us, and the diligence and great solicitude which you use in forwarding our affairs at his Holiness' court, and we earnestly pray you, who by your suggestions and influence can do so much, not to fail us in this holy cause. On your side your lordship may promise yourself that we shall do everything that can be looked for from a queen entirely devoted to her religious duties.

Meanwhile we have sent to his Holiness our servant Stephen Wilson, who will make plain to you the position of our power and of our state, and our affection in [your] regard. You may trust to him in the management of our affairs there. Farewell. May you live long and happily!

From Edinburgh, 9 October 1566.

Your eminence's heartily devoted friend, MARIE R.

[*Addressed and Endorsed*] No necessity for an answer.]

v. INSTRUCTIONS.—The reproduction of these instructions from the original at the British Museum (Add. Manuscripts 23, 108, fol. 18) is warranted by their importance for our present purpose, and the extreme rarity (fifty copies only) of the publication in which they have been printed. There are also some serious faults of transcription in this edition.—*Maitland's Narrative . . . and other documents relating to the history of Mary, Queen of Scots*, by W. S. F. [William Stevenson Fitch], *n.d.* [? 1842], 4to, sig. L. In the original the signature is autograph, and the paper-mark a hand and star.

INSTRUCTIONIS OF YE QUENIS MA$_{TEIS}$ TO MASTER STEWIN WILSONE, to be done in ye partis of France and Italie [1566, *added in later hand*].

[1] IN YE FIRST At zour cuming to Pareis ze sall shaw to my Lord of Glascow our ambassator yat we haif send zow in spetiall to ye Papis Halienes for declaratione of our gude mynd

and constancie in ye catholic religioñe, and to mak adverteisment of ye nativitie of our sone ye prince and of his bapteme, and als to declare our mynd to ye nunce by his advyse as eftir followis.

[2] ITEM—Ze sall declair to ye Papis halienes nunce the cause of the delaying to send him answer of his wreting send to ws Quhilk was in spetiall becaus we behuiffit to mak ane conventioñe of the nobilitie, and to declare wnto yame of the cuming of ye Papis legat, according to ye lawis of our realme quhilk prescryvis yat na legat be [admitted] without ye estaitis be certifeit of before, and thare consentis requyrit yairto. Quhilk conventioñe for yat and ye bapteme of ye prince and utheris causis was halden at Edinburgh in ye begynning of october last, and thairin yair consentis obtenit yairto.

[3] ITEM—Ze sall declair our gude mynd towart ye Papis halienes and our constancie in ye catholic religioñe, and to ye effect yat ye nunce ma knaw ye same be experience desyris him effecteouslie to tak ye pains to cum within our realme with sic diligens as he ma judge[1] ye mast swer way be ye conwoy of ye Bischop of Dumblane and ye Abot of Dumfermlene. And we think ye mast swer and rediest way salbe be Flanders. Notwithstanding referris that to ye jugement and consideratioñe of ye Bischop of Glascow our ambassator in France and to ye Bischop of Dumblane, etc.

[4] ITEM—Ze sall requyre my Lord of Dunblane in our name and the Abot of Dunfermling to beir ye Paipis halienes Nunce cumpany in his Jurnay towart ws in ye mast swer maner as thai think best, And assuir my Lord of Dunblane that he salbe weil recompansit and satifeit for all his pains.

[5] ITEM—At zour cumming to Rome ze sall present our wretingis to ye Paipis halienes and schaw ye occasione of zour cumming is to declare our gude mynd will and constancie towart ye Catholic religioune and the obedience of ye seit apostolic, and siclyk yat ze schaw of the nativitie of our sone and of his bapteme, and yat ye occasione that we deferrit sa lang to send answre was quille we suld conclude with our nobilitie ye forme of ye bapteme to be in the auld maner.

[1] In MS. 'gudlie.'

[6] ITEM—Ye sall schaw ye Paipis halienes that we haif send for his Nunce and to schaw ye caus that he was nocht send for sonar as is abone writtin.

[7] ITEM—To recomend ws to ye College of Cardinalis, thankand thame of ye gude affectione thai bair towart ws and our effairis, Assurand thame godwilling that we sall do gud will to satisfie ye expectatione that yai haif of ws. And salbe willand to do yame sic service[1] and plesour at all tymis as lyis in our possibilitie.

[8] ITEM—Ze sall mak our hartlie comendatione to ye Ambassator of Spanzie at Lundon thankan him of his kyndnes he berris towart us and our effairis at al tymis. Assuirand him we salbe willing to recompans the same quhen occasione sall serve. Als ze sall schaw him of our seiknes quhilk we haif hed schortlie at the plesour of God and in quhat maner we disponit our selfis for God makand first our confessione, and yairefter usand all uther things quhilkis ar institutit by ye Catholic Kirk for salvatione of man and woman. Als causit our master Almosar pas to the mes and pray for ws in our utir extremitie. Thir premissis with wyir things quhilk ze knaw we usit ze sall declair to him at lenth desyrand him to mak adverteisment yairof to ye mast Catholic King his Master and to all uthers quhilkis he thinkis expedient, Lykmaner assurand him be the grace of God so lang as we leif we sall observe and keip and manteine the ancient religione to ye wtirmast of our possibilitie and sall rather los our lyf and realme, or we los ye same, as ze sall declair to him be wourd at mair lenth, Quhence we haif desyrit to gif zow credit in our wretings direct to him, and yat he credeit no wther report maid in the contrair quhatsumevir.

MARIE R̃.

VI. Shortly after the signing of these letters Mary started for Jedburgh, leaving orders (mentioned by du Croc in a postscript of 15 October, Keith, ii. 452) that the despatch of the letters written before she left Edinburgh should be delayed. On the 16th, the day after her ride to the Hermitage, she wrote the second letter to Laureo, which is also lost.

[1] In MS., 'sled.' The scribe (evidently a careless fellow) probably had 'ſrvice' in his draft.

VII. The queen's sharp and serious illness which followed again prevented Wilson from starting. On 1 November (*Foreign Calendar*, No. 781) she applies for a passport through England, and writes the third letter to Laureo. The last clause of Wilson's instructions, which are written in different ink, would also have been added at this time, if, as is likely, the previous clauses had been written sooner.

VIII. 13 November. Guzman de Silva, Spanish ambassador in London, received and sent on to King Philip the message, which Wilson was instructed to deliver (*Spanish Calendar*, p. 597).

IX. Wilson arrived in Paris about the 20th of November, and returned to Dieppe to find the Bishop of Dunblane, who had crossed him on the road. He was probably successful in this, as the bishop did not sail till the 3rd of December (Appendix iii., 42). On 15 December Wilson was starting from Paris for Rome, where he arrived before the 20th of January 1567 (*infra*, Nos. 86 and 92).

No. 85

THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA TO THE BISHOP OF MONDOVI

Polonia, 171, fol. 7.

[*Rome*, 9 *December* 1566]

MOLTO REV^{O} MONS^{RE}, COME FRATELLO,—Ho ricevuto tre lettere di V. S. R. del mese passato, cioè de iiii., v. et xviii., insieme con due copie di lettere scritte al Vescovo Domblan, et una a Mons^{r} di Glasgo, gli avisi delle quali son piacciuti grandemente a N. S^{re} per la ferma speranza che ci davano della salute di quella Ser^{ma} regina, la quale piaccia al Signor Dio di conservar in quel regno a questi tempi, per diffension et augumento della sua fede Catolica et per beneficio universale di quelle anime. In che V. S. R. ancora dovrà spender il suo talento, venendo il caso ch' ella vi possa giongere a salvamento et con satisfattion di quella Maiestà, come si ha da credere per tutti i rispetti che debba succedere alla fine, et come si aspetta ancor d'intendere con le prime sue che sia successo, potendosi giudicar questo facilmente dagli ultimi avisi suoi. Il che quando non segua per qualche nuovo impedimento, che il S^{or} Dio non voglia per sua bontà, V. S. R. si dovrà governar in quel caso

secondo le commissioni havute prima nelle mie precedenti, alle quali rimettendomi per hora, non mi occorre dirle altro con questa che offerirmi allei di continuo con questo fine che 'l S^{or} Dio la conservi come desidera.

Di Roma a ix di Decembre MDLXVI.

D. V. S. molto R. come fratello, IL CARD^{LE} ALES^{NO}

[*Addressed as before.*]

[*Endorsed*] Ric^{ta} in Parigi alli 28 d^{o}.

[THE CARDINAL of ALESSANDRIA to the BISHOP of MONDOVI.

Rome, 9 December 1566.

VERY REVEREND MONSIGNOR, etc.,—I have received three letters from you of the past month, that is, of the 4th, 5th and 18th, together with two copies of letters written to the Bishop of Dunblane, and one to Monsignor of Glasgow, the news of which greatly pleased our lord the Pope, on account of the firm hope they gave us of the health of that queen, whom may it please the Lord God to preserve in that kingdom for these times, for the defence and increase of His Catholic faith, and for the universal benefit of those souls. In which [cause] your reverend lordship will also have [to exert yourself] as skilfully as you can, in case you are able to get there safely and with her Majesty's satisfaction. This, one should hope, from all one sees, ought to take place eventually, and we expect to hear by your next letters that it has taken place. Your last advices enable us to make this forecast without difficulty. If this should not come to pass through some new impediment, which may God in His goodness not will, your reverence will have to conduct yourself in that case according to the orders received before in my preceding letters, to which referring myself for the present, there is nothing more for me to say to you in this, except to offer myself to you constantly to this end, that the Lord God preserve you as you desire.

From Rome the 9th of December 1566.

Come fratello, etc., THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA.

[*Endorsed*] Received in Paris on the 28th ditto.

No. 86

THE BISHOP OF MONDOVI TO THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA

Inghilterra, I. A, fol. 17.

[*Paris*, 15 *December* 1566]

Da Parigi, alli xv di Decembre M.D.LXVI.

Ancor che io mi persuada che V. S. Ill^ma^ habbia ricevuta la ultima mia delli iii del presente, con la copia d'alcune lettere scrittemi dalla Regina di Scotia et d'altri, nondimeno venendo a Roma M. Stefano Vuilson, mandato da quella Maiestà a Nostro Signore, ho per maggior cautela voluto mandar' alla S. V. Ill^ma^ il dupplicato di detto spaccio delli iii, et in oltre la copia delle Instruttioni di detto Stefano sottoscritte dalla Regina, affinchè Sua Santità consideri la buona mente di quella Maiestà più chiaramente et più a pieno di quello che il prefato Stefano, per non essere molto pronto nella lengua Italiana et Latina, le potria per aventura esprimere; havendosi consideratione che non saria a proposito che esso Stefano potesse accorgersi di questo. Haverà anco V. S. Ill^ma^ con questa la lettera che m'ha scritto di Diepe Monsignor il Vescovo Domblanense, il quale per il vento contrario non si potè imbarcare con il Padre Emondo eccetto alli iii di Decembre; et perciò che il tempo è stato dopo molti giorni prospero per quella navigatione, si ha speranza grande che siano arrivati in quella isola x giorni sono; talche si potria in breve ricever lettere da loro o havere l'istesso P^re^ Emondo, che hebbe in commissione ritornarsene subbito che sia bene informato dell' animo di Sua Maiestà et delle cose di quel regno, le quali esso potrà benissimo intendere in pochi giorni con la intelligenza che ha di quella corte, io non dubito punto che Sua Beatitudine con la solita prudenza e benignissima pietà sua si degnerà con questa occasione confermare et accresciere la buona voluntà et il santo zelo di quella Regina verso la Religione Cattolica.

Non ho mancato far intendere alla Maiestà sua d'haver per parte di Nostro Signore portati con me alcuni Agnus Dei, per presentarli in nome di Sua Beatitudine et a Sua Maiestà et al Prencipe suo figliuolo quando sarò in quella Corte, et perciochè

nella lettera che la Regina mi scrisse di suo pugno mi prega che io raccomandi a sua Santità il negotio della speditione del Designato Rossense,[1] non havendomene di questo ragionato, o fatto instantia il detto Vuilsone, mi fa credere che esso habbia qualche altra commissione che non si contiene nelle dette Instruttioni; pure io non posso darne alla Santità sua altro ragguaglio delle qualità sue, eccetto quello che me ne scrive di suo pugno la detta Regina. Quando mi trovassi sul luogo, potrei esserne testimonio de visu.

Dopo havere scritta la presente ho ricevuta la lettera di V. S. Ill^ma^ dei xxv del passato, in risposta della quale le dirò solamente che mi sforzerò sempre mai, con l'aiuto di Dio, conformarmi in questa negotiatione, et in ogn' altra cosa che le piacerà commandarmi, alla santissima intentione et ordine di Sua Beatitudine, la quale piaccia à sua Divina Maiestà per ben publico conservare lunghissimamente et concedere alla S. V. Ill^ma^ ogni felicità. Baciole riverentemente la mano.

[The Bishop of Mondovi to the Cardinal of Alessandria.

Paris, 15 *December* 1566.

Although I am sure your eminence has received my last letter of the 3rd of the present month, with the copies of some letters written by the Queen of Scotland and by others, nevertheless as M. Stephen Wilson is coming to Rome, sent by her Majesty to our lord the Pope, I have thought well to send you for greater precaution the duplicate of the despatch of the 3rd, and besides this, a copy of the said Stephen's Instructions, subscribed by the queen, wherein his Holiness may consider the good meaning of her Majesty more clearly and more completely than the said Stephen could perchance express it to him, he not being very quick in the Italian and Latin tongues. You will take into consideration that it would not be opportune that he, Stephen, should be made sensible of this.

Your eminence will also have the letter that the Bishop of Dunblane wrote to me from Dieppe. On account of the contrary wind he was not able to embark with Father Edmund until the 3rd of December, but as the weather has been for many days since favourable for that voyage, there is great hope that they arrived in that island ten days ago; so that we might soon receive letters from them, and have Father Edmund

[1] For the business of the designate of Ross, see Keith, *History*, iii. 289. His formal succession to the bishopric was not in fact expedited till 1575, through Cardinal Pellevè.—Maziere Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, i. 147.

back. He received orders to return as soon as he was well informed of the mind of her Majesty and of the affairs of the kingdom, about which, with the knowledge he has of that court, he will be quite well able to form his opinion in a few days. I do not at all doubt but that his Holiness, with his usual prudence and benign piety, will deign on this occasion to confirm and increase the goodwill and holy zeal of that queen towards the Catholic religion.

I have not failed to let her Majesty know that I have brought with me, on the part of our lord the Pope, some Agnus Dei, to present them in his name to her and to the prince her son, when I shall be in that court. As in the letter that the queen wrote to me with her own hand, she prays me to recommend to his Holiness the 'expedition' of the bishop designate of Ross,[n] and as the said Wilson has not spoken to me of this, or made any demand about it, it makes me believe that he has some other orders besides those contained in the said instructions. However, I cannot give his Holiness any other account of his qualifications, except that which the queen writes to me with her own hand. When I shall be on the spot, I could give testimony as an eyewitness.

After having written the present letter I have received your eminence's of the 25th of the past month, in answer to which I will only say that I will always and ever exert myself, with God's help, to conform myself in this negotiation and in everything else that it shall please you to command me, to the intention and order of his Holiness, whom for the public good may it please His divine Majesty long to preserve, and to concede to your eminence every happiness. I reverently kiss your hand.]

No. 87

THE BISHOP OF MONDOVI TO THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA

Inghilterra, I. A, fol. 18.

[*Paris*, 26 *December* 1566]

Da Parigi alli xxvi. di Decembre, M.D. LXVI.

HAVENDO alli xv. di questo per M. Stephano Vuilsone scritto a V. S. Ill^ma^ di quello che occorreva delle cose di Scotia, non ho hora occasione darle altro aviso eccetto che dipoi s'è inteso che quella Regina s'era alquanto risentita del suo male, ma tuttavia si rifrancava et che doveva presto avviarsi a Strivelin per celebrare alli xv. sudetti il battesimo del Principe suo figliolo. Et non essendo per ancora qui comparso Mons^r^ di Muretta, destinato a questo offitio per il Serenissimo Duca di Savoia,

l'ambasciatore di Scotia si persuade che la Maiestà sua sia sforzata fare questa santa cerimonia senza di esso Signor di Muretta, per non tenere a disagio gli altri Signori compari, i quali erano di già arrivati in quella corte molti giorni sono, il Conte di Brienna in nome del Re Christianissimo, con un presente d'un filzo et pendaglio di diamanti di valuta di iiii in v^{m} $\triangle^{ti}$ et il Conte di Bedforte per la Regina d'Inghilterra, con una fonte d'oro, che si stima da viii. in viiii^{m} $\triangle^{ti}$. Io sto aspettando di giorno in giorno il ritorno del Patre Emondo, overo qualche nuova di Mons^{r} Dumblanense et di lui, che non dovrà tardar molto o l'uno o l'altro, per potermi risolvere a eseguire quello che conoscerò essere il servitio di Dio et di S. B^{ne} alla quale sua Divina Maiestà si degne concedere le buone feste et il felicissimo principio dell' anno, et alla S. V. Ill^{ma} ogni contento et prosperità.

[The Bishop of Mondovi to the Cardinal of Alessandria.

Paris, 26 December 1566.

Having written to your eminence on the 15th of this month, through M. Stephen Wilson, of what was happening in the affairs of Scotland, I cannot at present give you any further news, except that we afterwards heard that the queen had again felt somewhat of her illness, but that all the same she was getting stronger, and was soon to start for Stirling to celebrate on the 15th the baptism of the prince her son. Monsignor di Moretta, who has been appointed by the most serene Duke of Savoy, not having yet made his appearance here, the ambassador of Scotland thinks that her Majesty was obliged to perform this holy ceremony without him, in order not to inconvenience the other godfathers who had already arrived in that court many days ago: the Count of Brienne, in the name of the Most Christian King, with the present of a chain and a pendant of diamonds of the value of four to five thousand scudi; and the Count of Bedford, for the Queen of England, with a font of gold, which is valued at from eight to nine thousand scudi. I am waiting from day to day the return of Father Edmund (or else some news of him), and the Bishop of Dunblane, for either one or the other cannot be far off now, to be able to decide upon executing that which I shall know to be for the service of God and of his Holiness, to whom may His divine Majesty deign to concede happy feasts and a most happy new year, and to your eminence all contentment and prosperity.]

No. 88

THE BISHOP OF MONDOVI TO THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA

Inghilterra I. A, fol. 18 b.

[*Paris*, 30 *December* 1566]

Da Parigi, alli xxx. di Decembre M.D. LXVI.

Dopo l'ultima lettera che io scrissi a V. S. Ill^ma^ delli xxvi. di questo, s'e inteso per lettere delli xviii. mandate a queste Maiestà dal loro ambasciatore in Inghilterra, che alli xii. fu celebrato il battesimo del Prencipe di Scotia nella capella regia di Strivelin, secondo il costume antico della Santa Chiesa Cattolica Romana, et che quella Regina per gratia di Dio s'era assai bene rihavuta di quel poco risentimento di male che hebbe; et io subbito che haverò il ragguaglio che aspetto dal Padre Emondo, Scozzese. Non mancherò di eseguire intieramente l'ordine che piacque alla S. V. Ill^ma^ darmi con l'altre sue, et che hora si degna ricordarmi con la lettera delli ix. alla quale non occorrendomi rispondere altro, bacio riverentemente la mano di V. S. Ill^ma^ et prego la divina Maiestà che con lunga et prospera sanità di Nostro Signore conceda a lei somma felicità.

[The Bishop of Mondovi to the Cardinal of Alessandria.

Paris, 30 *December* 1566.

After the last letter I wrote to your lordship on the 26th of this month, it has been heard through a letter of the 18th sent to their Majesties by their ambassador in England, that the Prince of Scotland's baptism was celebrated on the 12th in the royal chapel of Stirling, according to the ancient custom of the holy Catholic Roman Church, and that the queen, by the grace of God, had very well recovered from the slight relapse of illness she had had; and I, as soon as I have the information I await from Father Edmund, the Scot, will not fail to execute in its entirety the order which it pleased your lordship to give me in previous letters, and which you now deign to recall to my mind in your letters of the 9th. Having nothing more to answer thereto, I reverently kiss your lordship's hand, etc.]

No. 89

THE BISHOP OF MONDOVI TO THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA

Inghilterra, I. A, fol. 18 b.

[*Paris*, 4 *January* 1566-7]

Alli iiii. di Gennaro del lxvii. da Parigi.

L'AMBASCIATORE del Re Christianissimo in Inghilterra dopo havere scritto delli xviii. del passato alla M. S. che alli xii. del medesimo s'era celebrato il battesimo del Principe di Scotia, ha dato ultimamente aviso per lettere dei xxv. à sua Maiestà che il prefato battesimo si tenne per fatto alli xii., ma dopo s'intese che era differito alli xviii., che fu cagione che havendo io data a V. S. Ill^ma^ la prima nuova sia hora constretto darle questa seconda, per la quale V. S. Ill^ma^ può congietturare che sicome quel paese è inconstante, cosi le nuove che vengono di là sono varie, talche si puo sperare che Mons^r^ di Muretta, che gionse qui quattro di sono, debba forse arrivare a tempo per assistere in quella santa ceremonia in nome del serenissimo Duca di Savoia. Che è quanto m'occorre per hora scrivere a V. S. Ill^ma^. Baciandole humilissimamente la mano, et pregando di continuo il Signor Iddio per la felicità di Nostro Signore et prosperità di lei.

[THE BISHOP of MONDOVI to the CARDINAL of ALESSANDRIA.

Paris, 4 *January* 1566-7.

THE ambassador in England of the Most Christian King, after having written on the 18th of last month to his Majesty that the Prince of Scotland's baptism had been celebrated on the 12th of the same month, has lately given notice to his Majesty by a letter of the 25th, that the said baptism was believed to have been on the 12th, but they afterwards heard that it was put off until the 18th, which is the reason that, having given your lordship the first news, I am now obliged to give you this further information. You may assure yourself that, as that country is inconstant, so the news that comes thence is various. It may therefore be hoped that Monsignor di Moretta, who arrived here four days ago, may perhaps be in time to assist at the holy ceremony in the name of the Duke of Savoy. This is all I have to write to your eminence at present. Most humbly kissing your hand, etc.]

No. 90

THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA TO THE BISHOP OF MONDOVI

Polonia, 171, fol. 8.

[*Rome*, 6 *January* 1566-7]

MOLTO REV^O MONS^R, COME FRATELLO,—Con la lettera ultima di V. S. R. de iii del passato ho ricevuto tre copie di lettere della regina di Scotia scritte a lei, et di una di Mons^r di S^to Andrea, et similmente di una sua a Mons^r Ill^mo di Lorena con la risposta sua, per le quali N. S^re ha potuto veder molto chiaramente la sua molta diligentia, et il desiderio giuntamente di quella Maestà dell' andata di V. S. R. in Scotia, la quale si potrà hoggimai intendere con le prime che sia seguita felicemente con l' aiuto del S^r Dio, se pur sarà ritornato quel padre Emondo a salvamento, ch'ella mostrava d'aspettare in questa sua medesima lettera, alla quale non occorre ch'io dia per hora più lunga risposta, aspettando più presto saper dallei qualche altra nuova del suo viaggio che possa esser grata a N. S^re, et della mia similmente de ix del passato. Con che facendo fine allei mi offero di continuo ch'l Signor Dio la conservi.

Di Roma à vi di Gennaro del lxvii.

Di V. S. molto R., come fratello, IL CAR^LE ALES^NO.

[*Addressed as before.*]

[*Endorsed*] Ric^ta alli 24 del medesimo in Parigi. La ricevuta delle lettere della regina, et che essendo tornato il padre Emondo, se ne vadi all' isola.

[THE CARDINAL of ALESSANDRIA to the BISHOP of MONDOVI.

Rome, 6 *January* 1566-7.

MOST REVEREND MONSIGNOR, ETC.,—I have received, together with your lordship's last letter of the 3rd of the past month, three copies of the Queen of Scotland's letters written to you, and of one of the Archbishop of Saint Andrews, and likewise of one of yours to the Lord Cardinal of Lorraine, with his answer. By these our lord the Pope has been able to see very clearly your great diligence, and in addition her Majesty's desire for your going into Scotland. Now at last we may hear by your next letters that the journey has been happily accomplished with the aid

of God our Lord, supposing that Father Edmund, whom you say in your letter that you expect, has returned in safety. It is not necessary for me to write more fully now. Indeed I am waiting to hear from you some further news of your journey, which may be pleasing to our lord the Pope, and likewise [an acknowledgment] of my letter of the 9th of last month. In conclusion I offer myself ever to you. May the Lord God preserve you.

From Rome the 6th of January of '67.

Come fratello, etc., THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA.

[*Addressed as before.*]

[*Endorsed*] Received in Paris on the 24th of the same month. The receipt of the Queen of Scotland's letters: when Father Edmund comes back, he is to go to the island.]

No. 91

THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA TO THE BISHOP OF MONDOVI

Polonia, fol. 171, 9.

[*Rome*, 11 *January* 1566-7]

MOLTO REV^{O} MONS^{R}, COME FRATELLO,—Hieri hebbi da m. Stefano Scozzese le altre lettere di V. S. R. de iii del passato insieme con tutte quelle medesime copie ch' io già haveva ricevute prima col duplicato, et un altra di più de xv insieme con una del Vescovo Domblan et la copia dell' instruttione di detto m. Stefano, nella quale N. S^{re} ha molto ben laudata la diligentia et prudentia di V. S. R. sicome ha etiandio commendata infinitamente la pietà et relligion grande della regina di Scotia in quest' ultima attion sua, havendone nuovamente dati assaì chiari segni al mondo con la devotion rappresentata à S. S^{ta} per lei dal prefato M. Stefano, il quale è stato veduto et raccolto con tutte quelle amorevoli dimostrationi, che si convenivano usar con persona delle qualità et dependenze sue. Ch' è quanto mi occorre per questa, offerendomi allei di continuo ch' l S^{or} Dio la conservi.

Di Roma a xi di Genaro M.D.LXVII.

D. V. S. molto R. Come fratello, IL CARD^{E} ALES^{NO}.

[*Addressed as before.*]

[*Endorsed*] Ric^{ta} alli 12 di Febr. in Parigi.

[THE CARDINAL of ALESSANDRIA to the BISHOP of MONDOVI.

Rome, 11 *January* 1566-7.

VERY REVEREND MONSIGNOR,—I received yesterday from Master Stephen the Scot your reverend lordship's further letters of the 3rd of last month, together with copies of all those same letters that I had already before received, with a duplicate and another besides of the 15th, together with one of the Bishop of Dunblane and the copy of the said Master Stephen's instructions. In this our lord the Pope has much praised your lordship's diligence and prudence, as he has likewise very much commended the great piety and religiousness of the Queen of Scotland in this her last action; she having given anew very clear tokens thereof to the world, to say nothing of the devotion to his Holiness, which Master Stephen has given utterance to in her stead. He has been welcomed and received with all those loving demonstrations which it is fitting to use with a person of his quality and connections. This is all that occurs to me for this time. I offer myself ever to you. May the Lord God preserve you.

From Rome, the 11th of January 1567.

Come fratello, etc., THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA.

[*Endorsed*] Received in Paris on the 12th of February.]

No. 92

THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA TO THE BISHOP OF MONDOVI

Polonia, 171, fol. 10.

[*Rome*, 20 *January* 1566-7]

MOLTO REV^{O} MONSIG^{R}, COME FRATELLO,—Si son ricevute in un tempo medesimo due lettere di V. S. R. questa settimana, una cioè de xxvi et l'altra di xxx del passato, per le quali se è anco inteso il successo del battesmo del principe di Scotia. Dichè N. S^{re} ne ha ringratiato il S^{or} Dio poichè si' è celebrato secondo il costume antico della Santa Chiesa Catolica, com' ella scrive. Si starà intanto aspettando d' intendere il ragguaglio ch'ella havra havuto dal padre Emondo per passare in quell' isola, overo qualche altra risolutione sua conforme agli ordini havuti per le mie precedenti di commission di S. S^{ta}. In nome della quale non havendo che dirle per hora, allei mi offero di continuo, avisandole a cautela haverle già scritto questo mese à vi et xi.

Di Roma à xx di Genaro M.D.LXVII.

Di V. S. molto R., come fratello, IL CARLE ALESNO.

[*Addressed as before.*]

[*Endorsed*] Ricta in Parigi alli xi di Febraro, S'aspetta raguaglio della sua andata.

[THE CARDINAL of ALESSANDRIA to the BISHOP of MONDOVI.

Rome, 20 *January* 1566-7.

VERY REVEREND MONSIGNOR, COME FRATELLO,—Two of your letters have been received together this week, that is, one of the 26th, and the other of the 30th of last month, and through them we heard of what took place at the Prince of Scotland's baptism. Our lord the Pope has indeed thanked God for it; since, as you write, it has been celebrated according to the ancient custom of the holy Catholic Church. We shall now expect to hear of the notice you will have received from Father Edmund to go into that island, or else some other decision of yours, conformable to the orders received through my preceding letters by his Holiness' command. Having nothing to say to you in his name at present, I put myself ever at your service, warning you for safety's sake that I have already written to you this month, on the 6th and the 11th.

From Rome, the 20th of January 1567.

Come fratello, etc. THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA.

[*Endorsed*] Received in Paris on the 11th of February. Notice of his starting is expected.]

93

THE BISHOP OF MONDOVI TO THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA

Inghilterra, I. A, fol. 19.

[*Paris*, 24 *January* 1566-7]

Da Parigi, alli xxiiii. di Gennaro lxvii.

CON il ritorno del Conte di Brienna, che era ito in Scotia per trovarsi al battesimo in nome del Re Christianissimo, s'è inteso che alli xvii. di Dicembre, nella Capella Regia di Strivelin, quel Prencipe fu solennemente battezato secondo il costume

antico della Santa Chiesa Cattolica Romana, dall' Arcivescovo di Santo Andrea con l'assistenza dei Vescovi Dunkeldense et Dumblanense del designato Vescovo Rossense et del Prior di Candida Casa; vi furono presenti per questa Maiestà il sudetto Conte, per la Regina d'Inghilterra il Conte di Bedfort, il quale non havendo voluto, per essere Calvinista, assistere a quella santa ceremonia, pregò la sorella bastarda della Regina di Scotia detta la Contessa di Arghil, alla quale dono un diamante di 500 $\triangle^{ti}$, che ella vi intervenisse per parte della Regina d'Inghilterra; et perciò che in quella corte non v'era nuova alcuna dell' andata del Signor di Muretta, la Regina di Scotia volse che Monsignor di Croch, Ambasciatore di Francia appresso di Sua Maiestà, supplisse il luogo di quello del Serenissimo Duca di Savoia. La ceremonia si fece su l'hora del Vespro, e la sera poi in un tavolino a parte cenò la Regina, havendo a man sinistra l'Inglese, alla destra quello di Francia, appresso il quale sedeva colui, che comparve per parte di Savoja, in un altra gran tavola cenarono i Prelati e gli altri Signori.

Ho havute lettere delli xxiii. del passato di Monsignor Dumblanense et del Padre Emondo, per le quali mi danno avviso del suo arrivo a salvamento alli xiii. detto in Edimburg, dove il Dumblanense dopo havere fatta riverenza alla Regina et presentatale la mia lettera, non potette ragionarle di cosa alcuna, essendo la Maiestà sua occupatissima per la celebratione del battesimo, dopo il quale come fossero licentiati tutti gli Ambasciatori sperava il detto Monsignore mandarmi la risolutione del tutto; et esso Padre Emondo mi promette ritornarsene qui in breve, per darmi il vero ragguaglio dell' animo di quella Maiestà et delle cose di quel regno; le quali piaccia al Signor Iddio, che habbiano à procedere di maniera che con il servitio della persona mia possino apportare intiera satisfattione a Nostro Signore secondo il buono et santo desiderio che V. S. Ill^{ma} si degna mostrarmi per la sua lettera delli vi. del presente.

Baciole riverentemente la mano, pregando la divina Maiestà che con somma felicità di sua Beatitudine conceda alla S V Ill^{ma} ogni contento.

[The Bishop of Mondovi to the Cardinal of Alessandria.

Paris, 24 *January* 1566-7.

At the return of the Comte de Brienne, who had gone to Scotland to

be present at the baptism in the name of the King of France, we heard that on the 17th of December, in the Chapel Royal at Stirling, the prince was solemnly baptized, according to the ancient rite of the holy Catholic Roman Church, by the Archbishop of St. Andrews, assisted by the Bishops of Dunkeld and Dunblane, the designate of Ross, and the Prior of Whithorn. There were present the aforesaid count on behalf of their Majesties of this country, and the Earl of Bedford for the Queen of England. But he, being a Calvinist, would not assist at the holy ceremony, but begged the bastard sister of the Queen of Scotland, the Countess of Argyle, to whom he gave a diamond worth five hundred scudi, to take part therein in behalf of the Queen of England. As no news had been received at that court of the coming of Monsignor di Moretta, the Queen of Scotland desired Monsignor du Croc, the French ambassador resident with her, to supply the place of the Duke of Savoy. The ceremony took place at the hour of vespers, and later on in the evening the queen supped at a small table apart, with the English representative on her left, and that of France on her right, and next he who appeared for the Duke of Savoy. The prelates and other lords sat at another large table.

I have received letters of the 23rd of last month from the Bishop of Dunblane and from Father Edmund, by which they gave me information of their safe arrival on the 13th at Edinburgh. Here the Bishop of Dunblane, after having done reverence to the queen, and presented my letter to her, was unable to converse with her about anything, her Majesty being entirely taken up with the celebration of the baptism. After it, when all the ambassadors shall have taken leave, the bishop will send me, he hopes, the decision about all the points. Father Edmund promises me to return hither in a short while to give me a true account of the mind of her Majesty, and of the affairs of that kingdom. I pray God that they may so proceed that they (and my services also) may entirely satisfy his Holiness, in accordance with his pious desires, which your eminence was pleased to communicate to me by your letter of the 6th of this month. Kissing your hand, etc.]

No. 94

THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA TO THE BISHOP OF MONDOVI

Polonia, 171, fol. 11.

[*Rome*, 25 *January* 1566-7]

MOLTO REV. MONS^RE^, COME FRATELLO,—Questa sarà solo per far compagnia a M. Stefano Scozzese, ritornandosene indrieto con un breve di N. S^re^ la copia del quale sarà con questa, acciocchè ne sia ancor essa informata quando ne sentisse per aventura parlare, et che possa similmente ne i ragionamenti suoi che le

occorrerà di far con S. M^tà^ o con altri conformarsi con esso, non lassando anco di dirle che S. S^tà^ ha fatto tutte quelle grate accoglienze et amorevoli al p^to^ M. Stefano ch'esso medesimo havrebbe saputo desiderare, sicome dallui presente potrà intendere più a pieno, rimettendomi intanto alle mie precedenti de 20, ch'io mandai per l'ordinario di Lione, et offerendomi allei per fine di questa che'l S^or^ Dio la conservi.

Di Roma à xxv di Genaro del lxvii.

Di V. S. molto R., come fratello,

IL CAR^LE^ ALES^NO^.

[*Addressed as before.*]

[*Endorsed*] Ric^tà^ alli 25 di Febr.

[THE CARDINAL of ALESSANDRIA to the BISHOP of MONDOVI.

Rome, 25 January 1566-7.

VERY REVEREND MONSIGNOR, etc.—This is merely to accompany the Scotsman, Master Stephen [Wilson], who is returning back with a brief, the copy of which shall go herewith, in order that you may both know what is happening, in case you should hear others talk, as also be able to adapt your language to the Pope's in the conversation you may have with her Majesty and others. I must not omit to tell you that his Holiness has given the said Master Stephen the most gracious and loving welcome, as you will be able to hear in fuller detail from himself. Meanwhile I refer myself to my former letters of the 20th sent by the ordinary [courier] of Lyons, etc., etc.

From Rome, the 25th day of January 1567.

Come fratello, etc., THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA.

[*Endorsed*] Received the 25th of February.]

[ENCLOSURE]

POPE PIUS V. TO MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

The Latin text of this brief has been printed by Conn, *apud* Jebb, *Scriptores de Vita Mariæ*, ii. 52; also in Laderchi, *Annales*, 1567, § 164; *Pii V. Epistolae* (1640), p. 21, etc. I have translated from the original corrected draft in the Vatican (Arm. xliv. 7, fol. 199), which offers the best readings.

To Mary the Illustrious Queen of Scotland.

MOST DEAR DAUGHTER, etc.,—From your letters and your envoy we have received the most welcome and pleasant news of your recovery. We rejoice that what we have done in your behalf gratifies you, but you must measure our inclination towards you rather by your own merits than by our offices, which were less than we could have wished, while much greater things are due to you, such is your courage, constancy, and piety, and your singular devotion to this holy see.

You say that the coming of our nuncio, who has been called over to you from France at an opportune moment, will be acceptable to you, and you promise that your favour and help shall not fail him in those things that appertain to the honour of God and the peacefulness of your kingdom. This we have heard with pleasure, and we desire that his presence may be most advantageous to you and to your kingdom.

We conceive great joy over the son that was born to you. We congratulate your Highness anew on so great a gift from God, and we think that we may count on all else that pertains to the salvation of that kingdom after such a commencement. As for your care in having him baptized in public, we praise your pious zeal for bringing back into use and practice the holy rites of the Catholic Church for the administration of so great a sacrament. May the merciful Lord grant that by this example all those who have been miserably deceived by heretics about the sure and salutary use of this and other sacraments may be moved to receive them rightly and to their salvation, and that, after rejecting the darkness of error, they may receive the light of Catholic truth! May God for ever preserve to your son the grace received at the holy font! May He increase day by day the joy you receive from your child, and crown what He has given with many other gifts and graces!

The rest you will learn from your envoy, whose explanation of your wishes we heard with the sympathy that was befitting, and whom we send back to you with our blessing.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, etc., on the 22nd of January 1567, in the second year of our reign.

No. 95

THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA TO THE BISHOP OF MONDOVI

Polonia, 171, fol. 13.

[*Rome, 3 February* 1566-7]

MOLTO REV^{O} MONS^{R}, COME FRATELLO,—Ho ricevuto nel medesimo giorno le dupplicate di V. S. R. de iiii del passato, alle quali, per esser brevi, occorrerà similmente far breve risposta, dicendole solo che N. S^{re} sta con desiderio aspettando d'intendere la celebration del battesimo del principe di Scotia, et il ragguaglio etiamdio ch'ella havra havuto dal padre Emondo per il suo passaggio di Scotia. Non mi occorrendo gran fatto a dirle altro per hora se non ch' io le scrissi a xx del passato per l'ordinario, et a xxv per mano di M. Stefano Scozzese, il qual si partì poco da poi, per aviso di lei, alla quale mi offero di continuo con questo fine, pregando il S^{or}.

Di Roma a iii di Febraro, M.D.LXVII.

D. V. S. molto R., come fratello, IL CARD^{LE} ALES^{NO}.

[*Addressed as above.*]

[*Endorsed*] Ric^{ta} alli 23 del medesimo.

[THE CARDINAL of ALESSANDRIA to the BISHOP of MONDOVI.

3 *February* 1566-7.

VERY REVEREND MONSIGNOR, etc,—I have received the duplicate of your letters of the 4th of last month. As they were brief, I must return you a similarly short answer. All that I have to say is that our lord the Pope is anxiously waiting to hear of the celebration of the baptism of the Prince of Scotland, as also the information which you will have received from Father Edmund for your journey to Scotland. Nothing else of importance occurs to me to tell you at present, except that I wrote to you on the 20th of last month by the ordinary [post], and on the 25th by Master Stephen, the Scot, who, I should tell you, left shortly after, etc.

From Rome, the 3rd of February, 1567, etc., etc.,

Come fratello, THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA.

[*Endorsed*] Received on the 23rd.]

No. 96

THE BISHOP OF MONDOVI TO THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA

Inghilterra, I. A, 19 b.

[*Paris*, 13 *February* 1566-7]

Da Parigi, alli xiii di Febraro M.D.LXVII.

Dopo che io ultimamente scrissi alla S. V. Ill^ma^ delli xxiiii del passato che il battesimo del Prencipe di Scotia era stato celebrato alli xvii di Decembre in Sterling secondo il rito antico della Santa Chiesa Cattolica, non s'è inteso altro, eccetto che quella Regina essendosene già ritornata in Edimburg s'era subito transferita à Glasgo per visitare il Re suo marito ammalato della picola varola, che noi chiamiamo morbiglioni,[1] il quale come che in tempo del battesimo si sia trovato in Sterling, non comparse però mai in alcuna ceremonia pubblica, ma si stette quase sempre ritirato nel suo alloggiamento, essendo poche volte uscito fuor della terra a spasso con pochissima compagnia; di che si comprende bene, che tra loro ci sia ancora mala satisfattione et molta diffidenza; la quale sicome va tuttavia nutrendosi et cresciendo per malignità d'alcuni pochi potenti seditiosi, cosi apporta grandissimo disturbo alle cose pubbliche, et specialmente alla restitutione della Santa Religione in quel regno. Dalla banda di quà non s'è mancato usare la diligenza et desterità [2] che si conviene per ovviare a questo disordine, ma ci bisogna bene dell' aiuto particolare del Signor Iddio, che si degne humiliare et ordinare l'animo inquieto di quel Prencipe troppo giovane. Con questo ordinario ho ricevute le lettere di V. S. Ill^ma^ delli xi et xx di Gennaro; in risposta delle quali mi resta solamente a dirle che al ritorno del Padre Emondo, che sto aspettando d'hora in hora, eseguirò incontanente l'ordine che piacque a V. S. Ill^ma^ darmi secondo la santissima et prudentissima voluntà di Nostro Signore. Baciole riverentemente la mano, pregando la Divina Maiestà che con lunghissima et felicissima vita di Sua Beatitudine conceda alla S. V. Ill^ma^ ogni contento et prosperità.

[1] '*Vajolo* . . . dicesi nel Romagno *morviglione*.'—Baretti, *Dizionario Italiano Inglese*, 1816, p. 542.

[2] See Laureo's letter of 22 February, p. 350, *n.* 2.

[The Bishop of Mondovi to the Cardinal of Alessandria.

Paris, 13 *February* 1566-7

Since I wrote last to your eminence on the 24th of last month that the baptism of the Prince of Scotland had been celebrated on the 17th of December at Stirling according to the ancient rite of the holy Catholic Church, I have not heard anything further except that that queen, after her return to Edinburgh, suddenly betook herself to Glasgow to visit the king, her husband, who was ill of the small-pox (*piccola varola*), which we call measles (*morbiglione*).[a] Although he was at Stirling at the time of the baptism, he never appeared at any public ceremony, but remained almost always in retirement in his lodging, and seldom went abroad beyond the town enclosure to amuse himself, and then with a very small train. Hence one can easily see that great dissatisfaction and distrust still divides them. Their quarrel is continually nourished and increased by the malice of a few powerful rebels, and very seriously disturbs public business, especially the restoration of holy religion in that kingdom. From our side befitting tact and diligence have not been wanting[a] to obviate this disorder, but surely there is need of the special aid of God our Lord. May He deign to bend and regulate the unquiet mind of that too boyish prince!

By this ordinary I have received your eminence's letters of the 11th and 20th January, in answer to which I can only say that at the return of Father Edmund, whom I am expecting at any hour, I will execute instantly the order which your eminence was pleased to give me in accordance with the holy and prudent wishes of his Holiness, etc., etc.]

No. 97

THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA TO THE BISHOP OF MONDOVI.

Polonia, 171, fol. 12.

[*Rome*, 17 *February* 1566-7]

Molto rev° mons^re^, come fratello,—Con quest' ordinario che ha portato ultimamente lettere de xxviii del passato da cotesta corte, non ho ricevuto lettere di V. S. R. nemeno da quelle di mons^r^ Nuntio si è potuto haver certezza alcuna del suo passagio per Scotia. Onde N. S^re^ si è rissoluto in dubbio ch'ella non si essendo per aventura partita di corte al ricever di questa per la volta di quell' isola, se ne ritorni indrieto et si fermi alla sua chiesa dove potrà spender il tempo con maggior profitto suo et delle anime commesse alla sua cura che non fa al presente dove

si trova, che questa è mente di S. S^ta^ in nome della quale non mi occorre dirle altro per hora, se non che attenda alla sanità in questo viaggio et come sia giunta al vescovato, dia nuova di se, che 'l S^or^ Dio la riconduca a salvamento et la conservi sempre in gratia sua.

Di Roma à xvii di Febraro 1567.

D. V. S. molto R^o^., come fratello, IL CAR^LE^ ALES^NO^.

[*Addressed as before. Endorsed*] Ric^ta^ alli 10 di Marzo.

Che non essendo partito per andar in Scozia si ritorni alla sua chiesa.

[THE CARDINAL of ALESSANDRIA to the BISHOP of MONDOVI.

Rome, 17 *February* 1566-7.

MOST REVEREND MONSIGNOR, etc.,—By this post, which brought letters of the 28th of last month from the French court, I received no letters from your reverend lordship, nor even from the nuncio's despatch could we gather any certainty about your journey to Scotland. Our lord the Pope has therefore resolved, in case you should possibly not have left the French court, that on the receipt of this, instead of journeying to that island, you should turn back and take up your abode in your own church, where you will be able to pass your time with more profit to yourself and to the souls committed to your care than you do, where you now are. This is the Pope's mind, in whose name I have no more to tell you at present, except that you take care of your health during the journey, and inform us when you arrive at your see. May the Lord God bring you back in safety, and keep you ever in His grace.

Rome, on the 17th of February 1567.

Come fratello, etc., THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA.

[*Endorsed*] Received 10 March. That if he has not started to go to Scotland, he should return to his church.]

SECTION IX

THE MURDER OF DARNLEY

No. 98

THE BISHOP OF MONDOVI TO THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA

Inghilterra, I. A, fol. 20.

[*Paris, 22 February* 1566-7]

Da Parigi, alli xxii di Febraro 1567.

[1] Alli xix del presente arrivò qui Monsignor di Croch, il quale era Ambasciatore del Re Christianissimo in Scotia. S'era partito d'Edimbourg alli xxii del passato, et trovandosi a Dover per tragittare in Francia[1] hebbe un corriero espresso mandatogli dall' Ambasciatore di sua Maiestà Christianissima appresso la Regina d'Inghilterra, con commissione che dovesse fare ogni diligenza possibile per venire a questa corte et essere il primo a dare a queste Maiestà la nuova della morte del Re di Scotia et del Conte di Lenò suo padre. Ne s'è inteso altro particolare, eccetto che la Regina di Scotia essendo, come havevo scritto per l'ultima mia delli xiii di questo a V. S. Ill^ma^, andata a Glasgo per visitare il Re suo marito, se ne ritornò poi in Edimbourg, havendo menato seco il prefato Re con il Conte di Lenò, suo padre, il quale Re essendo sempre solito alloggiare nell' istesso Palazzo della Regina questa volta forse per la malattia che haveva havuto dei morbiglioni, la quale suole essere alle volte contagiosa, alloggiò con il padre in una casa

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[1] Giovanni Correr, the Venetian ambassador in Paris, reported on the 21st that du Croc arrived 'last night,' and that the courier had overtaken him at Calais.—*Venetian Calendar*, No. 383.

poco lontana dal palazzo della Regina, fuori della quale casa la mattina dell' ultima Domenica[1] del Carnevale a buona hora fu trovato morto nella strada publica con il padre, amendue ignudi, spettacolo degno veramente di grandissima commiseratione. S'aspetta d'hora in hora qualche corriero espresso, che dovrà dar conto particolare di questo infelice successo.

[2] Monsignor di Dumblan m' ha scritto la lettera che mando alla S. V. Ill^ma^, per la quale mi dà gran speranza del buon' animo di quella Regina et massime che la detta lettera fu scritta per ordine di Sua Maiestà et letta da lei. Et secondo ho inteso di buon luogo la Maiestà sua stessa voleva signarla di sua mano, per farla più autentica. Pure il P. Emondo a questa volta non s'è assicurato scrivermi, forse perche vede le cose diversamente da quello che scrive il detto Domblanense; ma scrive bene qui al Padre Provinciale della Società con un articolo in metaphora assai bene intelligibile, del quale articolo ne mando la copia a V. S. Ill^ma^ affine che ella, con la solita prudenza sua, conosche che le cose di là non sono in termine per ancora di potere sperare, non che fare cosa di buono, et il medesimo m'afferma qui l'Ambasciatore di Scotia. E tutto il male dipende che quella Maiestà s'è mostrata molto aliena di eseguire quello che gli fu questi giorni adietro proposto per un gentilhuomo espresso dal Signor Cardinale di Lorena, sicome ne detti aviso a V. S. Ill^ma^ con la mia delli 3 di Dicembre; per la esecutione del qual conseglio tutti questi Signori Cattolici m'affermavano al sicuro che si sariano presto accommodate le cose della Religione in quel Regno, con grande speranza di acconciare anco quelle d'Inghilterra per la ottima dispositione che si trova nella maggior parte di quella nobiltà, et del popolo.

[3] Et come che io prima per il detto Vescovo et poi per un corriero[2] mandato dal prefato ambasciatore non habbia mancato con due lettere mie sollecitare et persuadere quella Maiestà a pigliare qualche prudente et santa risolutione, delle quali lettere ne mando la copia alla S. V. Ill^ma^ non ho però potuto

[1] The *Diurnal of Occurrents* gives the date 'upoun the tent day of Februar, at twa houris befoir none in the mornyng,' *i.e.* Monday, the 10th, at 2 A.M.

[2] Robert Dury carried to Mary Archbishop Beaton's letters of 27 January.—Keith, *History*, i. Introd. ci.

fino ad hora cavarne se non le speranze che esso vescovo mi da nella sudetta lettera; le quali speranze essendo contrarie alli avisi et avertimenti del prefato Padre Emondo, mi terranno sospeso insino alla venuta di detto padre, nel qual tempo penso risolvermi incontanente di fare il viaggio in quella isola overo di tornarmene subito alla mia chiesa secondo che conoscerò essere il servitio di Dio et di Sua Beatitudine, alla quale degnesi sua divina Maiestà concedere il compimento de' suoi santissimi desiderii, et alla S. V. Ill^ma^ ogni felicità.

[The Bishop of Mondovi to the Cardinal of Alessandria.

Paris, 22 February 1566-7.

[1] On the 19th of the present month, M. du Croc, the French ambassador in Scotland, arrived here. He had left Edinburgh on the 22nd of last month, and while at Dover,[a] before crossing into France, received an express messenger sent him by the French ambassador with the Queen of England, with an urgent commission to use all speed to reach this court, and be the first to communicate the news of the death of the King of Scotland and of the Earl of Lennox, his father. No further particulars are yet known, except that the Queen of Scotland, after having gone, as I wrote to you in my last of the 13th instant, to visit the king her husband at Glasgow, afterwards returned to Edinburgh, bringing with her the aforesaid king, with his father, the Earl of Lennox. The king, who always used to lodge in the queen's palace itself, was this time placed with his father in a house at a short distance from it, perhaps because of the attack of measles he had had, which sickness is sometimes contagious. Outside that house, on the morning[a] of the last Sunday of Carnival time, at an early hour, he and his father were found dead in the public street, both of them stripped, a spectacle truly worthy of the most profound commiseration. From hour to hour we expect an express courier to give us the particulars of this unlucky accident.

[2] Monsignor of Dunblane has written me the letter which I forward to your eminence. He gives me great hopes of the good intentions of the queen, most especially as this letter was written at her Majesty's order, and has been read by her. Indeed, I am credibly informed that her Majesty wished to sign it herself to make it more authentic. On the other hand, Father Edmund did not dare to write to me this time, perhaps because he sees things in a different light from that in which the bishop describes them. Withal he has written to Father [Manare], Provincial of the Society here, and his letter contains a metaphorical passage, easy enough to understand. Of this passage I send you a copy, so that your eminence, with your wonted prudence, may see that affairs over there are not yet in a condition in which one can hope for, much

less do, any good. The ambassador of Scotland here assures me of this also. All the harm comes from her Majesty having shown herself very opposed to doing what was proposed to her certain days back by a gentleman sent expressly by the Cardinal of Lorraine, as I advised you by my letter of the 3rd of December. All the Catholic *signori* here assure me for certain that if that advice were followed, the affairs of religion would soon be set to rights in that country, and there would be great hopes of amending England also, so excellent are the dispositions of the greater part of the nobility and people there.

[3] I did not fail on my part to urge and persuade her Majesty by two letters (the first by the aforenamed bishop, the other by the said ambassador's messenger,[a] copies of both of which have been sent to your eminence) that she should resolve on some good and wise measure, yet thus far without any result, except the hopes which the bishop gives me in the before-mentioned letter. These hopes, however, being contrary to the information and warnings of Father Edmund, will keep me in suspense until the return of the said father. When that takes place, I purpose to make up my mind either to go over to Scotland at once, or to return immediately to my church, according to what I shall see to be for the service of God and his Holiness, etc., etc.]

No. 99

THE BISHOP OF MONDOVI TO THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA

Inghilterra, I. A, fol. 21.

[*Paris, 23 February* 1566-7]

Da Parigi, alli xxiii di Febraro 1567.

[1] HAVENDO hieri data nuova a V. S. Ill^ma^ della morte del Re di Scotia per l'aviso che l'ambasciatore del Re Christianissimo in Inghilterra haveva mandato alla Maiesta Sua per Mons^r^ di Croch, non voglio hora mancare di scriverle, che hoggi è arrivato qui un corriero mandato della Regina di Scotia a Mons^r^ di Glasgo, suo ambasciatore, con lettere delli x del presente[1] di Edimbourg, per le quali si verifica l'infelice successo

[1] After the first session of the council of inquiry into the murder on 10 February (Anderson, *Collections*, IV. ii. 167; Bain, *Scottish Calendar*, ii. No. 471), Clerneau was despatched (February 11) to London and Paris to communicate what may be called the first official news. In the Record Office (*Scotland*, xiii. 13; and printed Stevenson-Nau, clxi), there is a 'report by the Seigneur de Clernault upon the death of King Henry.' The date, 16 February, indicates that this

di quel povero Prencipe alquanto diversamente, cioè, che il detto Re dopo essere stato lungamente la sera dell'ultima Dominica di Carnevale in compagnia della Regina sua moglie, s'era ritirato nel suo alloggiamento poco lontano dal palazzo della Regina, et postosi in letto a dormire, et sulle due hore dopo mezza notte alcuni scelerati havendo dato il fuoco à una mina che già haveano fatta sotto i fondamenti di detto alloggiamento, rovinorono incontanente la casa et il Re si trovò morto con un varletto di camera dentro un giardino à canto la detta casa. [2] Nè si fa mentione alcuna del Conte di Lenò suo padre. Della causa di questa morte non si può per ancora intendere altro eccetto quello che scrissi per l'ultima mia con un foglio a parte[1] alla V. S. Ill^ma^. Monsignor di Muretta, che era ito in Scotia per il Duca di Savoia, dovea partire il medesimo di per venirsene alla volta di quà, ma per il caso avvenuto fu pregato dalla Regina che indugiasse la sua partita. Il padre

was the report delivered as he passed through London. As Laureo here notices that the news of the 10th reached Paris by a courier, we may surmise that Clerneau, in order not to lose time while he visited the English court, sent on some of his letters by a messenger, *e.g.*, the letter of council (Sloane MS. 3199, 131; printed Laing, ii. 97), but delivered Mary's letter, dated 11 February, when he arrived in Paris a day or two later. See the next letter and the Archbishop of Glasgow's answer, in Stevenson's *Selections*, p. 173.

[1] The *foglio a parte*, on the causes of the king's death, has unfortunately not been registered, and is consequently lost. As appears from Laureo's subsequent letters of 16 March (§ 6) and 26 March (§ 7), a duplicate of it was forwarded by another hand before 27 February, and its receipt is acknowledged on 17 March.

Although no word of its contents is preserved, yet some conjecture as to its substance may be formed from a circumstance connected with it, recorded in the letter of 16 March. It was then stated that nothing further had yet been ascertained, beyond what had been mentioned on February the 23rd. It would therefore seem to follow that the letter of February contained all the rumours circulating between 22 February and 16 March, which were reckoned as serious in Laureo's *entourage*. Hence, again, it seems to follow that Laureo would give in it a prominent place to that rumour, to which his intimate friend, the Archbishop of Glasgow, gave the most prominent place in his letters written at the same date, and from the same place—that is, to the suspicion that Mary was 'the motive principall of the haill, and all done be your command' (Beaton to Mary, Paris, 11 March 1567; *Sloane MSS.*, 3199, 135; Stevenson, *Selections*, p. 174). The date (16 March) at which Laureo thought fit to return to the subject is also important. It was just after his interview with Moretta, whose reports (as we know from the *Spanish Calendar*, p. 622) tended to Mary's disfavour, through his refusal to contradict sinister reports against her.

Emondo scrive qui al Padre Provinciale che se ne tornerà in compagnia di esso Signor di Muretta, nella venuta delli quali, che non dovrà tardar molto, haverò certo et pieno ragguaglio delle cose di là, et dell animo di quella Regina, et della speranza che si potrà havere circa la Santa Religione.

Ho ricevuta hoggi la lettera che piacque à V. S. Ill^ma^ scrivermi delli iii. di questo; alla quale non occorrendomi per hora rispondere altro, baciole humilissimamente la mano, pregando il Signor Iddio che con felicissima vita di Nostro Signore conceda ogni contento alla S. V. Ill^ma^.

[THE BISHOP of MONDOVI to the CARDINAL of ALESSANDRIA.

Paris, 23 February 1566-7.

[1] As yesterday I sent you an account of the death of the King of Scotland, according to the information which the ambassador of the French king in England had sent hither through Monsignor du Croc, so now I would not fail to write that a courier has arrived here to-day from the Queen of Scotland to Monsignor of Glasgow, her ambassador, with letters of the 10th instant[a] from Edinburgh. By these the calamity to that poor prince is confirmed, but with some variations. For instance, on the evening of the last Sunday of Carnival, the king, after having been for a long while in company with the queen his wife, retired to his lodging not far from the queen's palace, and went to bed to sleep. At two hours after midnight some scoundrels fired a mine, which they had already made under the foundations of the said lodging. The house was reduced to ruins in an instant, and the king, with a valet of the chamber, was found dead in a garden at the side of the said house. No mention whatever is made of his father, the Earl of Lennox. [2] Of the reason of his death nothing further can as yet be learnt, except that which I wrote by my last in a separate sheet.[a] Monsignor di Moretta, who went to Scotland for the Duke of Savoy, ought to have left that very day to come hither, but because of what had happened he was requested by the queen to delay his departure. Father Edmund writes to Father Provincial here that he will return in Monsignor di Moretta's company. At their arrival, which cannot be distant now, I shall obtain a full and reliable account of matters there, and of the mind of the queen and of the hope that may be entertained for our holy religion.

To-day I have received the letter, which your eminence was so good as to write to me on the third instant. I have not for the moment any answer to make to it, etc.]

No. 100

THE BISHOP OF MONDOVI TO THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA

Inghilterra, I. A, fol. 21 b.

[*Paris, 27 February* 1566-7]

Da Parigi, alli xxvii. di Febraro 1567.

[1] Con l'ultime mie delli xxii. et delli xxiii. del presente detti aviso alla S. V. Ill^ma^ di quanto occorreva delle cose di Scotia, et particolarmente della morte di quel Re. Hora m'accade dirle che per un gentilhuomo[1] mandato espressamente da quella Regina per condolersi con queste Maiestà, che parti d'Edimbourg alli xi., s' è inteso, il successo anco più minutamente, [2] cioè che la casa dove allogiava il Re era non solamente lontana dal palazzo della Reina, ma anco separata dall' altre case, et appresso le mura della terra, et in oltre piccola di sorte che non havea più che dui piccoli appartamenti separati l'uno dall'altro con un poco di cortile in mezzo.[2] Il Re dormiva nell' uno appartamento, havendo in camera un solo varletto et dui soli servitori stavano nell' altro, talchè in tutto erano tre in compagnia sua.[3] Era già dimorato x. giorni in

[1] This gentleman, who left on the 11th, was Clerneau. See last letter, *n.* 1.

[2] Laureo's references here and elsewhere to 'Provost's Place' at Kirk o' Field are somewhat loose and liable to misapprehension. A few words, therefore, on the probable orientation of the place may not be superfluous. The ground plan of the building under consideration, when looked at from the south, was in the shape of a reversed L (*i.e.* ⅃). There were two storeys; the cellars and offices, in which the powder was placed, were below, and the two *appartamenti* or living rooms occupied the upper floor. Darnley's room running north would be indicated by the broad upright of the ⅃, and the gallery, where the servants slept, by the base-line running west. The outside or southern wall of this gallery was formed by the *mura*, or town wall. The *cortile*, or close, was on the left, in the angle west of Darnley's room, and the *giardino*, or garden, lay on the right or eastern side of that room. Beyond the garden, on the other side of the lane called Thief Row, was the *orto*, or yard, where the body was found (Robertson, *Inventories*, xcviii). The sketch at the Record Office (*Scotland*, xiii. 12), reproduced by D. Laing, (*Registrum Domus de Saltre*, Bannatyne Club, 1861), and less accurately by Chalmers (*Life of Mary*, 1822, i. 316), was made primarily for political, not topographical purposes, but it gives a good idea of the surrounding houses and gardens.

[3] The valet who slept with Darnley was William Tailor. Nau states that he

Edimbourg[1] et la sera dell' ultima Domenica di Carnevale la Regina accompagnata dal Conte di Boduel era ita in maschera[2] a visitarlo, et dopo havere dimorato con il marito insino a meza notte sempre con allegrezza, se ne ritornò al suo alloggiamento. Sulle due hore poi, o tre, dopo meza notte datosi fuoco alla mina che era solamente sotto l'appartamento dove dormiva il Re, rovinò à fatto tutta quella parte, la rovina della quale fece anco ruinare una parte dell' altro appartamento. Vero è che le travi caddero di maniera che salvarono i due servitori che vi habitavano; et perciochè il Re si trovò morto nell' horto a canto la casa insieme con il servitore che dormiva in camera sua senza alcuna apparente lesione dei corpi, si fa congiettura che esso si levasse dal letto per la puzza della polvere avanti che la mina scoppiasse, et affogasse poi nel fumo con il servitore.[3] [3] Il medesimo di

was an Englishman (Stevenson-Nau, p. 35). Thomas Nelson and Edward Symonis slept in the gallery. No notice is taken here of William Tailor's 'boy,' though his death is mentioned by Clerneau in his report made in London (Stevenson-Nau, clxii). Nelson's deposition bears that the boy 'Never knew of ony thing quhill the Hous quherin thay lay wes fallin about thame.'—Anderson, IV. ii. p. 167.

[1] This would give the evening of Thursday, 30 January, or Friday morning, 31 January, as the date of his arrival in Edinburgh.

[2] *Era ita in maschera.* I do not find this in any of the depositions regarding Mary's conduct on Sunday afternoon at the Kirk of Field. It is a circumstance which, if true, throws discredit on the surprise she is said to have caused, late in the evening, by suddenly announcing that she was going to the masque at Holyrood.

[3] The more popular theory then, as now, was that Darnley was murdered by strangling or suffocation before the explosion. See below letter of 16 March, § 5. In the letter of 8 March, *ad fin.*, it is reported that one of his ribs was found broken, and all the inward parts crushed and bruised by the fall. This would overthrow the theory of his corpse having been carried out before the house was blown up. As surgeons were sent on the 10th to examine the body, which was afterwards embalmed (Leslie's *Paralipomena* in Forbes-Leith's *Narratives*, p. 118; *National MSS. of Scotland*, iii. 51, 53) there ought to have been ample evidence on the point.

Birrel's *Diarey* states, 'The hous wes raisett up from the ground with pouder; and the king's chamberman, named Johne [*sic*] Tailzeour wes found vith him lyand in ane zaird dead under ane tree; and the king, if he had not beine creuelly vyrriet, after he fell out of the aire, with his awen garters, he had leived.

'The 10 day of this moneth, the embassadors of France and Savoy came to the house quher the K wes lyand, and requyred a sight of him, bot wes refusit therof by the shouldiours.

'The 11 day of this monthe, the embassadors depairted homeward from Edinburghe.'—*Fragments of Scotish History*, 1798, p. 7.

della Domenica verso il tardi trovandosi in Glasgo il Conte di Lenò, suo padre, fu assalito da un buon numero di persone armate, et se non era la compagnia di Milord Sempli, Cattolico, che l'aiutò et diffese valorosamente, restava morto, et de qui nacque la prima novella che venne d'Inghilterra della morte del padre del Re, ma egli è vivo et sano in Glasgo, ma non senza gran pericolo di essere un di ammazzato con sovercheria.[1] [4] Credesi che il modo odiosissimo del procedere del Re verso la Regina et gli altri Signori principali che governano, oltra la natura sua altiera, et cattiva educatione che havea havuto in Inghilterra, procedeva in buona parte dal consiglio del padre, che non è tenuto molto savio. Degnisi il Sig^re^ Iddio havere compassione dell' anima di quel povero Principe, il quale apparentemente ha fatto sempre professione di Cattolico, havendo ogni mattina udita la sua messa, ed in questo havea mostrato più gran zelo dopo che la Reina libbera da quel gravissimo pericolo dell ultima congiura,[2] della quale se ne dava la colpa al Re, gli havea con la intelligenza et auttorità degli heretici a fatto tolta tutta l'autorità; non potendosi fidare più di lui che l'havea con esempio di grandissima ingratitudine condotta ad estremo pericolo. Ancor che esso non habbia mai voluto confessare d'esserne stato conscio; ma del detto successo se n'intenderà meglio il vero nel ritorno del Conte di Muretta et del Padre Emondo, che dovranno comparire fra pochi di. [5] M. Stefano Scozzese arrivò qui alli xxv. sommamente sodisfatto della pietosissima cura et cortesissime dimostrationi che Nostro Signore l'ha fatte, lodandosi anco grandemente di V. S. Ill^ma^. M'ha portata la lettera che le piacque scrivermi delli xxv. del passato. Che è quanto per hora m'occorre dire in fretta alla S. V. Ill^ma^ con la occasione d'un gentilhuomo del Duca di Nemours, che va in Piemonte, col mezzo del quale ho indirizzato questa à Monsignor di Geneva. Baciole riverentemente la mano et prego la Divina Maiestà che con lunghissima et felicissima vita di Sua Beatitudine conceda somma felicità alla S. V. Ill^ma^.

[1] On the 20th of February, Cecil sent Sir Henry Norris a correction of the first erroneous rumour, that Lennox had been actually slain (*Cabala*, 1691, p. 125). I have not found any corroboration of this explanation of the rumour.

[2] See letter of 16 March, § 5.

[The Bishop of Mondovi to the Cardinal of Alessandria.

Paris, 27 February 1566-7.

[1] By my last letters of the 22nd and 23rd of the present month I gave you such news as had arrived about the affairs of Scotland, and in particular about the death of the king. Now I am able to add that through a gentleman sent expressly by that queen to express her grief to their majesties here, who left Edinburgh on the 11th, we hear more minutely of what has happened.[a]

[2] The house in which the king lodged was not only far from the queen's palace, but also separate from other houses and near to the town wall. It was moreover so small that it contained no more than two small apartments, divided one from the other with a small courtyard in the middle.[a] The king slept in one apartment, having but one valet in his room, while only two servants were in the other, so that in all there were three in his company.[a] He had already been ten days in Edinburgh, and on the evening of the last Sunday of Carnival the queen, accompanied by the Earl of Bothwell, had gone masked[a] to visit him, and after having remained with her husband up till midnight with constant gaiety, she returned to her lodging. Afterwards at two o'clock or three past midnight the mine was fired. It was laid under that apartment only where the king slept, and ruined entirely all that part [of the house], the fall of which brought down a portion of the other apartment too. Truth it is that the beams so fell as to save the two servants who lodged there, and from the fact that the king was found dead in the garden by the side of the house, and with him the servant who slept in his room, without any apparent injury to their bodies, the conjecture has been made that he got up from bed because of the smell of powder, before the mine exploded, and was, along with his servant, afterwards suffocated by the smoke.

[3] That same Sunday when it was getting late, the Earl of Lennox, his father, who was in Glasgow, was attacked by a large number of armed men, and, but for the company of Lord Sempill, a Catholic, who aided and defended him bravely, he would have been killed. Hence arose the first report that came from England about the death of the king's father. In truth he is alive and well in Glasgow, though not free of great danger of being one day overborne and murdered.

[4] It is believed that the very odious way in which the king behaved to the queen and the other great lords who govern (to say nothing of his haughty nature and the bad education he had had in England) was in great measure due to the counsel of his father, who is not very wise. May the Lord God deign to have compassion on the soul of that poor prince, who has apparently always professed to be a Catholic, and heard his Mass every morning. Herein he showed greater zeal after the queen (when she had escaped from the most grave peril of the last conspiracy, the blame for which was laid upon the king)

had deprived him of all real authority, which she did with the consent and co-operation of the heretics. She could no longer trust him, who by an act of the grossest ingratitude, had brought her to extreme peril. He, however, would never confess that he was an accomplice. We shall hear the truth about the whole incident more clearly when the Conte di Moretta and Father Edmund return. They ought to be here in a few days.

[5] Master Stephen the Scot arrived here on the 25th entirely satisfied with the zealous care and most courteous attentions which our lord the Pope showed him, and he was full of your eminence's praises. He brought me the note you were pleased to write me on the 25th of last month. This is all that occurs to me now. I am in haste to avail myself of a gentleman of the Duke of Nemours, who is going to Piedmont. By his means I am sending this to the Bishop of Geneva, etc.]

No. 101

THE BISHOP OF MONDOVI TO THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA

Inghilterra, I. A, 22 b.

[*Paris*, 8 *March* 1566-7]

Da Parigi, alli viii. di Marzo del lxvii.

Arrivò qui, quattro di fa, un giovine francese,[1] varletto della Regina di Scotia, dal quale havendo io ricevuta una lettera

[1] As the letters delivered by this bearer are not now forthcoming, it may be useful to gather up what is recorded about him and his news at the several places where he stayed on his journey from Edinburgh to Paris.

From Berwick Drury reported on the 19th of February, that Sebastian Pagez, and other servants of the queen wished to pass (*Foreign Calendar*, 1566-8, No. 960). They appear to have come on without delay, as Guzman de Silva on the 1st of March informed Philip that messengers from Mary had arrived in London, and that one of them, after giving a verbal message to Moretta, passed on at once to Paris. This man is probably the person to whom Laureo alludes; that is to say, he would have been delivering letters in Paris at the very time that Monsignor Laureo says he received his (*Spanish Calendar*, p. 622).

As to the possible tenour of Mary's letter, we obtain a clue from Guzman de Silva's, who says that Mary had written to beg Elizabeth to defend her against those calumniators who threw the blame of the murder upon her (*Spanish Calendar*, p. 623). What could be more natural than that Mary should write to Paris in the same sense in which she wrote to London? A slight difficulty in the identification of this news with that which came with Sebastian is caused by a slip of the calendarer, who says that the bearer had been married the night 'following' the murder (*ibid.*) The Spanish text, on the contrary, correctly states that the marriage had been celebrated 'the night the murder took place'

di Sua Maiestà delli xv. scritta di suo pugno in questa lengua, un' altra di Mons^r Domblanense delli xvii. del passato. Non ho voluto mancare di mandare alla V. S. Ill^ma la medesima lettera di detto Monsignore con la copia tradotta in Italiano di quella della Regina, la quale poi che ha fatta risolutione mandare qui in breve il prefato Domblanense potria essere che ella si risolvesse anco di seguire il buon consiglio che l' è stato altre volte proposto per la restitutione della Santa Religione in quel regno, et massime che hora trovandosi libbera dal sospetto del marito, non haveria gran difficultà di metterlo in esecutione, di che presto s' intendera il tutto, perchè l' Ambasciadore qui di Scotia m' afferma d' essere avvertito, che esso Vescovo dovea venirsene in diligenza et non tarderia molto a comparire quà et forse pochi giorni dopo il ritorno del Padre Emondo, il quale essendo stato dal sudetto varletto lasciato in Londra in compagnia di Mons^r di Muretta, s' aspetta d' hora in hora, in tanto il prefato varletto non ha apportato altro di nuovo di quello che scrissi con le mie delli xxii., xxiii., et xxvii. del passato a S. V. Ill^ma eccetto che nel corpo del Re per lo sbalzo della caduta fu trovata una costa rotta et tutte le interiora sconquassate et peste. Mi ha ancora riferito in genere la buona voluntà di sua Maiestà et il desiderio che ella mostra d'havermi appresso di lei. Per il che non havendo che dire di più alla S. V. Ill^ma le bacio riverentemente la mano et prego il Signor Iddio che con somma felicità di Nostro Signore conceda a lei il compimento dei suoi santi desiderii.

[The Bishop of Mondovi to the Cardinal of Alessandria.

Paris, 8 *March* 1566-7.

There arrived here four days ago a young Frenchman,[n] valet of the Queen of Scotland, from whom I received a letter from her Majesty of the 15th, written in the language of this country with her own hand, and another from the Bishop of Dunblane of the 17th of last month. I

(*la noche que sucedió la desgracia*, not *a la desgracia*).—El Marques de la Fuensanta del Valle, *Documentos inéditos*, etc., tom. lxxxix. p. 451.

Further but more obscure indications of Mary's letters by this post (18 February, from Seton) may be gathered from Stevenson's *Selections*, p. 173. The bearer in this case is said to have been the 'Thesaurier' Dolu. Cf. Teulet, *Relations*, ii. 268, and *Foreign Calendar*, No. 973.

would not fail to send your eminence the original of the bishop's letter, with an Italian translation of that from the queen. Since she has resolved to send the said Bishop of Dunblane hither very shortly, it may be that she will also resolve to follow the good counsel that has been tendered her on other occasions for the restoration of holy religion in that kingdom. Now especially that she is free from the fear (*sospetto*) of her husband, she would not find great difficulty in putting it into execution. We shall soon hear all, for the ambassador of Scotland assures me that he is informed that the bishop himself must come by express, and will soon be here, perhaps only a few days after the return of Father Edmund. Him we expect hourly, as the above-mentioned valet left him in London in company with Monsignor di Moretta. Meanwhile, the valet has not brought any fresh news beyond what I have written in mine of the 22nd, 23rd, and 27th of last month, except that one rib in the king's body was found broken by the distance of the fall [*lit.* the jump of the fall], and all the inward parts crushed and bruised. He has also informed me in general terms of the goodwill of the queen, and that she expresses the desire to have me with her. Not having more to say to your eminence, etc., etc.]

No. 102

THE BISHOP OF MONDOVI TO THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA

Inghilterra, I. A, fol. 23.

[*Paris*, 12 *March* 1566-7]

Da Parigi, alli xii. di Marzo del lxvii.

[1] Con la lettera mia delli xxiiii. di Gennaro detti aviso alla S. V. Ill^ma^ del battesimo del Principe di Scotia. Con un' altra delli xiii. di Febraro le scrissi la mala satisfattione et diffidenza grande che era tra quella Regina et il Re suo marito. Con l' altre delli xxii., xxiii. del medesimo, et delli viii. del presente le feci intendere quanto insino all' hora s' era potuto sapere circa il particolare della morte del sudetto Re. Hora per gli ultimi avisi di Scotia s' è inteso che volendo quella Maiestà fare inquisitione degli auttori di quella sceleraggine si sono scoperti i Conti di Muray, et Boduel, amendue heretici et mal contenti del Re defunto che l'uno da' la colpa all' altro,[1] et già sono in

[1] The placards accusing Bothwell are, as a rule, dwelt upon to the exclusion of others, and not without some reason. But, in fact, Bothwell retaliated by accusing Murray of the crime. 'Quhilk thai burdinyit him with be placards

arme con gran seguito, talche quel povero regno è tutto sotto-sopra di maniera che ne anco la Regina stessa è molto sicura della persona sua. La maggior parte da la colpa a quel di Muray,[1] il quale essendo fratello della Regina, ancorchè bastardo, ha havuto sempre la mira d' occupare il regno, persuaso della setta contraria che gli tocchi di ragione, et massime che pretende che la madre sia stata segretamente sposata dal Re suo padre.[2]

[2] Onde per questi tumulti et per altri riscontri io ero gia delibberato subito dopo l'arrivo del padre Emondo licentiarmi da queste Maiesta et dal Cardinale di Lorena et andarmene alla mia chiesa senza aspettare la venuta di Mons^r de Dumblanense. Ma hora dopo havere inteso per la lettera di V. S. Ill^ma delli xvii. del passato l' ordine che l' è piacciuto darmi di mente di Nostro Signore non mi curerò anco di aspettare il detto padre Emondo, parendomi che Sua Santità veramente inspirata dallo spirito Santo habbia benissimo preveduto che la

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affixit be the erll of Huntlie and Bothwell and uther unleifull meanis for thair awne purgation.'—Draft accusations against Queen Mary, drawn up by or for the Earl of Lennox, preparatory to the proceedings at York and Westminster. I hope to publish them before long, together with the accompanying papers in MSS., Dd, 3, 66; Oo, 7, 47, University Library, Cambridge.

[1] The charge against Murray as 'suspected above all' was circumstantially stated by the Venetian ambassador at Paris on 20 March (*Venetian Calendar*, p. 389). An anonymous and undated news-letter from Paris of this time says: 'In France it is declared by the Scotch ambassador that the Lord James was the author of the king's death.'—*Foreign Calendar*, 1566-8, No. 1132.

[2] Reasons to substantiate this charge are given in the anonymous, but no doubt official, document from Florence, printed by Labanoff, vii. 315. Other reasons may be found in Chalmers (1822, iii. 383), and Goodall (ii. 358). See also next letter, § 2. Reasons that militate against the charge are well expressed in a letter from De Thou, printed by Laing (*History of Scotland* (1819), i., Appendix iv. p. 95). In August 1559, Cecil had instructed Sadler 'to explore the very truth whether the Lord James do mean any enterprise towards the croun of Scotland for himself or no, and if he do . . . it shall not be amiss to let the Lord James follow his own device therein,' etc. (Tytler, vi., Appendix xii. (ed. 1837, p. 455)). The statement that Murray tried to prove his legitimacy is found in several writers on Mary's side, especially the writer of the *Report on Scotland*, printed in English in Stevenson-Nau, p. 127: 'Ipse etiam Moravius, quod multum ante in pectore praemeditatum habebat; tunc [the writer is speaking of 1568] in omnium aures coepit effundere, se Regni haeredem, ac ex legitimo natum conjugio, cuius etiam rei testes producere nitebatur, qui interfuissent quando Jacobus v. matrem eius in uxorem duxerat.'

Divina giustitia non ha ancora posto fine al castigo di quella povera natione; non senza speranza però che quando le cose saranno più travagliate et disperate, si degnerà all' hora mostrare i santi effetti della sua infinita misericordia, et massime col mezzo delle santissime preghiere di Sua Beatitudine. [3] Me n' anderò a Rems fra tre giorni per rendere conto al Cardinale di Lorena del mio ritorno et poi farò il medesimo offitio con queste Maiestà, rendendomi certo che tutti resteranno infinitamente satisfatti della pietà et liberalità grandissima di Nostro Signore verso quella Regina, poi che non è mancato dal canto di Sua Beatitudine aiutare il buon zelo della Maiestà Sua in tutti quelli honesti et santi modi che ha potuto, delli quali se sua Maiestà non s' è potuta valere a salute sua et del suo regno, è stato per la pessima qualità de' tempi, et spererò partirmi il quarto giorno dopo Pasqua verso il Mondevi, et forse che intanto non solo verrà il detto P. Emondo ma anco il sudetto Vescovo Dumblanense il che saria con intiera satisfattione di quella Regina, [4] la quale secondo m' ha affermato questi giorni Mons^r di Croch in nome di Sua Maiestà veramente è sempre stata et è constantissima nella santa Religione Cattolica; ma trovandosi circondata tuttavia da quelli Signori heretici et molto potenti, è costretta non solo lasciare loro godere una buona parte dei benefitii ecclesiastici ma darli anco quel poco che ha dell' entrate di quel regno, s'era bene sforzata persuadere la nobiltà a ricevere il Nuntio apostolico, il quale Sua Maiestà desiderava sommamente, il che havendo ottenuto mando all' hora M. Stefano Vuilsone a Roma, per fare intendere a Nostro Signore questa risolutione, ma dapoi sicome per l'ambitione et superbia del marito, la nobiltà sera molto alterata, et la Regina haveva giusta cagione di temere, cosi hora dopo la morte d'esso Re, si sono scoperti tumulti,[1] [5] nè il detto Signore m' ha saputo negare che la Regina haveria potuto assicurare bene le cose sue con la punitione d'alcuni pochi capi, ma per essere troppo pietosa et clemente s' è posta a rischio di essere serva et farsi preda a quelli heretici, non senza pericolo della vita propria. Il prefato Mons^re partirà fra pochi giorni alla volta di Scotia, mandato da queste Maiestà con la solita cariga d' Am-

[1] The chronology of the events here referred to is given *supra*, No. 84.

basciatore appresso quella Regina. Esso è buon Cattolico et confidente della casa di Guisa di maniera che non potrà se non giovare alle cose della religione in quel regno;[1] per mezo del quale scriverò alla Regina, domandandole licenza et scusandomi della mia partita verso la mia Chiesa per vedere le cose di Scotia turbate di sorte che Sua Maiestà non potria per hora giovarsi del soccorso di Nostro Signore per rimettere la santa Religione nel suo regno; ma che io speravo fermamente nella solita benignità et santissimo zelo di Sua Santità, che ogni volta che la Maiestà Sua potesse meglio disporre gli animi dei suoi sudditi à ricever la santa fede Cattolica, sua Beatitudine non solamente lo soccorreria di questo et maggior aiuto, ma impiegheria anco tutte le forze ecclesiastiche con la vita propria per il servitio di Dio et per la salute di sua Maiestà et dei suoi popoli. Et che intanto non potendo io andare in persona, come desiderava, per farle qualche servitio et presentarle gli Agnus Dei in nome di Nostro Signore, gliele mandava per parte di Sua Santità con Mons^r di Croch, et per la Maiestà Sua et per il Serenissimo Principe suo figliuolo. Et con questa non occorrendomi dire altro alla V. S. Ill^ma le bacio riverentemente la mano, et prego Iddio che con lunghissima et felicissima vita di Nostro Signore conceda lei ogni contento et prosperità.

[The Bishop of Mondovi to the Cardinal of Alessandria.

Paris, 12 *March* 1566-7.

[1] By my letter of the 24th of January I informed your eminence of the baptism of the Prince of Scotland. By another of the 13th of February, I wrote to you of the evil understanding and distrust which there was between the queen and her husband. By others of the 22nd and 23rd of last month, and the 8th of the present, I informed you of all that could be known up to the present about the particulars of the king's death. Now by the last advices from Scotland we hear that, her Majesty desiring to make inquisition into the authors of that crime, the Earls of Murray and Bothwell have been discovered.[a] Both are heretics and enemies of the dead king; each lays the blame on the other, and they are already in arms with many followers. That unfortunate country is quite upset

[1] Du Croc is alluded to in an unfriendly tone by Nau, as 'depending entirely upon the queen mother, whose creature he was' (Stevenson-Nau, pp. 25, 235). This verdict does not seem so accurate as Laureo's.

again, so that not even the queen's life is secure. Most people[n] impute the crime to the Earl of Murray, who being the queen's brother has always had the throne in view, although he is a bastard. He is persuaded by the contrary sect that it is his by right, especially as he maintains that his mother was secretly espoused by the king his father.[n]

[2] By reason of these tumults, therefore, and other conflicts, I was already resolved to take my leave of their Majesties here and of the Cardinal of Lorraine, and to go to my church without awaiting the arrival of Monsignor of Dunblane. But now after having received, by the letter of your eminence of the 17th of last month, the order which you are pleased to give me in accordance with the mind of the Holy Father, I will not even trouble to await Father Edmund. I think his Holiness was really inspired; so well did he foresee that the Divine Justice has not yet put an end to the chastisement of that unfortunate nation. Yet I am not without hope that when things are more troubled and desperate, God will then deign to show the holy workings of His infinite mercy, especially by means of his Holiness' pious prayers.

[3] In three days I shall go to Rheims to explain my return to the Cardinal of Lorraine, then I will do the same with their Majesties here. I am sure that all will be entirely satisfied with the pious and great liberality of the Pope towards that queen, for there was no failure on the part of his Holiness to second the Scottish queen's zeal by all honest and godly means in his power. If her Majesty could not avail herself of them for her own safety and that of her realm, that has been because of the very evil nature of the times. I have hopes to leave on the fourth day after Easter for Mondovi. Perhaps before then I shall see not only Father Edmund but also the Bishop of Dunblane, which would greatly gratify the Queen of Scots.

[4] From what Monsignor du Croc has assured me lately in her Majesty's name, she always has been and is most constant in the holy Catholic religion, but as she finds herself ever surrounded by heretic lords who are very powerful, she is constrained not only to leave them in the enjoyment of a large part of the ecclesiastical benefices, but also to grant them such little revenues as the kingdom possesses. She did really endeavour to persuade her nobility to receive the Apostolic nuncio, which she desired extremely, and when she had obtained [their consent] she sent M. Stephen Wilson to Rome to inform his Holiness of this decision. But as the ambition and arrogance of her husband had made a great alteration in the nobles, and the queen had good reasons for fear, so now, since the king's death, fresh tumults have burst out.[n]

[5] The said signor could not deny that the queen could easily have made her position secure by punishing a few ringleaders, but being too prone to pity and clemency she has exposed herself to the risk of being the slave and the prey of those heretics, with danger even to her life. This gentleman will leave again for Scotland in a few days, with the

charge he has so long had of ambassador to that queen. He is a good Catholic and trusted by the house of Guise, so that he is sure to be of assistance to the affairs of religion in that kingdom.[a] Through him I shall write to the queen to take my leave, and to excuse my departure for my church, on the ground that I saw that the affairs of Scotland were so disturbed that her Majesty could not for the time being make use of the Pope's aid to restore holy religion in her kingdom, but that, trusting in the unvarying kindliness and holy zeal of the Pope, I should firmly confide that, whenever her Majesty could better dispose the minds of her subjects to receive the holy Catholic faith, the Pope would not only help her with succours as great and greater than these, but that he would devote all ecclesiastical resources, and his life itself, for the service of God and the salvation of her Majesty and her people. Meanwhile as I could not go in person to serve her as I desired, and present her the *Agnus Dei* in his Holiness' name, I had sent it for her Majesty and her son the prince through Monsignor du Croc. And nothing more occurring to me, etc., etc.]

No. 103

THE BISHOP OF MONDOVI TO THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA

Inghilterra, I. A, fol. 24 b.

[*Paris*, 16 *March* 1566-7]

Da Parigi, alli xvi. di Marzo del lxvii.

[1] Hieri arrivò qui il Padre Emondo in compagnia di Mons[r] di Muretta et dall' uno et l'altro s'è potuto à pieno intendere lo stato delle cose di Scotia, le quali sono hoggidi per la morte del Re turbate di maniera che si dubita di grandissimo sollevamento, imperocchè i Conti di Murray, di Athel, di Morton et altri Signori si son posti insieme con il Conte di Lenò, padre di esso Re, sotto pretesto di vendicare la morte del Re prefato. I Conti di Boduuel, di Honthle, con molti altri grandi, si trovano appresso la Reina per il medesimo effetto; ma l'una parte sta con sospetto dell'altra; et di già il Conte di Murray, essendo stato chiamato da Sua Maiestà, non ha voluto andarvi; [2] d'onde si giudica che esso (sicome ultimamente scrissi alla S. V. Ill[ma] con la mia delli xii del presente) havendo la mira di occupare il regno, si voglia servire di questa occasione per ammazzare il Conte di Boduuel, huomo valoroso, di molto credito, et confidentissimo alla Reina, con animo di potere poi

più facilmente insidiare alla vita di S. M^tà, et massime che può sperare per la dappocagine del Conte di Lenò havere, di permissione et consentimento di detto Lenò, il governo del Prencipe, et conseguemente di tutto il regno; la qual cosa se egli ottenesse, (che a Dio non piaccia) potria conseguire il scelerato fine che s'ha proposto, ne in questo gli mancheria il favore d'Inghilterra; la quale per il sospetto che ha del sudetto Principe, come legittimo herede di amendue quelli regni, non lascieria di favorire il detto Murray come suo dipendente et congionto con lei di obbligo et di religione. [3] S'aggionge a questo la poca fede et l'autorità di Milord d'Askin, fratello di sua madre, il quale havendo in guardia due fortezze delle principali di Scotia, cioè d'Edimbourg et di Strivelin, sicome altre volte ad instantia degli Inglesi tradì la madre di questa Regina, così abbandoneria hora la Maiestà sua per interesse del nipote, et massime che è entrato in sospetto che la Regina tentava levargli le dette fortezze per darle in custodia al Conte di Boduuel.[1] I detti Signori son tutti heretici, eccetto i Conti di Lenò et di Athel, li quali però si sono mostrati tanto tepidi nel fatto della religione che hanno sempre al ben publico anteposto il loro particolare interesse. Et se la Regina havesse fatto quello che gli fu consegliato et proposto dalla banda di quà, con promessa di tutti li aiuti che erano necessari a questa giustissima esecutione, si troveria hora a fatto patrona del suo regno, con auttorità di potervi restituire intieramente la Santa Fede Cattolica; ma ella non l'ha voluto mai intendere, non ostante che siano stati mandati espressamente alla Maiestà sua Mons^r Domblanense et il Padre Emondo per persuaderla ad abbracciare questa santissima impresa. Et piaccia a Dio che una così ingiusta impunità non apporte a sua Maiestà et a quel regno una total ruina.

[4] Il detto Padre Emondo mi ha detto, che la Regina haveva delibberato fra pochi di mandare Milord di Setun, Signor nobilissimo, molto Cattolico et honorato, con tre navili per condurre la persona del Nuntio in quella isola, con promessa a tutti i Prelati Cattolici di eseguire tutto quello che esso Nuncio havesse giudicato che Sua Maiestà potesse fare in

[1] Edinburgh Castle was delivered up by the Earl of Mar on 21 March.—*Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 107.

servitio della Santa Religione, et i Vescovi, per il desiderio grande del servitio di Dio, s'erano offerti a fare le spese di questo viaggio et degli honori che Sua Maiestà desiderava fare al Nuntio. Si dubitava solamente della sicurezza della persona mia, essendo alcuni di parere d'allogiarmi appresso la Regina, et altri nella fortezza di Edimbourg, per il sospetto grandissimo che havevano dei capi degli heretici, li quali si riducevano quasi tutti in quel numero che già mandai alla S. V. Ill^ma^ in un foglio a parte con la lettera mia delli xxi d'Agosto. Li quali sicome era facile alla Regina di castigare, così la Maiestà Sua haveria con dignità di Nostro Signore et sua potuto senza sospetto ricevere il Nuntio con isperanza certa di rimettere in breve la Religione Cattolica; et come che hora questa morte del Re habbia posto in disordine et scompiglio tutta quella isola, pure la Regina (secondo mi hanno affermato insieme Mons^r^ di Muretta, Signor molto Cattolico et intelligente, et il Padre Emondo) persiste nella medesima opinione di volermi appresso di se, ma ne l'uno ne l'altro è d'opinione che io debba andarvi in modo alcuno, assicurandomi che gli heretici mi farebbono al sicuro capitar male con niun servitio di Dio et con poca riputatione della Santa sede apostolica.

[5] Quanto al particolare della morte di quel Re, il detto Signor di Muretta ha ferma opinione che quel povero Prencipe, sentendo il rumore delle genti che attorniarono la casa et tentavano con le chiavi false aprire gli usci, volse uscir per una porta che andava al giardino in camicia con la pelliccia per fugire il pericolo, et quivi fu affogato, et poi condotto fuori del giardino in un piccolo horto fuor della muraglia della terra, et che poi con il fuoco ruinassero la casa per ammazzare il resto che era dentro. Di che se ne fa congiettura, perciocchè il Re fu trovato morto in camicia con la pelliccia a canto,[1] et

[1] 'The king had not lain one hour and half being in sleep till fifty persons in number environed that house, whereof xvi. of them, Bothwell being chief, came the secret way which she was wont herself to come to the king, her husband, and with their double keys opened all the doors of the garden and house, and so quietly entered his chamber: who finding him in bed finally did suffocate him with a wet napkin stipt in vinegar. After which being done, bare the body into the garden, his night gown of purple vellet furred with sables laid by him, and his servant William Tayler in like manner, who suffered death in like sort, whose souls the Lord receive into glory.'—Lennox MS. at Cambridge, see No. 102, *n.* 1; cf. Melville, *Memoirs* (1827), p. 174.

alcune donne, che alloggiavano vicino al giardino, affermano d'havere udito cridare il Re: 'Eh, fratelli miei, habbiate pietà di me per amor di colui che hebbe misericordia di tutto il mondo.' Et il Padre Emondo mi afferma che il Re quella mattina haveva, secondo il suo solito, audita la messa; et che era stato sempre allevato dalla madre Cattolicamente, ma che per desiderio di regnare, alle volte dissimulava l'antica religione. S'è così, degnesi sua divina Maiestà havere misericordia di quella povera anima!

[6] Quanto alla causa della sua morte non s'è potuto ancora intendere il vero, se non quello, che per sospetto ne mandai con due fogli a parte in diverse mani a V. S. Ill^ma.[1]

[7] Havendo io questi giorni passati scritto al Signor Cardinal di Lorena per disporre la mia partita verso il Mondevi, ho havuta la risposta della quale ne mando la copia alla S. V. Ill^ma insieme con quella della lettera che io gli mandai. Et penso partirmi domattina alla volta di Rems, con animo poi al ritorno di licentiarmi da questa Maiestà per essere in ordine al mio viaggio subito dopo le feste di Pasqua.

Bacio humilissimamente la mano di V. S. Ill^ma et prego il Signor Iddio che con lunghissima et felicissima vita di Nostro Signore conceda a lei ogni contento et prosperità.

[The Bishop of Mondovi to the Cardinal of Alessandria.

Paris, 16 *March* 1566-7.

[1] Yesterday Father Edmund arrived here in company with Monsignor di Moretta, and from both one and the other we have been able to understand fully the state of the affairs of Scotland. At this moment they are in such confusion owing to the death of the king, that there is fear of a very extensive insurrection, for the Earls of Murray, Athol, and Morton and other lords have joined with the Earl of Lennox, the king's father, under pretext of avenging his death. The Earls of Bothwell, Huntly, and many other men of importance are with the queen for the same purpose. Both sides are suspicious of each other, and already the Earl of Murray, having been called by her Majesty, would not go.

[2] Hence it is thought that he (as I last wrote on the 12th instant), aiming at the succession to the throne, desires upon this occasion to murder the Earl of Bothwell, a courageous man, much trusted and confided in by the queen, with the intention of being afterwards able to lay

[1] See *ante*, 23 February, No. 99, *n.* 2.

snares for the life of her Majesty with greater ease, especially as he can hope through the slothfulness of the Earl of Lennox to obtain, by his permission and consent, the governorship of the prince, and by consequence of the whole realm. If he should gain this (which may God avert) he may be able to accomplish the wicked end he has set before himself, and herein the favour of England will not be wanting. The English queen is jealous of the prince, as the legitimate heir of both these realms, and will not omit to favour the said Murray as her dependant, bound to her by many obligations as well as by religion.

[3] To this must be added the want of fidelity of Lord Erskine, the brother of [Murray's] mother. He is custodian of two of the chief fortresses of Scotland, that is, of Edinburgh and Stirling, and as on previous occasions at the instance of the English he betrayed the mother of this queen, so he will abandon her Majesty now to serve his nephew's interest, especially as he has conceived the suspicion that the queen will try to take from him the said fortresses to give them in charge to the Earl of Bothwell.[a] The said lords are all heretics except the Earls of Lennox and of Athol, but they have shown themselves so lukewarm in the matter of religion, that they have ever preferred their particular interests to the public good. If the queen had done that which was recommended and proposed to her from our side, with promise of all the aids necessary for that most just execution, she would find herself now really mistress of her kingdom, with authority to restore there the holy Catholic faith in its integrity. But she would never hear of it, notwithstanding that the Bishop of Dunblane and Father Edmund were sent expressly to persuade her to embrace that most holy enterprise. May God grant that an indulgence so unjust may not bring complete ruin on her Majesty and on her kingdom!

[4] Father Edmund has told me that the queen had resolved to send Lord Seton in a few days, who is a lord of noble birth, most Catholic and highly esteemed, with three ships to bring over the nuncio to that island, and that she would promise all the Catholic prelates to execute all that the nuncio should think that her Majesty could do for the service of holy religion; and that the bishops in their great desire for God's service had offered to pay the expenses of the voyage and of the honours which her Majesty desired to show the nuncio. The only doubt was about the safety of my person, some being of opinion that I ought to have my lodging with the queen, others that I should live in Edinburgh Castle, so great was the dread they had of the leaders of the heretics, who were almost all included in that list which I have already sent you in a *foglio a parte* with my letter of August 21. As it was easy for the queen to chastise them, so she would have been able to receive the nuncio without fear of consequences, in a way to bring honour to the Pope and to herself, and with the certain hope of soon restoring the Catholic religion, and though now this murder of the king has thrown the whole island into disorder and confusion, nevertheless

the queen persists in her desire of having me near her, as I am assured both by Father Edmund and by Monsignor di Moretta, who is a good Catholic as well as an intelligent man. But neither the one nor the other is of opinion that I ought by any means to go, assuring me that the heretics would certainly cause me some harm. I should be able to do nothing for God's service, and would bring little credit to the Apostolic see.

[5] As to the particulars of the death of the king, the said Monsignor di Moretta is strongly of opinion that the poor prince, hearing the noise of the people who surrounded the house and tried to open the doors with false keys, wanted to go out by a gate that led to the garden in his shirt and pelisse to escape the danger. There he was stifled and then brought out of the garden (*giardino*) into a little yard (*horto*) outside the town wall. Then with the fire they destroyed the house, in order to murder the others within. This is conjectured, because the king was found dead in his shirt with his pelisse at his side, and certain women who lodged near the garden affirm that they heard the king cry, 'O my brothers, have pity on me for the love of Him who had mercy on all the world.' Father Edmund tells me that the king had heard Mass that morning according to his custom; that his mother always brought him up a Catholic, but that out of a desire of the crown he sometimes dissembled the old religion. If so it is, may His Divine Majesty deign to have mercy on that poor soul!

[6] As to the reason of the murder, the truth has not yet been discovered, except that which I sent you on suspicion by two notes *a parte* through different hands.

[7] I wrote lately to the Cardinal of Lorraine to prepare for my departure for Mondovi. I have received his answer, of which I send you a copy, together with one of the letter which I sent to him. I think of starting to-morrow morning for Rheims, with the intention of taking leave of their Majesties here at my return, so as to be ready for my journey immediately after the feast of Easter, etc.]

SECTION X

THE NUNCIO'S RETURN

No. 104

THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA TO THE BISHOP OF MONDOVI

Polonia, 171, fol. 14.

[*Rome*, 17 *March* 1566-7]

MOLTO REV^O^ MONS^RE^, COME FRATELLO,—Ho ricevuto con quest' ordinario 3 lettere di V. S. R. cioè di 13, 22, 23 del passato, insieme con un foglio à parte in materia del caso successo in Scotia et con le copie et lettera nominata drento le sue, per aviso di lei, alla quale havendo con le mie precedenti di xvii del passato scritto a bastanza, mi rimetterò a quelle, repplicandole però questo solo ch'ella si debba metter' in camino alla ricevuta di questa verso la sua chiesa, poichè del suo passaggio in Scotia non si può haverne più speranza alcuna, il che se ben potrebbe esser stato esseguito dallei fin à quest' hora non ho voluto con tutto ciò lassar di dirle il medesimo circa la sua partita in nome di N. S^re^ con questa occasione di accusar la ricevuta delle sue lettere predette, et offerendomele ad ogni commodo et piacer suo per fine di questa ; pregando il S^or^ Dio che la conservi.

Di Roma à xvii di Marzo 1567.

Di V. S. molto R., come fratello, IL CAR^LE^ ALES^NO^.

[*Addressed as before.*]

[*Endorsed*] Ric^ta^ alli 7 d'Aprile.

[THE CARDINAL of ALESSANDRIA to the BISHOP of MONDOVI.

Rome, 17 *March* 1566-7.

VERY REVEREND MONSIGNOR,—By this post I received three letters from your lordship, that is, of the 13th, 22nd, and 23rd of last month, together with a separate note on what has happened in Scotland, and the copies and letter mentioned by you. As in my previous letters of the 17th of last month I sent to you sufficient directions, I refer you to them, repeating this only, that at the receipt of this you should commence your journey towards your church, for no further hope can be entertained about your journey to Scotland. It may indeed well be that this has been already undertaken by you before now, withal I would not omit to repeat, in the name of his Holiness, what I said about your going, on this occasion of acknowledging the receipt of your present letters, etc.

From Rome, on the 17th of March 1567.

Come fratello, THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA.

[*Endorsed*] Received 7 April.]

No. 105

THE BISHOP OF MONDOVI TO THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA

Inghilterra, i. A, fol. 26 b.

[*Paris, 26 March* 1567]

Da Parigi alli xxvi. di Marzo del lxvii.

[1] Io mi parti da questa città (sicome ultimamente scrissi a V. S. Ill^ma^ con la lettera mia delli xvi di questo) per rendere conto al Signor Cardinale de Lorena a Rems et a queste Maiestà in Fontanableo della risolutione che havevo fatta dopo la morte del Re [di] Scotia di ritornarmene al Mondevi; perchè vedevo che per li tumulti di Scotia quella Regina non haveria potuto a profitto della Religione valersi dell' aiuto di Nostro Signore et della servitù della persona mia; ma ogni volta però che quella Maiestà havesse qualche buona speranza di rimettere nel suo regno la santa Fede Cattolica, io speravo fermamente che sua Beatitudine, con la sua solita benignità et santissimo zelo, non haveria mancato di aiutare la Maiestà sua con questo et maggior soccorso. Di che il detto Signor Cardinale è rimaso intieramente sodisfatto, non havendosi potuto contenere di dolersi della Regina sua nepote, che non habbia voluto eseguire

il conseglio che esso le haveva fatto proporre dal suo gentilhuomo, di castigare quei pochi scelerati, seditiosi capi di fattione et auttori di tutto il male di quel regno, senzà la quale esecutione S. S. Ill^ma^ stessa affermava che non si saria potuto fare cosa di momento per la Religione Cattolica, ne sapeva scusare la detta Regina se non che era donna. [2] Il prefato signore attende con molto zelo et diligenza a conservare la sua diocese, et purgarla dalla infettione degli heretici, sforzandosi di fare eseguire esattamente il sacrosanto Concilio Tridentino. Haveva incominciato dalla Domenica di passione ad instantia d' una sua sorella, Abbadessa del Monasterio di San Pietro à Rems, nella medesima chiesa dell' Abbatia dopo desinare esporre in pergamo l'xi Capitolo della prima Epistola agli Corinthij, et io mi trovai presente il Giovedì passato, che dichiarò quel passo 'Accipite et manducate etc.' molto sottilmente, chiaramente et piamente. Et vi furono il Signor Cardinale di Guisa, la detta Madama sua sorella, et molte persone di qualità, et per la vicinanza della settimana santa non volsi starvi se non quel giorno intiero.

[3] In Fontanableo poi hebbi il Lunedì santo gratissima et benigna audienza dalla Regina, la quale dopo havermi grandemente lodata la santissima intentione di Nostro Signore et la pia et grandissima cura che la Santità Sua usa per il bene publico, entrò a ragionarmi dell' unione dei Prencipi Christiani, et che questa era opera sola di sua Beatitudine et degnissima della Santità Sua, perchè se si proponesse da altri che da Sua Santità, verbi gratia, dall' Imperatore, Francia et Spagna non la troveria buona; et così è converso riputandosi ciascuno di questi prencipi l'uno non inferiore all' altro, ma da Nostro Signore che come padre universale debbe meritamente essere riverito et obedito da ciascuno; gli alteri prencipi la riceveriano più volentieri et con maggior prontezza. Et sopra questo la Maiestà Sua si distese con grand' affetto, offerendosi con il Re suo figliuolo di fare tutto quello che sarà loro possibile per questa santissima et utilissima opera; et affinchè la unione sia universale, pare alla Maiestà sua che s' havesse a incominciare et fondare sopra la conservatione della Christianità contra il Turco, commun nemico, et che poi si potria fermamente sperare qualche gran profitto per la santa Religione Cattolica.

[4] Io le risposi che se ci fu mai tempo da sperare un si gran bene da cristiani, era hora che tutti i Principi possono havere conosciuto con effetto che Nostro Signore spogliato d'ogni particolar interesse ha solamente la mira alla gloria di Dio, alla conservatione della Religione et al bene universale dei Prencipi Christiani, et di tutta la Christianità; et che credevo fermamente che Sua Beatitudine non solo impiegherà à questo tutte le forze ecclesiastiche ma spargeria anco volentieri il proprio sangue; et che sarà alla Santità Sua gran contentezza il vedere la Maiestà Sua così ben disposta al benefitio della Christianità; et in questo proposito fu detto assai dalla Regina, et dal canto mio non s'è mancato rispondere in genere secondo le proposte.

[5] Mi licentiai poi dal Re et dai Serenissimi Duchi suoi fratelli, et dal Signor Cardinal di Borbona; et dalla Maiestà Sua mi furono dimandate pertinentamente molte cose di questa mia negotiatione nelle quali parvemi d'haverla à pieno sodisfatta, et massimamente nella prontezza et sollecitudine che Nostro Signore ha usato in soccorrere quella Regina per le cose della Religione.

[6] Io mi trattenerò qui questi giorni santi con ferma deliberatione di mettermi in viaggio subito dopo le feste. Nè mancherò secondo l'ordine di V. S. Ill^ma^ darle aviso incontinente che, con la gratia di Dio, sia arrivato nel Mondovi. [7] Et poichè per la lettera di lei a Monsignor Nuntio delli iii del presente V. S. Ill^ma^ dice havere ricevuta la lettera di detto Signore delli xxv di Gennaro, et non haverne havuta altra mia eccetto delli iiii, sono constretto hora a mandarle il duplicato della mia lettera di xxiiii, la quale io mandai insieme con lo spaccio di xxv del prefato Signore, et maravigliomi che ella si sia smarrita, et massime che'l mio huomo m'afferma d'haverla portata lui medesimo in casa di esso Signor Nuntio et consignata al Segretario di S. S. R^ma^. Scrissile dipoi delli xiii, xxii, xxiii, xxvii di Febraro, con due fogli a parte, et delli viii, xii et xvi del presente mese; le quali voglio sperare che sortiranno meglior esito che la sudetta di xxiiii.

Bacio riverentemente la mano di V. S. Ill^ma^ et prego la Divina bontà che con felicissima et lunghissima vita di Nostro Signore, conceda a lei ogni contento et prosperità.

[THE BISHOP of MONDOVI to the CARDINAL of ALESSANDRIA.

Paris, 26 March 1567.

[1] I STARTED from this city (in accordance with what I last wrote in my letter of the 16th) to explain to the Cardinal of Lorraine at Rheims and to their Majesties at Fontainebleau the resolution I had taken after the death of the King of Scotland to return to Mondovi, because I saw that owing to the disturbances of Scotland the queen would not have been able to avail herself of the aid of the Pope nor of my personal services for the good of religion; but that when at any time her Majesty should have some good hope of restoring in her kingdom the holy Catholic faith, I firmly believed that his Holiness, with his usual kindness and holy zeal, would not fail to help the queen with these or greater succours. At this the said Lord Cardinal was entirely satisfied, and was unable to restrain his complaints of the queen his niece, in that she would not follow the counsel which he had proposed by his agent, *viz.*, to chastise those few wicked and rebellious faction leaders, the authors of all the evil of that country, without whose execution his eminence himself declared nothing of moment could be done for the Catholic religion, nor could he excuse the said queen, except by saying that she was a woman.

[2] The cardinal uses the greatest zeal and diligence in looking after his diocese and in purifying it from the infection of the heretics, exerting himself to have the holy Council of Trent exactly observed. He had commenced on Passion Sunday at the instance of his sister [Renata], the abbess of the monastery of St. Peter at Rheims, to expound the eleventh chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians after breakfast from the pulpit of the said abbey church. I was present on Thursday last when he explained that passage *Accipite et manducate*, etc., which he did very minutely, clearly, and piously. There were present the Cardinal of Guise, the lady his sister, and many persons of quality. Owing to the nearness of Holy Week I would not stay more than one whole day.

[3] Afterwards at Fontainebleau, on Monday in Holy Week, I had a most gracious and kindly audience from the queen. After having praised the holy intentions of our lord the Pope, and his very great and pious care for the public good, she began to discourse to me of the union of Christian princes. It was a work, she said, which his Holiness only could carry out, and was one worthy of him. If any one else but he were to propose it, *e.g.*, the emperor, then France and Spain would not take it well, and *vice versa*; each of these princes thinking himself not inferior to the other. But if the Pope, who as universal father ought indeed to be revered and obeyed by all, should make the proposal, the other princes would receive it more willingly and promptly. And hereupon her Majesty dilated with much feeling, offering herself and the king her son to do all that it was possible for them to do towards this

most holy and most profitable undertaking. In order that the union may be universal, it appears to her Majesty that it ought to begin and be founded on the preservation of Christendom from the Turk, the common enemy, and that then one might firmly hope for some great profit for the holy Catholic religion.

[4] I answered her that if ever there was a time to hope for so great a boon for Christendom, this was the hour at which all rulers might know by experience that the Pope, having put off all private interests, has nothing in view but the glory of God, the preservation of religion, and the universal good of Christian princes, and that I was firmly convinced that his Holiness would not only employ all the Church's forces for this purpose, but would also gladly shed his very blood, and that it would be a great pleasure to his Holiness to see her Majesty so well disposed to the assistance of Christendom. On this point the queen said much, and on my part there was no want of correspondence according to her proposals in general terms.

[5] I afterwards took my leave of the king, of the dukes his brothers, and of the Cardinal of Bourbon. His Majesty asked me many questions in reference to my negotiations. I believe I quite satisfied him about it, especially as to the promptitude and solicitude which the Pope has used in succouring that queen for the interests of religion.

[6] I shall stay here for these holy days, with the firm resolve of commencing my journey immediately after them. I shall not fail to warn you, according to your orders, the moment that, by the grace of God, I shall arrive at Mondovi.

[7] Moreover, as by your letter to the nuncio of the 3rd instant, your eminence says that you received his letter of the 25th of January, but none of mine except that of the 4th, I am now constrained to send you the duplicate of mine of the 24th [of January]. I sent it together with the said nuncio's despatch of the 25th, and wonder how it can have disappeared, especially as my messenger assures me he carried it himself to the house of the nuncio, and consigned it to his secretary. After that I wrote to you on the 13th, 22nd, 23rd, and 27th of February with two notes *a parte*, as also on the 8th, 12th, and 16th of the current month. I shall hope that they may have a happier fate than the note of the 24th. I kiss reverently your eminence's hand, etc.]

No. 106

THE BISHOP OF MONDOVI TO THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA

Inghilterra, I. A, fol. 28.

[*Paris*, 8 *April* 1567]

Da Parigi, alli viii. d'Aprile M.D. LXVII.

[1] Il Signor Ambasciador di Scotia sperando che Mons^r^ Domblanense dovesse fra pochi di comparire qui, sicome esso m'havea scritto per la lettera sua delli xvii. di Febraro, la quale io già mandai alla S. V. Ill^ma^ mi pregò instantemente che indugiassi à partirmi di quà insino à questa settimana. Sopra di che ho voluto compiacerlo, per mostrargli con effetto, che non mancavo, secondo la santissima intentione di Nostro Signore, usare ogni debita modestia et patientia, purchè ci sia qualche speranza di fare servitio alla Santa Religione Cattolica per la salute di quella Serenissima Regina et del suo regno. Et poichè questa settimana son venuti alcuni Scozzesi che partirono d'Edimbourg alli xv. del passato, et non danno speranza alcuna della venuta di detto Dumblanense, mi partirò, con l'aiuto di Dio, fra tre giorni, secondo l'ordine che è piacciuto à V. S. Ill^ma^ darmi per l'ultima sua delli xvii. del passato; parendomi secondo il giuditio dei buoni, et in particolare del Signor Ambasciador di Spagna, d'havere à pieno sodisfatto alla degnità et riputatione di Sua Santità, et massime con l'havere efficacemente mostrato à ciascuno che la Santità Sua non è in modo alcuno per mancare d'ogni amorevole et paterna dimostratione in favore della Regina di Scotia ogni volta che Sua Maiestà possa disporre i suoi sudditi à ricevere, con l' aiuto di Dio, la santa Fede Cattolica.

[2] Dalli sodetti Scozzesi si è inteso che li tumulti di Scotia erano pacati, essendo tutti quei signori principali obedienti alla Regina, la quale haveva levata la fortezza d'Edimbourg à Milord d'Asckin et consignatala al Conte di Boduuel, il che ha dato tanto sdegno, et spavento al Conte di Muray, figliuol della sorella d'Askin, che egli ha dimandata licenza alla Regina per andarsene fuori di Scotia. Et se questo è vero si potria sperare che quella Maiestà, tocca dallo Spirito Santo, si facesse pian piano la strada alla obedientia et alla restitutione

della Santa Religione, et massime con la speranza che s'ha hora della venuta del Re Cattolico in Italia, et forse in Fiandra. Pure non essendo questi avisi per lettera di alcuno, ma solo per relatione dei detti Scozzesi, i quali sono Ugonotti, non se li presta intiera fede, potendosi dubitare che sia qualche inventione per colorire le cose di là nel modo che si desidera dai Cattolici, et forse per impedire gli aiuti che da Francia si potriano dare à quelli che dipendono dalla Reina; et massime che dall' Ambasciatore qui d'Inghilterra s'era sparsa voce che tra quelli Signori di Scotia fusse seguito qualche fatto d'arme. Pure non dovrà tardar molto à intendersi il vero. Di che Mons^r^ Nuntio non lascierà darne aviso à V. S. Ill^ma^ dovendo essere all' avvenire informato delle cose di quel regno con l'indrizzo d'alcune persone Cattoliche et fedeli che solevano communicarmi le cose di Scotia assai sinceramente. [3] Sopra di che non voglio lasciare di dire à V. S. Ill^ma^ che era di bisogno usare molta diligenza et non isparagnare à spesa et à fatica veruna, altrimente saria stato difficile d'intendere il vero, et forse s' haveria apportato danno notabile alla Sede Apostolica solo con ricevere speranza senza effetti, imperochè i principali che maneggiavano questo negotio, veramente non hanno proceduto insino dal principio sicome V. S. Ill^ma^ potette comprendere dal foglio à parte con la mia lettera delli xxi. d'Agosto, con la sincerità che si conveniva. Perchè insin dalla prima volta che io ragionai in Parigi col Signor Cardinale di Lorena, si sono doluti straniamente con alcuni che io ero troppo bene informato delle cose di Scotia. [4] Comunche che sia non lascierò per il servitio di Dio et di sua Beatitudine ricordare con ogni debita humiltà et riverenza à Sua Santità, che quella Regina come che sia donna, et si lascie trasportare dagli interessi di Stati, come molti altri Principi Christiani, ella è però Cattolica et fa professione di Cattolica, et desidera essere conosciuta et riputata tale, di maniera che si può sperare che il Signor Iddio la inspirerà et le concederà la gratia di potere in qualche tempo, con l'aiuto et benignità di Nostro Signore rimettere la santa Fede nel suo regno, et per questo voglio sperare che Sua Beatitudine si degnerà accarezzarla, et tuttavia risguardarla con l'occhio della grandissima bontà et clementia sua. [5] Et perciochè il Padre Emondo per maggior iscarigo suo ha voluto

darmi conto del suo viaggio in scriptis, io non voglio lasciare per servitio della Beatitudine Sua mandare à V. S. Ill^ma^ la medesima scrittura di lui, dalla quale si comprende in buona parte tutto il progresso di questa negotiatione, et anco quello che si può sperare delle cose di là.

[6] Quanto ai danari del soccorso, restano xvi^m^ △^ti^, perciochè se ne mandarono, come V. S. Ill^ma^ sa, à quella Regina iiii^m^ et della mia provisione mi son valuto per trattenermi qua del mese d'Agosto, quando io arrivai in Parigi, insino al mese di Marzo inclusive, che sono otto mesi intieri.

Bacio riverentemente la mano di V. S. Ill^ma^, etc.

[THE BISHOP of MONDOVI to the CARDINAL of ALESSANDRIA.

Paris, 8 *April* 1567.

[1] MONSIGNOR the Ambassador of Scotland, hoping that the Bishop of Dunblane would arrive here in a few days, according to his letter to me of the 17th of February, which I have already sent on to you, prayed me earnestly that I would delay my departure hence until this week. On which point I was willing to please him, to show him that I indeed did not fail, in accordance with the holy intention of the Pope, to show all due moderation and patience, so long as there should be any hope of assisting the holy Catholic religion and the salvation of her serene Majesty and her kingdom. This week, however, some Scots have arrived who left Edinburgh on the 15th of last month, and they give no hope at all of the coming of the bishop. I shall therefore depart, with God's help, in three days, according to the order, which you were pleased to give me by your letter of the 17th of last month. It seems to me that according to the judgment of good Catholics, and in particular of Mons. the Ambassador of Spain, I have done all that the dignity and reputation of his Holiness required, especially that I have effectually demonstrated to every one that his Holiness will in no way fail to show every office of paternal love to the Queen of Scotland, whenever she can dispose her subjects to receive, with the aid of God, the holy Catholic religion.

[2] From the aforenamed Scots we have heard that the disturbances of Scotland were quieted, all the principal lords remaining obedient to the queen. She has taken away the guardianship of Edinburgh Castle from Lord Erskine, and granted it to the Earl of Bothwell, and this has given the Earl of Murray such offence and alarm that he has taken leave of the queen in order to go forth out of Scotland. If this be so, one may hope that that queen, moved by the Holy Ghost, was little by little paving the way towards obedience, and the restoration of holy religion. This may be the more easily done as there is now a hope that the King of Spain may come to Italy, and perhaps to Flanders. However, as this

information is not drawn from any one's letters, but only from the statements of the said Scotsmen, who are Huguenots, entire credit should not be given it. It may be feared that this is some fabrication contrived in order to give affairs there the colour which Catholics desire, and perhaps [the report is made] to stay the succours which might be given by France to those who are on the queen's side. The English ambassador here has spread abroad the report that some Scots lords were up in arms. But it will not be long now ere the truth is known, and Monsignor Nuncio will not fail to inform you about it. In future he will have the help of certain faithful Catholic persons in obtaining information about the affairs of that kingdom, who were accustomed to tell me of Scottish affairs with much sincerity.

[3] On this point I must not fail to tell your eminence that I had to use much diligence and to spare no expense or labour, otherwise it would have been hard to learn the truth, and perhaps notable harm would have been done to the Holy See by accepting as reliable hopes which were ill-founded [*lit.* by simply receiving hopes without effects]. The truth is that the principals, who managed this business, really did not from the beginning proceed with becoming sincerity, as you were able to understand from the note *a parte* sent with my letter of the 21st of August. After my very first interview in Paris with the Cardinal of Lorraine, strange complaints were made in certain quarters that I was too well versed in the affairs of Scotland.

[4] However this may be, I must not omit to record, for the service of God and of his Holiness with all due humility and reverence, that although that queen is a woman and allows herself to be carried away by State interests, as many other Christian princes do, yet she is a Catholic, and makes profession of being one, and desires to be acknowledged and reputed as such, in such sort that one may hope that the Lord God will inspire her, and give her the grace to be able to restore the holy faith in her kingdom some day with the Pope's assistance. For this reason I would hope that his Holiness will be condescending and indulgent with her, and ever regard her doings in the best and most kindly light he can.

[5] Father Edmund, for the better discharge of his duty, means to leave me an account of his journey in writing. I shall not fail to forward the report itself to your eminence for the Holy Father's service. From it you will in great measure comprehend the whole course of this negotiation, and see what hopes may be entertained in the present state of Scottish affairs.

[6] In regard to the money for the subsidy, there remain sixteen thousand scudi, for, as you know, four thousand were sent to the queen, and I have availed myself of the sum provided for my maintenance here since the month of August, when I arrived in Paris, until the month of March inclusive, which makes eight months complete.

I kiss your eminence's hand, etc.]

No. 107

THE BISHOP OF MONDOVI TO THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA

Inghilterra, I. A, fol. 29.

[*Lyons, 23 April* 1567]

Da Lione alli xxiii. d'Aprile M.D. lxvii.

Io mi parti da Parigi alli x et arrivai in questa città alli xxi dove da Mons^r^ Buathier, Vicario di questo arcivescovato, persona molto Cattolica et intiera, il quale ha anco la cariga di due priorati,[1] che ho qui vicini, sono stato avvertito che era necessario che io mi transferissi insino alli detti luoghi per obviare al male che si fa da un ministro heretico che sta alli confini di essi priorati. Non ho potuto pertanto mancare trovandomi si appresso al luogo mettere qualche x o xv giorni di più per visitarli, et mi rendo sicuro che Nostro Signore per la solita pietà et benignità sua si degnerà concedermi gratiosamente il poco tempo che metterò in questa visita per satisfare in qualche parte al debito della conscientia mia, et come che io non habbia lasciato provedere a questo disordine con la continua presenza d'alcuni padri predicatori della compagnia di Giesù. Nondimeno la infettione di questo paese è si grande che apporta contagione ai luoghi circonvicini, talchè appena si può usare la diligenza che si conviene al bisogno, et à questo effetto mi partirò domattina con animo di ritornarmene in breve alla mia chiesa, dove mi sforzarò con la gratia di Dio dare occasione à Sua Beatitudine, di non haversi mai à pentire della elettione che s'è degnata fare della persona mia in quella città,[2] et riputerò sempre non poca contentezza mia impiegare ogni fatica, et tutto quel poco che ho in questo mondo con la vita propria per servitio di Nostro Signore et della S. V. Ill^ma^ alla quale bacio riverentemente la mano, et prego il Signor Iddio che con lunghissima et felicissima vita di Sua Santità conceda a V. S. Ill^ma^ somma felicità.

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[1] Some account of these benefices will be found in Tritonio, *Vita Vincentii Laurei*, p. 7.

[2] This choice implied a special honour, as Pius had himself occupied that see, before his election to that of Rome.

[THE BISHOP of MONDOVI to the CARDINAL of ALESSANDRIA.

Lyons, 23 *April* 1567.

I LEFT Paris on the 10th, and reached this city on the 21st. Here Monsignor Buathier, vicar of the archdiocese, a Catholic of great integrity, who has also charge of two priories,* which I have in this neighbourhood, informed me that I must betake myself to those places, while I am so near them, in order to prevent the evil which is done by an heretical minister, who is stationed in their neighbourhood. I could not therefore avoid devoting an additional ten days or a fortnight to visiting them, and I feel sure that the Holy Father, with his usual paternal kindness, will graciously allow me the short time which I shall spend on this visitation, in order to satisfy, to some extent, what my conscience demands. I have not omitted to provide against this disorder by procuring that some preachers of the Society of Jesus should be there constantly. Nevertheless, the infection of this neighbourhood is so great that the contagion spreads to adjacent places, so that it is hardly possible to bestow the extraordinary care which the necessity of the case requires.

It is for this purpose that I shall go off to-morrow, with the intention of returning shortly to my church, and shall exert myself, with God's aid, to give his Holiness reason never to regret having, in his goodness, chosen me for that church.* I shall ever think it no small happiness to employ all my labour, and all that little which I own in this world, with my life itself, in the service of his Holiness and of your eminence, whose hand I kiss, etc.].

No. 108

THE BISHOP OF MONDOVI TO THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA

Inghilterra, I. A, fol. 29 b.

[*Turin*, 13 *May* 1567]

Da Turino alli xiii. di Maggio del lxvii.

[1] Io feci quel viaggio in visitare li miei priorati, sicome da Lione scrissi alla S. V. Ill^ma^ et in quelli pochi giorni che vi stetti mi sforzai con la gratia di Dio dar quel meglior ordine che potetti per benefitio di quelli luoghi, nè vi trovai se non pochissimo numero d'Ugonotti, i quali per la lor mala vita son di si poco credito et di si cattiva opinione appresso il popolo che senza il rispetto dei magistrati sarebbono mandati in mal hora o lapidati. Quel ministro predicante che si tiene nelli confini non è di più existimatione che si siano i suoi seguaci, et all' incontro le prediche che si fanno di continuo

dalli Predicatori Cattolici fanno grandissimo profitto non solo in conservare i buoni, ma ancora in convertire quelli che sono fuori della strada della verità, talche si vede con effetto quod non est abbreviata manus Domini. [2] Gionsi due di fà in questa città et hieri visitai queste Altezze, havendo loro dato conto dell' ottima voluntà di Nostro Signore verso la Regina di Scotia et delli impedimenti che quella Maiestà ha di potere per hora mettere in esecutione la santissima intentione di Sua Beatitudine, di che sicome l'Altezze loro hanno sommamente lodata et commendata la gran pietà et benignità di Sua Santità, così si sono mostrate compassionevoli dello stato di quel regno. Mi partirò hoggi verso il Mondevi, dove dopo che sarò a pieno informato dell' occorrenze di quella diocese, m'ingegnerò con l'aiuto di Dio usare la diligenza et desterità che mi sarà possibile, affinchè dalle loro Altezze sia aiutato et promosso il culto divino et la osservanza della Santa Religione Cattolica.

[3] Con le mie ultime di Parigi feci intendere alla S. V. Ill^ma^ che dei xx^m^ △, essendone mandati iiii^m^, ne restavano xvi^m^, et quanto all' intertenimento mio m'ero valuto della provisione di otto messi intieri, cioè dalli x d'Agosto per insino alli x d'Aprile che demorai in Parigi, nè si è apportata altra spesa alla Sede apostolica, eccetto delli mille △ che piacque a Nostro Signore darmi per viatico quando mi partì da Roma, et questo sia per informatione di V. S. Ill^ma^ et per iscarigo mio. [4] Vero è che circa li xvi^m^ △, havendo io in sul mio partire da Parigi, per riputatione di Sua Beatitudine et per eccittare et mantenere tuttavia il buono et santo zelo della Regina di Scotia verso la fede Cattolica, data speranza à sua Maiestà et all' Ambasciatore suo che Sua Santità, come amorevolissimo e pietosissimo padre, non mancheria in ogni occasione soccorrere la Maiestà sua di questo et maggior aiuto per la restitutione della Cattolica Religione in quel regno. Non voglio mancare con ogni debita riverenza' ricordare à V. S. Ill^ma^ che mi parrebbe espediente per il servitio di Dio et di sua Beatitudine che per qualche tempo non si sapesse in modo alcuno che il deposito di detti danari fusse levato per impiegarli altrove, acciocchè quella Regina vedendo in effetto che Sua Santità sta di continuo ad hostium et pulsat, si exciti tanto più ardentemente à preparar le cose di quel regno per

rimettervi la Santa Religione Cattolica. Et con questo fine bacio riverentemente la mano di V. S. Ill^ma^ pregando il Signor Iddio che con lunghissima et felicissima vita di Nostro Signore conceda à lei ogni contento et prosperità.

[THE BISHOP of MONDOVI to the CARDINAL of ALESSANDRIA.

Turin, 13 *May* 1567.

[1] I HAVE completed the journey to visit my priories,[a] of which I wrote to your eminence from Lyons. In the few days I stayed there I exerted myself to introduce, with God's assistance, such discipline as seemed best adapted to benefit those places. I found but very few Huguenots, and they were men of such bad life as to be despised and hated by the people, so that, if it had not been for the magistrates, they would have been seriously maltreated or stoned. The preaching minister, who keeps on the confines, is not more respected than his followers, while on the contrary the frequent sermons of the Catholic preachers are most efficacious, not merely in guarding the good, but also in bringing back those who had strayed from the way of truth; in short one realises that 'the hand of the Lord is not shortened' [Isa. lix. 1].

[2] I arrived in this city two days ago, and yesterday I visited their Highnesses [the Duke and Duchess of Savoy], and gave them an account of the great goodwill of our lord the Pope towards the Queen of Scotland, and of the difficulties which prevent her Majesty from following his Holiness' advice for the present. In answer they spoke most warmly of his Holiness' great goodness and kindness, and showed much compassion for the realm of Scotland. I shall leave for Mondovi to-day, and after I shall have carefully informed myself of what has happened in my diocese, I will vigorously and diligently use all the endeavours I can to lead their Highnesses to support and provide for divine worship and the observance of the holy Catholic religion.

[3] In my last letter from Paris I informed your eminence that after sending off four thousand scudi, there remained sixteen thousand out of the twenty thousand scudi; while for my personal expenses I had drawn the allowance for the eight whole months I stayed at Paris, that is, from the 10th of August till the 10th of April. These are my only expenses, beyond the four hundred scudi which our lord the Pope kindly gave me for travelling when I left Rome. This much for your information and my discharge.

[4] As to the sixteen thousand scudi, the truth is that when I left Paris —partly for his Holiness' credit, partly to arouse and maintain in the Queen of Scotland a holy and wholesome zeal for the Catholic faith—I threw out hopes to her Majesty and to her ambassador, that his Holiness, being the most affectionate and tender-hearted of fathers, would not fail to succour her Majesty with that subsidy or with even ampler assistance, when any occasion occurred for the restoration of the faith in that kingdom. With

all due submission, I must suggest to your eminence that in my opinion it would be expedient for the service of God and of his Holiness, that no one should know at the present time that the aforesaid deposit of money has been removed for use in other places, to the end that the queen, seeing how in truth the Pope ever 'stands at the door and knocks,' should rouse herself with renewed ardour to prepare Scotland for the restoration of the holy Catholic religion. And herewith I kiss reverently your eminence's hand, etc.]

No. 109

THE BISHOP OF MONDOVI TO THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA

Inghilterra, I. A, fol. 31.

[*Mondovi*, 18 *June* 1567]

Dal Mondovi alli xviii di Giugno del lxvii.

[1] Ricevetti hieri una lettera della Regina di Scotia scritta di suo pugno in Francese, nella quale la Maiestà Sua mostra desiderio grande d'essere conservata nella buona gratia et opinione di Nostro Signore et di volere vivere et morire in la santa Cattolica fede. Et perciochè potria essere che per le nuove che vengono di Francia la Santità sua havesse cagione di dubitare dell' animo di quella Maiestà, non ho voluto mancare di mandare alla S. V. Ill^ma^ la medesima lettera con la tradottione in Italiano, affinchè sua Beatitudine, considerando la efficatia delle parole della stessa Regina, habbia occasione di consolarsi.[1]

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[1] Mary's holograph is preserved in the Vatican, *Litterae Principum*, vol. xxxii., and printed by Labanoff, ii. 20.

'Monsieur de Mondevis,—The designs which, as I am informed, some ministers of the queen, my good sister, entertain touching the maltreatment of some of my subjects, as they pass, warn me to risk nothing in this letter, and I have prayed the Sieur du Croc to inform you of my desire of communicating with you. For this purpose, I shall send you an express messenger when I am back at Edinburgh, and meanwhile I beg you to keep me in his Holiness' good grace, and do not let him be induced to doubt my resolution to die in the Catholic faith and for the good of his Church, which may God increase and maintain, and give you long and happy life.

'From Sterling this 22 of April.

'Votre bien bonne amye, Marie R̃.'

That Elizabeth's ministers thought Mary's letters fair game wherever they

[2] Hor la Maiestà sua in questa lettera si rimette a quello che mi scrive Mons^r di Croc, ambasciatore del Re Christianissimo in Scotia; pertanto mi pare conveniente di inviare anco à V. S. Ill^ma la copia della lettera del sudetto Signor di Croc, nella quale, come che egli dica, che la Regina desidereria grandemente ch'io mandassi in Scotia un mio, con il quale ella potesse communicare i suoi concetti, nondimeno dicendomi la Maiestà Sua nella sudetta lettera di volere nel suo ritorno in Edimbourg mandarmi per questo un huomo espresso, non mi pare d'havere in questa parte à rispondere cosa veruna insino all' altro avviso di Sua Maiestà; et in questo mentre si potranno ancò più chiaramente intendere i progressi della Maiestà Sua et di quel regno.[1]

[3] Vero è che per li sospetti della guerra d'Inghilterra potria essere che la Regina di Scotia non si assicurasse mandare altro huomo, et massime che la lettera di Mons^r di Croc, alla quale Sua Maiestà si rimette, essendo della data delli iiii di Maggio, viene ad essere posteriore alla lettera della Regina xii giorni intieri, talchè sarà facil cosa che la Regina stando nella speranza della lettera di Mons^r di Croc, non mandasse più quell' huomo espresso per il detto sospetto di guerra. [4] S'aggionge à questo ch'ella per molti rispetti potria dubitare di non essere in buona opinione di Nostro Signore, talche entrando forse in sospetto d'essere disprezzata et abbandonata da Sua Santità pigliasse qualche strania delibberatione, verbi gratia, in maritarsi con il Conte di Boduel; et massime che questo stimolo può troppo nelle donne giovani et libere, il qual matrimonio non si potria eseguire senza dispreggio et forse

could be seized is sufficiently clear from extracts from Randolph's and Smith's letters already printed. The case which Mary had in view in the first sentence of this letter may be that of Anthony Standen, junior (cf. Stevenson-Nau, ci, with Labanoff, ii. 5).

[1] How is it that Laureo, with information before him dating down to 4 May at least, knows nothing of Mary's abduction on the 24th of April, and that her marriage with Bothwell was on the high road to conclusion? We may conjecture that the Bishop of Dunblane's letter, which miscarried (see *infra*, § 9), was meant to explain the secret of the situation, or that du Croc had perforce to use ambiguous language, and that though he was read aright up to a certain point, his full meaning was not understood. Perhaps du Croc hoped that the crowning misfortune might still have been averted.

abbandono (quod absit) della Santa Religione Cattolica, vivendo ancora la moglie di quel conte, la quale essendo sorella del Conte di Hontle, signor nobilissimo et potente, si può molto ben guardare d'esser fatta morire. [5] Pertanto non voglio lasciare con la riverenza che debbo mettere in consideratione à V. S. Ill^ma^ che saria espediente al servitio di Dio et di Sua Beatitudine che Nostro Signore mostrasse con qualche segno esteriore tener conto della salute di quella Regina et del suo regno, con darmi ordine che io mandassi, sicome essa desidera, qualche persona confidente, la quale io giudicherei à proposito il P. Emondo Scozzese, imperochè essendo esso informato di tutto il negotio et conoscendo gli humori del paese, potria, come Scozzese, satisfare alla Regina et persuaderle anco molte cose buone et riferire poi di quà intieramente l'animo della Maiestà Sua.

[6] Quanto alla spesa del suo andare in Scotia et tornare in Parigi basteranno circa sessanta △^ti^, et se piacesse poi à Sua Santità che venisse à fare la relatione in queste parti v' anderà quasi la medesima spesa, et crederei che questo apporteria molta consolatione et satisfattione a quella povera Regina, et saria anco con l'aiuto di Dio mezo di contenerla in offitio sotto la obedienza di Nostro Signore.

[7] Circa la sicurezza del P. Emondo potrà facilmente, essendo religioso, andare in Fiandra, o in Olanda, et di là passare sicuramente in Scotia, essendo il tragitto breve; et quando questo fosse servitio di Nostro Signore bisogneria havere una lettera dal Padre Generale della Compagnia ch'esso Padre Emondo sotto precetto d'ubbidienza eseguisse quanto gli fusse ordinato, etc.[1] [8] Il zelo dell' honore di Dio et di sua Beatitudine, et della salute di quel povero regno m'ha sforzato a dire tutto questo, ancorchè sia superfluo, conoscendo benissimo che'l prudentissimo et santissimo giuditio di Nostro Signore eseguirà molto meglio di quello ch'io saprei pensare,

[1] Laureo presumably means that Hay, having little exterior dignity to maintain, could adapt himself to the surroundings, travel in disguise, etc. Having been placed in the position he then held by the Father General's authority, Hay would require a new command, at least as explicit and authoritative as the former, *i.e.* a 'precept of obedience,' before giving up such a post and undertaking one which was not within the spheres of activity to which his order usually confined itself.

non che dire o scrivere. [9] Hebbi ancò una lettera dal sudetto Padre Emondo, che si rimette delle cose di Scotia alla lettera scrittami dal Vescovo Dumblanense, la quale ancorche esso Padre Emondo dica di havermi mandata, non la ho altrimenti ricevuto, sicome V. S. Ill^ma^ può conoscere dall' allegata copia d'una lettera che mi scrive il Padre Rettore del Collegio di Lione, il quale m'ha indrizzate le dette lettere, et dice maravigliarsi non havere ricevuta quella del Vescovo Dumblanense che gli era stata raccomandata dal detto Padre Emondo. Non posso però fare intendere à V. S. Ill^ma^ altro di quel regno se non quanto potrà comprendere dalle lettere prefate che se le mandano insieme con la copia della lettera che mi ha scritta Mons^r^ di Glasgo, ambasciatore di Scotia in Francia, [10] solamente le dirò per intelligentia della lettera del Padre Emondo, che se bene il Conte di Murray si sia partito da Scotia. Ci resta pera il Secretario Ledintone, persona astutissima, Ugonotissima, et amicissima del Murray et siccome è di grandissima auttorità appresso la Regina, cosi per riconciliarsi et accordarsi con il Conte di Boduel saria atto, che Dio non voglià, ò corrompere l'animo d'essa Regina et persuaderla a maritarsi con il Conte sudetto di Boduel, che è stato sempre confidentissimo et ubbidientissimo alla Maiestà Sua, overo dissimulando l'odio che porta al Boduel, mettere esso Boduel in suspetto appresso la Regina et far richiamare in Scotia il Conte di Murray, [11] il quale come che non paia verisimile che vada altrove che in Geneva, pure quando i suoi peccati lo conducessero à Venetia saria grandissimo servitio di Dio et della Santa Chiesa che si facesse ogni opera affinchè quella Ill^ma^ S^ria^, la quale ha in grandissima veneratione et osservanza la Santità di Nostro Signore, ritenesse il detto Conte, come capo et auttor principale dell' Ugonotismo di Scotia, et mandarlo a Sua Beatitudine,[1] sopra di che s'haveria à considerare che la Ill^ma^ Sig^ria^ potria per rispetto della Regina d'Inghilterra, della quale esso conte è confidente, avvertirlo segretamente che se ne andasse, et poi scusarsi che fosse fugito.

Et con questo bacio humilissimamente la mano di V. S. Ill^ma^

[1] Other plans for the arrest of Murray are mentioned by Father Stevenson.—Stevenson-Nau, p. clxxxi.

pregando il Signor Iddio che con lunghissima et felicissima vita di Nostro Signore conceda a lei ogni felicità.

[THE BISHOP of MONDOVI to the CARDINAL of ALESSANDRIA.

Mondovi, 18 *June* 1567.

[1] I RECEIVED yesterday from the Queen of Scotland a letter in French written in her own hand. In it her Majesty manifests a great desire not to lose the Pope's favour and esteem, and to live and die in the holy Catholic faith. And as it may be that his Holiness may come to doubt of her Majesty's sincerity by the information that comes from France, I thought well to send on her letter together with an Italian translation, in order that his Holiness might find some relief in the emphatic language which the queen uses.*

[2] As her Majesty's letter refers me to that of Monsignor du Croc, French ambassador in Scotland, it seemed to me advisable to add a copy of it also. In it he says that the queen is very desirous that I should send to Scotland one of my household, to whom she could communicate all her plans. Nevertheless, as the queen in her letter says that at her return to Edinburgh she will send me a special messenger about it, I do not think that I ought to make her any answer to this point until I hear from her again. Before that happens we may get some still clearer information about the fortunes of her Majesty and of her realm.*

[3] But on the other hand the danger of war with England might make her fear to send a second messenger, and, what is much more, the letter of Monsignor du Croc, to which her Majesty refers, bears date the 4th of May, that is twelve whole days later than the date of the queen's. Hence it may easily happen that the queen may trust to this letter of Monsignor du Croc and send no special messenger because of the aforesaid fear of war.

[4] To these considerations, add this. For many reasons she may fear that she is no longer in the Pope's good favour, in such sort that giving way to the dread of being condemned and abandoned by his Holiness, she may take some wild resolve, as, for instance, that of marrying the Earl of Bothwell, for such impulses are all too powerful in young ladies who are their own mistresses (*donne giovani et libere*). This match could not be made without setting at naught, perhaps without renouncing, the holy Catholic religion, *quod absit*. For the earl's wife is still alive, and as she is the sister of the Earl of Huntly, a nobleman of high rank and great power, there is no fear of her being put to death.

[5] For all these reasons, I cannot but suggest to your eminence, though with all due deference, how much it would be for the service of God and of his Holiness, that our lord the Pope should give an exterior sign of his concern for the salvation of that queen and of her kingdom, by instructing me to send her, as she desires, a confidential envoy. The man I should pick for this purpose would be Father Edmund, the Scot.

He knows the circumstances of the case and the ways of the country. As a Scotsman, he would be agreeable to the queen, and furthermore he might persuade her to do much good, and finally he would inform us fully about her Majesty's mind.

[6] As to the expenses of the journey from Paris to Scotland and back, about sixty scudi would suffice; and if his Holiness afterwards desired that the father should come to Italy to report, the expense would be about as much again. I should think that this plan would much comfort and gratify that poor queen, and would also, with the aid of God, be a means to keep her to her duty under the obedience of the holy Father.

[7] As for the risk, Father Edmund, being a religious, may easily go to Flanders or Holland and thence pass safely to Scotland, as the sea voyage is a short one. Supposing that this, my plan, be adopted as serviceable to our lord the Pope, a letter from the Father General of the Society must be obtained, ordering Father Edmund under precept of obedience to execute the orders that shall be given him,[n] etc.

[8] Zeal for the honour of God and of his Holiness, and desire of the salvation of that unfortunate kingdom, have forced me to write you all this, even though it may be unnecessary, for I know right well with what holy prudence and judgment our lord the Pope puts his projects into execution, managing them better far than I can think, much less say or write.

[9] I have yet another letter from Father Edmund, referring me for the affairs of Scotland to a communication from the Bishop of Dunblane. Though Father Edmund says he has sent it to me, I have never received it, as you will see from the accompanying copy of a letter addressed to me by Father [Crichton], rector of the [Jesuit] college at Lyons. He says, while sending me on the other letters, that he wondered at not receiving the Bishop of Dunblane's, which Father Edmund had commended to his care. Hence I can only give you such news about Scotland as may be gleaned from the said letters, which are sent you with that of the Archbishop of Glasgow, ambassador for Scotland in France.

[10] I need only add in explanation of Father Edmund's, that although the Earl of Murray has left Scotland, yet Secretary Lethington remains. He is the most crafty of men, a thorough Huguenot, and a great friend of Murray, and as he has great influence with the queen, he is capable [of doing one of two things. He might on the one hand] corrupt her, which may God avert!, and persuade her to marry the Earl of Bothwell, who has ever been the queen's most trusty and obedient adherent; [and this Lethington might do] in order to reconcile and ally himself with that earl. On the other hand he might also dissemble the hatred which he bears to the said earl, involve him in the queen's disfavour, and procure the recall of the Earl of Murray to Scotland.

[11] It seems probable that the latter is going to Geneva only, but if his sins lead him to Venice, it would indeed be a service to God and Holy Church to try hard to induce the Seignory, which is most reverential

and dutiful towards the Pope, to arrest him and hand him over to his Holiness, as being the head and principal author of Huguenotism in Scotland. And here it may be well to bear in mind that the Seignory might perhaps, out of respect for the Queen of England, secretly warn her friend the earl to depart, and then excuse themselves by saying he had fled.

And herewith I kiss your eminence's hand, etc., praying, etc., etc.]

No. 110

THE BISHOP OF MONDOVI TO THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA

Inghilterra, I. A, fol. 33.

[*Mondovi*, 1 *July* 1567]

Dal Mondovi, il primo di Luglio M.D. LXVII.

[1] Scrissi alla S. V. Ill^ma^ delli xviii del passato et le mandai una lettera scrittami dalla Regina di Scotia, et un' altra del Signor di Croc, ambasciatore di Francia in quel regno, nella quale havendomi il detto Signore dato aviso del desiderio che haveva la Maiestà sua, che io le mandassi qualche persona, alla quale Sua Maiestà potesse communicare la voluntà sua, io non volsi mancare di fare intendere tutto questo alla S. V. Ill^ma^ mettendole con ogni debita humiltà in consideratione, che saria stato expediente per il servitio di Dio et di Nostro Signore, che si donasse questa satisfattione à quella Regina, affinchè vedendo la Maiestà sua essere amata et apprezzata da Sua Santità si contenesse in offitio sotto la obedienza di Sua Beatitudine, et giudicavo che la persona che s'havesse a mandare per questo effetto saria stata à proposito il Padre Emondo Scozzese, il quale essendo della natione, et intelligente delle cose di quella isola, et molto pio, haveria potuto apportare satisfattione alla Maiestà Sua, persuaderla à molte cose buone, o almeno impedire qualche male imminente, et riferire poi il tutto intieramente alla Santità Sua.

[2] Hora avisandomi il Padre Emondo con una sua lettera, che mando allegata à V. S. Ill^ma^, che la Regina finalmente non s'è potuta contenere di mostrare la troppa affettione che porta al Conte di Boduel con questo ultimo atto contrario all' honor di Dio et di Sua Maiestà viene à mancare la occa-

sione di haversele à mandare persona alcuna, eccetto se la Maiestà sua inspirata da Dio, per emendare questo errore, non solamente convertisse il Conte alla fede Cattolica (la qual cosa per la relatione che mi fu fatta in Francia da persone degne di fede della natura di esso Conte, non sarà punto difficile) ma volendosi poi servire della prontezza et valore del prefato Conte per la santa Religione, facesse di nuovo intendere la intentione sua in volersi aiutare dell' autorità di Sua Beatitudine per gloria di Dio. Ma di questo resta in me il desiderio molto maggiore che la speranza; et massime che ordinariamente non si può sperare gran cosa dalle persone che sono sottoposte ai lor piaceri.

[3] Quanto alla lettera di Monsignor Domblanense, della quale esso Padre Emondo fa un' altra volta mentione, io non la ho ancora ricevuta, et dubito che sia perduta, sicome ne scrissi ultimamente alla S. V. Ill^ma^; alla quale bacio riverentemente la mano, et prego la Divina Maiestà che con lunghissima et felicissima vita di Nostro Signore conceda à lei somma felicità.

[The Bishop of Mondovi to the Cardinal of Alessandria.

Mondovi, 1 *July* 1567.

[1] I wrote to your eminence on the 18th of last month, and forwarded you a letter sent me by the Queen of Scotland and another of Monsignor du Croc, the French Ambassador there, in which that gentleman advised me of the desire which her Majesty entertained that I should send her some one to whom she might communicate her mind. I could not but inform you of all these particulars, and begged with all due deference to put you in remembrance of the good it might have done to the service of God and of his Holiness, that the queen should be satisfied in this, in order that, seeing herself favoured and esteemed by the Pope, she might persevere in due obedience to his Holiness. The fittest person for this purpose would, I thought, have been Father Edmund, the Scot, as he is a fellow-countryman, understands the affairs of that island, and is a person of great piety. He would have been able to give her Majesty satisfaction, would have frequently persuaded her to do good, or would, at least, have impeded threatening evils, and then would have given his Holiness information about everything.

[2] But now Father Edmund by a letter, which I send you herewith, informs me that the queen has not been able to restrain showing the undue affection which she bears to the Earl of Bothwell. With this last act, so dishonourable to God and to herself, the propriety of sending her

any sort of envoy ceases, unless, indeed, her Majesty, in order to amend her error, should, inspired by God, convert the earl to the Catholic faith —and this would not be at all so very difficult, as I was assured in France by persons of credit who knew the man's nature—and then that she should avail herself of his vigour and valour in the cause of our holy religion, and notify anew her desire of being supported by the Pope's authority for the glory of God.

But of these things my desire is greater than my hope, especially as one cannot as a rule expect much from those who are swayed by their pleasures.

[3] As for the letter of the Bishop of Dunblane, of which Father Edmund makes mention a second time, I have not yet received it, and fear it must be lost, as I informed you in my last.

I kiss your eminence's hands, etc.]

No. 111

FATHER EDMUND HAY TO THE BISHOP OF MONDOVI

This original letter, once an enclosure in the bishop's letter of July 1, is now preserved at Parma, *Bib. Palatina*, vol. 651, at fol. 75, or thereabouts, in an unpaged manuscript volume, lettered *Relazioni*.

Pax Christi. [*Paris, 5 June* 1567]

RMĒ IN XPO PATER ET DOMINE PLURIMUM OBSERVANDE,— Heri sub horam nonam, quum essem apud legatum Scotiae, ostendit mihi literas a Mon^{sr} de Clerno ad se datas Edimburgi 14 die Maii: continebant illae literae, primum, excusationem illius nobilis [est enim ex aula Cardinalis a Lotharingia[1]] ad legatum quod ei non scripsisset, quemadmodum promiserat, ab eo tempore quo hinc Scotiam fuerat profectus. Affirmabat non per se stetisse quominus frequentius scripsisset, sed per Reginam, quae nihil eorum, inquit, aut hactenus legit aut audivit quae sive abs te sive ab aliis ad suam maiestatem fuerant per me missa. Nunc, inquit, magnus fit apparatus pro futuris nuptiis suae maiestatis cum Comite de Bodvalle, quem paucis ab hinc diebus ducem Orcadum creavit. Et haec summa erat, quantum memini, illarum literarum (erant enim valde breves), caeterum post subsignationem sequebantur haec verba; ut te exhilaremus, et emendemus quicquid hactenus a

[1] Added in the margin.

nobis est peccatum, hodie, postquam meas literas subsignassem, celebravimus matrimonium ritu haeretico hoc est prius habita concione abs ministro qui loco sacerdotis exequutus est illud officium. Huius rei volui Tuam Rmam. Dñm. quamprimum admonere, plura scripturus cum plura intellexero. Caeterum in comitiis illis, quorum meminit Rmus Dumblanensis in suis literis quas ad T. R. D. misi, audio facta esse duo decreta,[1] quibus duae Religiones, si Deo placet, approbantur et utriusque cultores a sua maiestate probantur quibus ipsa suum patrocinium pollicetur. Illa ubi in manus nostras devenerint latine ut potero vertam et ad T. R. D. mittam. Deus meliora et laetiora concedat et nobis patientiam det ut haec eo animo feramus quo sunt a Dei servis ferenda. Illum oramus ut T. R. D. nobis et ecclesiae suae quam diutissime conseruet. Vale Rme Pater, et Domine plurimum obseruande. Lutetiae Parisiorum, nonis Junii.

T. Rmae D., Seruus in Dño. EDMUNDUS HAYUS.

[*Addressed in another hand*] A Monsignor | Monsignor il Rmo Vescovo di Mondeui, doue sua Senoria sarà.

[*Endorsed*] Pr. Edmundus Epo. Montisreg [blank] Junii 1567.

[FATHER HAY to the BISHOP of MONDOVI.

Paris, 5 June 1567.

MOST REVEREND FATHER IN CHRIST AND MY RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD,— Yesterday about nine o'clock, while I was with the ambassador of Scotland, he showed me letters from Monsignor Clerneau, directed to him from Edinburgh on the 14th of May. The gentleman commenced his letter with an excuse (*in margin*, he is a member of the Cardinal of Lorraine's court) for not having written since he started for Scotland, which was contrary to his promise. He maintained, however, that the fault of not having written more frequently was not his but the queen's, who, he said, has as yet neither listened to nor looked at anything that I brought her from you or from others. At present great preparations

[1] The *duo decreta*, which Father Hay had not yet seen, were the Act of Parment of 19 April 1567, and the proclamation of 23 May 1567. By the first all the remaining disabilities of Protestants were removed. By the second all royal licences 'permittand sum personis to use the forme of thair religioun,' *i.e.* Catholicism, were revoked, lest they should seem to throw suspicion on the former Act.—*Acts of the Parliament of Scotland* (1814), ii. 547; *Register of Privy Council*, i. 513.

are being made for the coming marriage of her Majesty with the Earl of Bothwell, whom she created Duke of Orkney a few days ago.

Such was the purport of his letter so far as I can remember, for it was very brief. After the signature, however, came the following postscript: 'To divert you, and make atonement for my past failings, [let me add that] after I had completed my letter, we celebrated the marriage according to the heretical rite, that is after a sermon delivered by a minister who discharged the duty of celebrant in place of a priest.'

I was anxious to inform your reverend lordship of this event as soon as possible, and will send further news as soon as I receive any.[1] In the assemblies, about which the Bishop of Dunblane spoke in the letter forwarded to you, two decrees were made, as I hear, whereby both religions (God have mercy on us!) are approved, and the followers of both receive her Majesty's favour, and are promised her protection. When these proclamations reach us we will turn them into Latin as well as we can, and send them to your lordship. May God send us better and happier news, and grant us patience to bear this in the dispositions in which His servants should endure it.

We pray Him long to preserve your lordship to us and to His Church. Farewell, most reverend father and most honourable lord.

Paris, the Nones of June.

Your lordship's servant in the Lord, EDMUND HAY.

[*Addressed*] To his lordship the Bishop of Mondovi, wheresoever he may be.

[*Endorsed*] Father Edmund to the Bishop of Mondovi.]

No. 112

THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA TO THE BISHOP OF MONDOVI

Polonia, 171, fol. 15.

[*Rome, 2 July* 1567]

MOLTO REVERENDO MONSIGNOR, COME FRATELLO,—Ho ricevuto insieme con la lettera di V. S. R. di 18 del passato quelle cinque scritture ch'ella medesima citava nella sua, et conferito il tutto con N. S^re^ il quale per risposta m'ha commesso ch'io le scriva in sustanza questo, cioè che non havendo S. S^tà^ mai voluto fin qui dissimulare in cosa alcuna non vuol cominciare al presente in questa di relligione tanto importante com' ella vede. Et però l'intentione sua essere in questo particolare

[1] This sentence might, as far as the original document goes, be equally well taken as part of Clerneau's message to Beaton.

della regina di Scotia di non volere in modo alcuno haver intendimento più con lei, se pur non vedrà per l'avenire qualche segno migliore della vita et della relligion sua che non ha veduto per il passato; il che è quanto le posso dire per rissolution di questo negotio, il quale V. S. R. guidarà da qui innanzi conforme al senso di N. S^re^. Non mi occorrendo altro per hora che offrirmi allei di continuo.

Di Roma à 2 di luglio M.D.LXVII,

D. V. S. molto R. Come fratello IL CARD^LE^ ALES^NO^.

[*Addressed as before and endorsed*] Ric^ta^ alli 14 nel Mondovi.

[THE CARDINAL of ALESSANDRIA to the BISHOP of MONDOVI.

Rome, 2 *July* 1567.

MOST REVEREND, ETC.,—With your letter of the 18th of last month I received the five writings which you enumerated, and I have discussed all with our lord the Pope. In answer, he commissions me to write in the following manner, to wit, that whereas his Holiness has never hitherto dissembled about anything, he will not begin to do so now, especially in this all important matter of religion. Wherefore, with regard to the Queen of Scots in particular, it is not his intention to have any further communication with her, unless, indeed, in times to come he shall see some better sign of her life and religion than he has witnessed in the past. This is all the direction I have to give you for this affair, which your lordship will henceforth manage in conformity with the mind of his Holiness. Nothing more occurs to me at present except to offer you my continued service.

From Rome, on the 2nd of July 1567.

Come fratello, etc., THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA.]

No. 113

THE BISHOP OF MONDOVI TO THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA

Inghilterra, I. A, fol. 33 b.

[*Mondovi*, 15 *July* 1567]

Dal Mondovi alla XV. di Luglio M.D. LXVII.

ANCORA che la S. V. Ill^ma^ per la via di Francia et di altrove possa essere à pieno avisata del progresso delle cose di Scotia, parmi nondimeno convenire al debito mio di farle intendere quello che alle volte mi vien scritto dal Padre Emondo, et

massime, che essendo esso persona religiosa et intelligente, s' ha à credere che scrive solamente le cose che giudica essere vere. Pertanto havendo io hieri ricevuta la lettera di lui con un' articolo in Francese delle instruttioni che la Regina di Scotia ha date à Mons^{r} il Vescovo Dumblanense, non ho voluto mancare di mandare à V. S. Ill^{ma} la stessa lettera con la tradottione di detto articolo; nel quale, sicome la Maiestà sua si sforza scusare et coprire l'attioni sue con la absenza del Nuntio apostolico, così non haveria forse lasciato di quanto ha fatto dar parte della cariga sopra il medesimo Nuntio, se vi fusse stato presente. D'onde si vede chiaramente che lo Spirito di Dio assiste di continuo nella mente di Nostro Signore, il quale fu inspirato in tempo si opportuno commandarmi che me ne ritornassi qui. Io intanto non mancherò nelle occorrenze di questo negotio havere la consideratione conforme al sincerissimo et rettissimo giuditio di Sua Santità, sicome è piaciuto alla S. V. Ill^{ma} commandarmi con la sua delli ii. del presente. Baciole riverentemente la mano et prego la Divina Maiestà, che, con lunghissima et felicissima vita di Nostro Signore, conceda à lei somma felicità.

[The Bishop of Mondovi to the Cardinal of Alessandria.

Mondovi, 15 *July* 1567.

Albeit your eminence may be fully advised of the progress of the affairs of Scotland from France and elsewhere, yet it seems to me part of my duty to communicate to you what Father Edmund writes to me from time to time. My chief reason for doing so is, that one may feel sure that he will only write what he conceives to be true, being, as he is, so religious minded and intelligent a person. Wherefore, as I received yesterday a letter from him, together with a paragraph in French from the instructions which the Queen of Scotland has given to the Bishop of Dunblane, I would not fail to send your eminence the letter as it stands, with the paragraph in a translation. Her Majesty herein screens her doings by the forced excuse that the nuncio was absent. Perhaps if he had been present she would have done just the same, and then laid part of the blame on the same person. Hence we may certainly conclude that the Spirit of God helps the holy Father continually in his deliberations. It was an inspiration to order me just at the critical moment to come back here. Meantime I shall not fail to conform my views and plans to the most sincere and upright judgment of his Holiness, as your eminence was pleased to order me by yours of the second of the present month. I kiss your hand, etc., etc., etc.]

[ENCLOSURE [1]

FURTHERMAIR, it maybe that oure Uncle the Cardinar sall peradventure object and find fault, that we maid nocht sic exact diligence in convoying hither of the Nunce Apostolic as the wecht of the mather cravit, in quhilk point ze sall ansuer and satisfie him be declaratioun and making of trew report, how this last yeir about Martimes [November 11], we directit towart the said Nunce oure weilbelovit clerk and servitour Maister Stevin Wilsoun instructit with oure mynd, quhairof the chief intent wes, how the nunce mycht be maist suirlie and convenientlie transportit towart oure realme, and to oure presence, be the conduct of oure said servitour; and yit we se na apperance of his cumming, bot is partlie frustrat and put by oure purpois for the lak of that support quhilk anis we understude of his Haliness liberality to have bene destinat for ws for the mantening of oure estait, and furthsetting of oure authoritie: bot chieflie in default of his presence, counsale and conference with him, quhilk joynit with the uther thing befoir said, in all apparance wes nocht onlie liklie to haif furtherit and avancit the matir verie heichlie, but alswa mycht have red ws out of mony thrawart accidentis quhilkis sensyne we have fallin into; ane of the principall occasionis quhairof we mon imput to the said Nunceis absence, and nocht resorting to ws quhilk hes procedit on his awin motioun and sair aganis oure will, as ze sall mak oure Uncle to undirstande by all the gude and honest persuasionis ze can tending to this end.]

[1] This enclosure is not entered in Laureo's register, but it is easily supplied from other copies of the Bishop of Dunblane's instructions. These survive in two contemporary registers or letter-books. The fuller text, the so-called 'Shattered Manuscript of Bishop Keith,' has been recently re-edited by Professor Masson, *Register of Privy Council of Scotland*, xiv. 273 (cf. Keith, ii. 592; Labanoff, ii. 45). The other text is in the British Museum, King's Library, 18 B. vi., fol. 242. In this codex the instructions lack the two last clauses about Bothwell's divorce and the reception of the nuncio, which seems to show that these clauses were added after the first drafting of the instructions (cf. the last clause of S. Wilson's instructions, No. 81 *ante*). As Buchanan (*Rer. Scot. Historiæ*, lib. xviii., No. 38, followed by Holinshed, *Chronicle of Scotland* (1808), p. 624) omits these two final paragraphs, though professing to set down the instructions *fere ad verbum*, it may be surmised that he worked from the codex now in the Museum.

No. 114

THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA TO THE BISHOP OF MONDOVI

Polonia, 171, fol. 18.

[*Rome*, 30 *July* 1567]

MOLTO REV^o MONS^re, COME FRATELLO,—Alla lettera di V. S. R. de xiiii. di Giugno. . . .

Ad altra sua de xv. di questo farò similmente breve risposta, non mi occorrendo gran fatto à dirle altro in nome di N. S^re che laudar lei della diligentia sua, et il padre Emondo insieme degli avisi suoi, i quali si potranno col tempo giudicar meglio che à presente non si può fare. Però S. S^tà rimette il tutto alla bontà del S^or. Dio, desiderando tuttavia esser avisato dallei di tutto quel ch'ella potrà sapere alla giornata di quei negotii della regina. Et non essendo questa per altro, allei mi offero di continuo.

Di Roma à 30 di luglio del lxvii.
D. V. S. molto R. Come fratello. IL CAR^LE ALES^NO.

[*Addressed as before.*]
[*Endorsed*] Ric^tà alli xi. d'Agosto nel Mondovi.

[THE CARDINAL of ALESSANDRIA to the BISHOP of MONDOVI.

Rome, 30 *July* 1567.

MOST REVEREND SIR, etc. To yours of the 14th, etc.

To your second letter, that of the 15th of this month, I shall also make but brief answer, as I have nothing of importance to communicate. In his Holiness' name, however, I must praise your lordship for your diligence, and Father Hay for his, and thank him for his letter also, as to which we shall be able to pass a better judgment later than we can at present. The holy Father leaves all to God's good providence, but is nevertheless desirous that you should inform him of all that you may hear from day to day concerning the business of the queen. As this is all I have to say, I commend myself, etc.

From Rome, the 30th of July '67, etc.

Come fratello, etc. THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA.]

No. 115

THE BISHOP OF MONDOVI TO THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA

Inghilterra, I. A, fol. 35.

[*Mondovi, 5 August* 1567]

Dal Mondovi alli v di Agosto del lxvii.

Ho questa settimana ricevuta una lettera del P. Emondo, Scozzese, la quale come che sia della data delli xxiiii di Giugno, da conto nondimeno d'alcuni particolari, li quali fanno intendere i progressi et disegni di quelli ribelli, come à quella parte che la regina sia ritenuta prigione nel forte della Isola del lago; il qual castello è del fratello materno del Conte di Murray. Di che si fa congiettura assai manifesta che esso conte sia stato conscio della detta ribbellione, et che s'habbia voluto absentare parte per il timore che havea del conte di Boduel et parte per potersi in ogni evento conservare la gratia della regina et della parte contraria, havendo in questa sua absenza potuto non pure mostrarsi innocente et alieno da questi tumulti, ma guadagnarsi anco con simulati offitii l'una et l'altra parte per venire a quel suo disegno di regnare, et massime con il fraudolente conseglio del Segretario Ledinton, il quale è tenuto tanto astuto et cattivo, che in tutte queste passate seditioni di Scotia è stato gittare (come si dice) il sasso et nascondere la mano, d'onde era quasi impossibile per humana via sperare cosa buona in quelle bande, mentre egli era in favore appresso quella regina. Ho voluto pertanto mandare la sudetta lettera alla S. V. Ill^{ma}, parendomi che scoperte al vivo le piaghe di quello infelicissimo regno, si possano qualche giorno con la divina gratia saldare dalla santissima mano di N^{ro} Sig^{re}. Raccomandomi riverentemente in gratia di V. S. Ill^{ma} pregando il S^{or} Iddio che con lunghissima et felicissima vita di Nostro S^{re} conceda a lei ogni felicità.

[The Bishop of Mondovi to the Cardinal of Alessandria.

Mondovi, 5 August 1567.

This week I have received a letter from Father Edmund, the Scot. Although of the date of the 24th of June, he mentions certain particulars which throw light on the progress and objects of the rebels. For instance

he notes that the queen is imprisoned in the castle of the island of the lake [Loch Leven], which castle belongs to the Earl of Murray's half-brother on his mother's side. Hence he very naturally concludes that the earl himself was a participator in the rebellion, and absented himself partly from fear of the Earl of Bothwell, partly in order to be able to maintain his favour with the queen and her party, whatever might happen. By this absence he has not merely been able to play the part of an innocent man averse to the late tumults, but he has also managed by his pretended services to win over both sides in order to mount the throne as he had planned. What has helped him most has been the crafty counsel of Secretary Lethington, a man believed to be so astute and unprincipled, that in all the late treasons he is thought to have thrown the stone (as they say) without seeming to move his hand. It was impossible, humanly speaking, to expect good there, while he enjoyed the queen's favour.

Meanwhile I desired to send your eminence Father Hay's letter, in the hope that now that the wounds of that unhappy realm are bare to the quick, his Holiness may some day, with the help of divine grace, set his hand to a salutary reform. Recommending myself, etc., I pray God grant you long life, etc.]

No. 116

THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA TO THE BISHOP OF MONDOVI

Polonia, 171, fol. 2 [*sic*].

[*Rome*, 18 *August* 1567]

MOLTO REVERENDO MONS^R^, COME FRATELLO,—Ho ricevuto ultimamente una di V. S. R. de V. di questo, insieme con la lettera del P. Emondo, dalla quale si può facilmente comprendere le cose della Religione et di quella Regina in che termine si trovino. Però anchorche Nostro Signore senta simili avisi con qualche passion d'animo, vedendo cader la Religione et la divotione in quei popoli, con danno evidente delle anime loro. Tuttavia piglia piacere della diligentia di V. S. R. con questa occasione. Et io per questo le mando in nome suo la benedittione, offerendomi allei di continuo per fine di questa, che' l Signor Dio la conservi. Di Roma a xviii d'Agosto M.D. lxvii.

Di V. S. molto R., come fratello. IL CAR^LE^ ALES^NO^.

[*Addressed as before.*]

[*Endorsed*] Il Sig^r^ Cardinale Aless^no^ alli 18 d'Agosto 1566

[*sic*] ricevuta al primo di Settembre. Della lettera del Padre Emondo sopra le cose di quella Regina.

[THE CARDINAL of ALESSANDRIA to the BISHOP of MONDOVI.

Rome, 18 *August* 1567.

MOST REVEREND, etc,—I received of late a letter of the 5th instant from your lordship, and with it a letter from Father Edmund. From the latter the state of religious affairs and of the queen's fortunes may be easily understood.

Albeit our lord the Pope is almost passionately grieved at the receipt of news of this sort, and at seeing those people fall away from true religion and devotion to the evident loss of their souls, yet he finds some solace in the diligence you have shown on this occasion. In acknowledgment I send you a blessing in his name.

Offerendome, etc. Rome, the 18th of August 1567.

Come fratello, etc. THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA.]

No. 117

APPENDIX TO BISHOP LAUREO'S DESPATCHES

Other Accounts of his Mission by contemporaries

I. JOHN LESLIE, BISHOP OF ROSS

John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, in his *Paralipomena*, written about the year 1580, gives a short account of Laureo's mission. The details are inaccurate, but we may regard them as illustrating the point of view from which a sanguine advocate of Mary would regard the episode.—MS. in Vatican Archives, *Varia Politicorum*, xvi. 297, and an English translation in Forbes-Leith's *Narratives*, pp. 85-126. A new translation from Leslie's first and fuller draught of his work, now in manuscript at Munich (MSS., v. 66, see *Report on Rymer's Foedera, Appendix A, Supplement*, p. 10), is in preparation by Mr. John Scott for the Scottish History Society. This MS., which I here follow, is headed, *De rebus in Scotia gestis post serenissimae principis Mariae Scotorum reginae ex Gallia in Scotiam reditum.*

Venerat sub haec tempora in Galliam Reverendissimus dominus de Mondeui, episcopus Montis Regalis, ut reginae tam de nuptiis cum catholico viro celebratis, quam de principe pulcherrimo ex eodem matrimonio suscepto pontificis nomine gratularetur, simul etiam ut animum adderet ad religionem Deique cultum catholicum in Scotia restituendum. Et quo facilius haereticorum et perduellium conatibus resistere posset, habebat ipse in mandatis a Pio v., Pontifice Maximo, eidem

polliceri, nulla unquam in re pontificem reginae in tam pio proposito defuturum, et si opus foret, pecuniam ad belli subsidia quantam posset maximam collaturum. Interea ante viginti quinque millia aureorum una cum ipso episcopo miserat, quam reginae cum primum ipsam in Scotia convenisset suo nomine afferret.

De his certior facta regina pluribus apud proceres, tum per se tum per episcopum Rossensem et alios nonnullos egit, ut liber episcopo, Pontificis Maximi legato, aditus in Scotiam pateret; quod licet percuperent nobiles catholici, contrariae tamen factionis sectarii et imprimis Moravius, ut hoc illi permitteretur nulla ratione adduci poterant. Quare regina misso in Galliam Joanne Betonio nobili catholico, recepta pecuniae parte, se apud legatum excusat.

In the corresponding passage in the *Paralipomena* (Forbes-Leith, *Narratives*, p. 114), Leslie rightly adds that this mission had been petitioned for by the Bishop of Dunblane and Stephen Wolcar [Wilson], but erroneously alters the sum which Bishop Laureo took with him from 20,000 to 100,000 scudi.

II. GEORGE THOMSON

In the tract, *Quo tempore Scotia Religionem Christianam susceperit ac quibus gradibus in hæresim sit delapsa: deque praesente illius statu in iis quae ad religionem spectant brevissima narratio*, an account of Laureo's mission is found, which must have been composed before the death of Bishop Chisholm in June 1593.

(*a*) Authorship.—This tract has been attributed to Father James Tyrie, S.J., but no valid reason has been given for the ascription, while another tract, *De Antiquitate Christianae Religionis apud Scotos*, which seems to have been the preface to the composition under our consideration, was twice published under the name George Thomson (Rome (4to) and Douai (12mo) 1594). The discussion of this subject is given in detail by Dr. T. G. Law, *Note on some writings attributed to Father James Tyrie, S.J.*, 1594-5, a paper read before the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, December 1897. Father Stevenson (Stevenson-Nau, pp. 105-144) published an English translation of the tract, giving it the [?descriptive] title, *Report upon the state of Scotland during the reign of Queen Mary, written in A.D.* 1594, *and sent to Pope Clement the Eighth by the Jesuit Priests in Scotland.*

(*b*) Sources.—To establish the text I have collated a transcript (kindly given me by Father W. Forbes-Leith) of the copy at Blairs' College, Aberdeen, with the copy at the Barberini Library, Rome, xxxii. vol. 210, fol. 222. In these paragraphs the readings of both were found

identical. The Roman copy is presumably the more authentic text, having been carefully written and revised for presentation, with margins ruled in red and edges gilt. The paper used is marked by a *fleur-de-lys*, a Florentine paper, I believe, but one in common use throughout Italy. The Blairs' copy, to judge from slight variations in other parts of the text, is the older, for some of its phrases have been amended in the Roman text by neater turns *written over* the words used in the Blairs' text. The Blairs' text commences with the *De Antiquitate Christianae Religionis apud Scotos*, and is endorsed on the back, *Narratio P. T. Rerum Scotic.* As this endorsement seems contemporary it might have been of great importance in deciding the question of authorship, if we could be sure about the expansion of the contraction. But *P. T.* may stand equally well for *Pater Tyrius* and *Pater Thomsonus*.

(*c*) AUTHORITY.—An inquiry, more important than the purely literary question as to who penned the *De Antiquitate*, is that which concerns the authority on which the following statements finally rest. If we look in the first place only to the substance of the extract, we might suppose that we were dealing with some memoir of the Bishop of Dunblane, and in effect he was then in Rome, where the paper seems to have been written. But if we regard the object for which the paper was written, viz., to appeal to the Pope for funds for the Scots' College, then at Douai, several reasons will suggest themselves for thinking that Father Tyrie was the writer's informant. The college was under Jesuit management, and Tyrie, as 'Assistant' to the General of the Order, would have been the official ordinarily responsible for the drawing up of a petition like this, supposing it to be a Jesuit document. To say nothing of the tradition in his favour, he was able to speak with much authority on the subject, especially as he had gone to join Father Hay at Paris in 1567, very soon after that father returned from Scotland (*infra*, Appendix iii., No. 49, 9 June 1567). In this hypothesis the following account may be the best substitute accessible to us for Father Hay's report, which he promised indeed to commit to writing, though perhaps he never did so (compare No. 106 *ante*, April 8, § 5, with Appendix iii., No. 49). The following account is especially valuable as containing Mary's answer to Laureo's proposals in the fullest form to which we now have access.

(*d*) ANALYSIS.—[1] Pius v. sent the Bishop of Mondovi to treat seriously of the restoration of the faith in Scotland and England. [2] The nuntio stayed in France, sending the Bishop of Dunblane to treat with Mary. [3] This bishop showed her how easily she might, with papal aids, recover her full authority and expel heresy from England and Scotland. [4] Mary answered that she could not stain her hands with the blood of her subjects, and that Elizabeth had begun to show herself a friend. [5] Mary desired to receive the nuncio, but for reasons of policy, and he on being informed of this returned to Italy.

A translation of this passage will be found at pp. 122-123 of Father Stevenson's *Nau's History of Mary Stewart, etc.*

GEORGE THOMSON

[1] Interim vero Pius V. pro Sedis Apostolicae sollicitudine, Montis Regalis episcopum, postea S. R. Ecclesiae Cardinalem, virum singulari prudentia ac probitate in Scotiam destinavit ad annum sexagesimum quintum, qui in mandatis habebat, ut seriò de restituenda Religione Catholica in Scotiae et Angliae Regnis cum Regina tractaret, praesertim quod ad illam utrumque Regnum haereditario jure pertineret, et in utroque Catholici non deessent. Sedes etiam Apostolica ad singulos menses certam pecuniae summam offerebat, donec, haereticis ex Anglia et Scotia ejectis, utroque illa Regno quorum erat haeres legitima potiretur. [2] Substitit Montis Regalis episcopus Lutetiae; in Scotiam verò praemisit Reverendissimum Dumblanensem Episcopum, (qui relicta pastorali cura ac mundi strepitu, quo majori animi sui quieti vacaret, sanctissimo Carthusianorum ordini sese adjunxit) qui pontificis mandata, ac summam in eam benevolentiam exponeret, quod singulari sane prudentia ac optima fide ab illo factum est. [3] Exposuit in summa, quam facile futurum esset Reginae, expurgato ab haeresibus utroque Regno, Catholicam Religionem in pristinam dignitatem ac splendorem restituere, cum non deessent Catholici, qui libenter in eam rem omnes suas facultates, ac industriam conferrent, non defuturum etiam externum militem, qui, quandiu res postularet, auxilio esset, ac ne tam longe Romam, inchoato jam bello, esset recurrendum, pecuniam quae ad illud conficiendum sufficeret, Antverpiae, vel Parisiis in manibus mercatorum paratam fore. Addidit ad extremum, si hanc sibi divinitus oblatam occasionem negligeret, nunquam in vita parem nacturam. [4] Cui illa in summa respondit, non posse se suorum sanguine manus contaminare, quod verò ad Anglicam attinebat Reginam, suam sororem, eam pro legitima haerede agnoscere. Jam enim quaedam amoris et benevolentiae signa ad eam miserat. [5] Cupiebat tamen Scotiae Regina, ut ob politicas quasdam causas Nuncius Apostolicus in Scotiam veniret, et jam aliquot naves, quae eum deducerent, paraverat, sed ille certior factus ab iis quibus negocium commiserat, quo Reginae consilia spectabant, in Italiam revertitur.

III. ROGERIO TRITONIO

(*a*) WORK AND CHARACTER.—Tritonio was Laureo's secretary on his mission to Mary, and remained his faithful and loyal servant until his death (26 December 1592). The biography which he wrote of his master (*Vita Vincentii Laurei, S. R. E. Cardinalis Montis Regalis, Ruggerio Tritonio, Pinaroli Abbate, Auctore. Bononiae, apud haeredes Joannis Rossi M.D.I.C.*) sets before us a very interesting picture of the prelate who was selected to act in Scotland the part which Pole had played in England.

(*b*) AUTHORITY.—Tritonio's position was such that whatever he tells us about his master must be received with attention. Not, indeed, that he is exempt from the ordinary faults of memoir writers, especially that of arranging his facts in the wrong chronological perspective. Here, for instance, he places the sending of Father Hay to Scotland before that of the Bishop of Dunblane, whereas they both went together, but had been preceded by a messenger from the Cardinal of Lorraine. As to the letters passing between Mary and the nuncio, which he professes to summarise, it may very well be that he was working with his drafts of those letters before him. On the other hand, even if he had been working from memory only, he would have been quite justified, according to the standards of that day, in choosing the literary form, which he has in fact selected.

Another point, affecting Tritonio's authoritativeness, is that mooted by E. Sawyer, the editor of *Winwood's Memorials* (London, 1763, p. 13) who maintains that our author was a Scot, by name Crichton. I cannot find any support for this statement, where one would have most expected it, viz., in Tritonio's own book, nor elsewhere. The statement of so late a writer as Sawyer, who quotes no authority whatever in his support, can hardly outweigh the force of the argument to be drawn from the silence of the author himself and of his contemporaries. Thomas Dempster, who was one of these, had every facility for ascertaining the fact, and would most assuredly have let us know it, had it come to his knowledge. Sawyer evidently mistook the name of the author, misreading Critonio for Tritonio.

(*c*) ANALYSIS.—[1] Laureo started at midsummer, taking me as his secretary. [2] Mary's letter asking him to wait. [3] Laureo's letter urging her to show her old courage in maintaining Catholicism. [4] He pays out 4000 crowns. [5] And sends Father Hay to Scotland to report. [6] If Mary had but taken Laureo's advice, especially if she had punished or dismissed Lethington, she would have escaped many miseries. [7] After waiting three months, Laureo sent the Bishop of Dunblane to Mary with further messages. [8] Laureo's further letters to Mary against delay. [9] At last Mary gets the leave of her Parliament (*i.e.* nobles) to have James baptized according to the Catholic rite, and for Laureo to come. [10] We were just starting when we were stayed by the news of Darnley's murder and the subsequent troubles, during all of which Mary persevered in her religion. [11] Laureo then returned to Mondovi.

ROGERIO TRITONIO

[1] POSTREMO Vincentius, omnibus quae ad munus illud obeundum necessaria videbantur mandatis a Summo Pontifice acceptis, longum iter sub ipso ferventis Caniculae aestu ingressus est, ac me licet admodum tunc adolescentem, vixque ullo adhuc rerum usu instructum, qui sibi ab epistolis essem secum adduxit. [2] Cum primum Lutetiam venimus, Archiepiscopus Glasguensis Reginae, cuius Oratorem in Gallia agebat, litteras reddit. Hisce majorem in modum optare prae se ferebat Regina ut quam primum Nuntius Apostolicus in Scotiam traijceret neque enim dubitabat, quin prudentissimis eius consiliis, autoritateque nixa tum Religionem Catholicam protegere, tum Regni incolumitati securitatique prospicere et consulere aliquando posset, efflagitabat tamen, ut tantisper profectionem suam in Scotiam differret, dum alteras ab ea literas acciperet. Nam se interim curaturam ut, quoad fieri posset, recentis seditionis reliquiis e medio sublatis, tutior ipsi postmodum ac debita cum dignitate illuc pateret aditus. [3] Ad haec respondens Vincentius Reginam efficacibus rationibus hortari, excitare, atque etiam inflammare, ut pro Religione Catholica in illo Regno restituenda tuendaque pristinam animi magnitudinem in Jesu Christo Saluatore conservaret, unaque pro comperto haberet, sibi et aeternum Dei numen perpetuo affuturum, et integerrimo Dei ipsius Vicario in primis curae futurum, ut singulis quibusque temporibus sanctum vereque regium studium suum amplexaretur summoque fauore prosequeretur. [4] Quo autem revera Reginae constitutum auxilium afferret, summam ei quatuor mille aureorum è viginti illis millibus à Summo Pontifice in hanc rem decretis statim soluendam curavit. [5] Cum vero Reginam nonnullis de rebus, quae tuto litteris committi non poterant, admonitam vellet, Edmundum Hayum, natione Scotum Sodalitatis Jesu, solertem perspicacemque virum, in Scotiam misit: qui postea facile et Reginae ipsius et Aulicorum omnium intimos sensus rimari potuit. [6] Compertum quidem est, Reginam si consilijs, quae illi à Vincentio prudentiae fidelitatisque plena dabantur, usa fuisset, tot graves aerumnas, in quas misere incidit, euitare procul dubio potuisse; nam si, quod ei praeter

caetera Vincentius persuasum iri volebat, vel unum Comitem Ledirigtonium, Regni Secretarium, nequam perditissimumque haereticum atque in primis Comitis Moraviae fautorem, qui nuper excitatae seditionis pars maxima fuerat, debita poena mulctasset, vel saltem ab aula eiecisset, reliquos facinorosos haud difficulter coercuisset.

[7] Elapso tertio mense ex quo Lutetiam peruenieramus, cum nullus adhuc de traiectione in Scotiam à Regina nuntius aduenisset, Vincentius expedire arbitratus est Dumblanensem Episcopum, integerrimum, prudentissimumque virum cohortari ut in Scotiam proficisceretur, ac Reginae quaedam admodum salutaria eius nomine enunciaret.

[8] Porro quam aegre Vincentius ferret, se tandiu Parisiis detineri, non destitit Reginae iterum atque iterum per literas significare. In ijs asseuerabat, moram huiusmodi nedum Pontificis Maximi, Legationisque suae existimatione parum decere, sed et clarissimo Reginae ipsius nomini non parum officere, siquidem nonnulli suspicari propterea potuissent, aut eam tam parui à Scotis suis aestimari, ut illos nequaquam ad huiusmodi sanctum necessariumque opus perficiendum inducere posset, aut in ea (quod Deus auerteret) constantissimum, ingentemque animi ardorem, quem tot, tantisque periculis erga Deum, Sacrosanctamque fidem Catholicam memorabili quodam posteritatis exemplo nuper aperuerat, aliqua in parte extinctum esse. Quin immo ageret, ut, quandoquidem tantum de se apud Principes Christianos, ac praecipue apud Summum Pontificem expectationis concitasset, in id diligenter curam adhiberet, ut tum ob Dei immortalis gloriam, tum ob suam, populorumque suorum salutem certa saluberrimi illius, sanctissimiqué propositi iaceret fundamenta. Ecquidem enim verè pii verequé sanctissimi Pontificis occasionem non arriperet, qui et illam praesenti ope adiuvaret, et in posterum longè maiori pium, praestansque eius studium esset sublevaturus? qui nihil magis cuperet quàm ut Scotiae nobilissimum, atquè antiquissimum Regnum in pristinum sincerae Religionis statum restitueretur? annon paternam beneuolentiam, qua erga illam Summus Pontifex affectus erat, mutuis in illo pleno pietatis munere obeundo officiis prosequeretur? numvè aliter pacem, tranquilitatemqué certam in Regnum suum adducere, ac stabilire

confideret? An non demum ob Catholicae Ecclesiae utilitatem proposita praeclara facinora gereret, quibus et nominis sui immortalitatem, et felicitatem aeternam esset essecutura? [9] His itaque accensa Regina, Edimburgi, quae est totius Regni primaria urbs, ordinum omnium conuentum egit: ubi duo, licet difficulter, obtinuit, quorum alterum erat, ut filii, sibi paulò ante nati, baptismus publicè sancto Ecclesiae Catholicae ritu celebraretur; alterum, ut Sedis Apostolicae Nuntius debito cum honore in Regnum admitteretur.

[10] Iam verò nos Antuerpiam cogitabamus, ut illinc naui in Scotiam primo quoque tempore appelleremus. Portus quidem Itius propior erat: sed inde soluere ob proximiora Angliae loca minus tutum arbitrabamur. Atqui tunc tam scelestum tamqué nefarium facinus commissum est . . .[1]

Unum certe praeterire non possumus, Mariam Scotorum Reginam, licet tot tamque grauibus calamitatibus conflictata fuisset, animum tamen erga Sacrosanctam Religionem Catholicam non modò infractum, sed constantissimum usque ad extremum halitum adeò fortiter gessisse, ut, quicquid prius pro humanae conditionis imbecillitate minus dignè commiserat, id praecipuo quadam Dei immortalis beneficio visa fuerit expiasse.

[11] Desperatis igitur rebus ad Religionem Catholicam in Scotia pertinentibus, Vincentius cum iam legationis suae munus se non posse exequi videret nihil sibi magis curae esse voluit, quam annuente Summo Pontifice ad regendam Ecclesiam suam Montis Regalis aduolaret.

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[1] Here follows a brief account of Mary from the murder of Darnley till her own death, after which the author hints that 'perhaps' he will write a full life of her later. This passage (pp. 25-30) is quoted in full in Burnet's *History of the Reformation* (ed. Pocock, v. 546).

APPENDIX

APPENDIX I

FRENCH DOCUMENTS

No. 1.

LETTER BOOK OF GIOVANNI FERRERI ON SCOTTISH AFFAIRS (Catalogue and Extracts). Paris, 1547 to 1561.

This fragment, which is perhaps itself made up of two fragments, is imperfect both at the beginning and at the end. It is now in Paris, *Bib. Nationale, Fonds Moreau*, tom. 847, ff. 45-57 (*olim* 19-34). It is a contemporary, perhaps autograph, transcript. The writer's name does not appear on the manuscript, but the internal evidence (Ep. 16) shows that he was editing Hector Boece; and a comparison of Ferreri's introductory letter to his edition of that work with the letters here described will leave no doubt about the identification. For Ferreri's life in Scotland, see Muirhead's preface to his *Historia Abbatum de Kynloss* (Bannatyne Club, 1839, p. 42, *et seq.*).

fol. 47. Gul° Gordonio, Ep. Aberdonen. 27 *April* 1548.
Commends the nuncio Lippomani.

Marcello Cervino, Cardinali Stae. Crucis. *Cal. Maii* 1548.
Lippomani leaves Paris to-day, and requests me to forward a book to you.

. . . [A new fragment of the register begins here.] . . .

Ep. 4, fol. 48. Imperfect. Last line and date only. 31 *August* 1547.

Ep. 5, fol. 48. Aloysio Lippomani. 30 *June* 1548.
Commends the bearer, Gul. Langlois.

Ep. 6, fol. 48. Roberto Reid, Ep. Orchadum. 26 *December* 1548.
The unfortunate death of your king should make us careful to provide for his issue.

Prospiciendum imprimis est Reginae vestrae puellulae, quae ut auguror et maxime cupio, utrumque parentem aliquando relatura est magno cum utriusque regni Gallici et Scotici emolumento. De medico hic inquiritur qui de more principum illius valetudinis studiosus sit. Multi e Gallia reperiuntur qui id muneris ambiant, sed ut mihi videtur, parum prudenter, nec magno eius Reginae commodo: nam major pars eorum vel non intelligit artis suae pondus, vel parum apta est ad agnitionem temperaturae Scoticae, ut potius damnum sint allaturi omnes, quam prospecturi reginae puellulae. Unus solum [*sic*] est Scotici generis Guillelmus Bog, Doctor medicus, et eruditione tantus ut possit cum quovis Gallo conferri, et cognitione

temperaturarum Scoticarum facile primus. Hic omnium Scotorum in aula degentium votis maxime optatur ei muneri, sed homo verecundus se tantae provinciae cunctatur committere, nisi primum a Regina matre id oneris cum bona venia impetrarit. Verum cum non facile inveniat notum et alicuius authoritatis hominem cuius opera id perficere possit, mecum egit, ut his te rogarem ut sibi, imo Reginae puellulae in tanta re deesse nolis. Probe enim novi quam sis Reginae matri gratiosus, ut illa neque sit negatura hoc, quidquid est, modo consilio tuo probatum esse sciat, maxime cum non possit domina de Flemingue alteri commodius Reginae puellulae affectus, si qui obviantur, quam homini Scoto suo idiomate explicare, idque se [? siquidem] hoc imprimis necessarium corporum rationem dignoscere ut bonae valetudini consulatur. Sed ego forte haec prolixius quam par sit, cum non ignoras quantum intersit inter alienigenas medicos et proprios, praeterquam quod vestri generis est doctissimus pharmacus et medicus, et quod praecipuum est religionis patriaeque libertatis amator. Id si feceris mihi ipsi feceris. Bene vale.—Parisiis, 26 Decembris 1548.

[Above all we must be provident for the little girl, your queen. I presage for her the happiness, which I greatly desire, that she may one day take the place of both her parents to the great advantage as well of France as of Scotland. Inquiries are being made here about a medical adviser, who may pay attention to her health, according to the custom of courts. There are many French who desire the office, but in my opinion it would not be prudent, nor very fitting for her Majesty [to give them the post]. The greater part of them either do not appreciate the importance of their art, or are not the persons to comprehend a Scottish temperament. They will all rather do harm than good to the young queen. Only one [candidate] is of Scottish race, William Bog, Doctor of Medicine. He is so learned that he will bear comparison with any Frenchman, and is by far the best in diagnosing Scottish temperaments. All the Scots at court ardently wish him to get the post, but the modest man hesitates to accept such a responsibility until he has won the queen mother's consent. But as he cannot easily find a man of authority and note to obtain that consent for him, he has dealt with me to request you not to fail him, or rather not fail the queen in a matter like this. I well know that you are so acceptable to the queen mother that she will not refuse this favour, be it what it may, if only she knows that it is sanctioned by your advice.

A very important point is that Lady Fleming would not be able to explain in her own language except to a Scot what the little queen's ailments were, should such occur. To provide for health, it is of the first importance to diagnose the nature of the body (*corporum rationem dignoscere*).

But perhaps I am more prolix than necessary. You know what a

difference there is between a doctor of one's own country and a foreigner. My friend, besides being of your nation, is both a skilful druggist and doctor, and above all a lover of religion and of his country's liberty. If you do this favour, I shall reckon it as done to myself. Farewell.]

Ep. 7, fol. 49. Ge° Gordonio, Cti Huntley. *Kal. Mar.* 1549.

Prays that he may preserve the liberty of Scotland, etc.

Ep. 8, fol. 49 b. Jac° Hamilton, Cti. de Arran *id.*

Has received his letters commending the nephews of the late Cardinal Beaton.

Ep. 9, fol. 50. Rob° Reed, Ep° Orcaden. 9 *March* 1549.

Received his of 18 July 1548 on 8 March 1549. Sorrow at death of Lippomani, of which he has sent testimony to Venice. Books of Cardinal Pole. Conrad Gesner, *professor medicus*, should be assisted.

Ep. 10, fol. 51. Rodolpho Pio, Cardinali Carpensi. *s.d.*

Commends James Beaton, 'nepos ex fratre Cardinalis Beaton.' He should not believe the Scotch ambassador now in France [David Panter], the half brother of the cardinal's murderer, 'Duglassiorum 'factioni addictissimus,' etc. He is unworthy of the bishopric of Ross, was born in adultery, his father a monk.

Ep. 11, fol. 51 b. Rob° Reed. 9 *May* 1550.

Congratulates him on the victory over the English at Broughty Craig Castle (*Castellum a Broghetty*). Alexander Gordon has been at Rome and will go back to Dundee.

Ep. 12, fol. 52. Jac° Beaton, Ab. ab Abirbroth. 25 *May* 1552.

Hopes he will be ordained bishop before he leaves Rome. Mic. Chryson went safely to Scotland. The Bishop of Aberdeen has come thence to Paris with the Bishop of Galloway, and is at the monastery of St. Victor. 'Cardanus, the Italian doctor, came to Paris a few 'days ago, on his way to Scotland, to Mylord of Paisley' (*Dñs a Passaleto*). The Abbot of Deer died here on 25 April, and was buried at St. Ninian's.

Ep. 13, fol. 52 b. Rob° Reed. (*Calculo Romano*) 27 *January* 1553.

Wrote last time about his grandnephew Walter, Abbot of Kinloss, and now sends an Italian oration about Sienna.

Ep. 14, fol. 52 b. Jac° Beaton, Archiep. Glasgoien. 2 *March* 1553.

David Beaton gave me yours of 28 January about your safe return. The amputation of the leg of the Bishop of Tours and his death.

Little literary news. Has sent Gesner the pictures of the animals, begs especially for pictures of fishes. Literary men will commend labour spent in this cause.

Ep. 15, fol. 53. Jac° Beaton. 7 *September* 1554.

God's good providence in the death of Leslie, dux furiosorum hominum Anglo-Scottorum, who was shot after having been wounded at Renty.

Ep. 16, fol. 53 b. Rob° Reed. 2 *May* 1555.

The accession to the Papacy of Marcellinus II. and Paul IV. Gesner desires you to add the names of the rare fishes whose pictures you sent him. Nicholas Grouchy is about to publish three books, *De Comitiis Romanorum*. 'Grouchy some years back was a teacher in 'Portugal, together with Buchanan, whose *Scottish History* I should 'like to obtain through you, for the work on which I am now engaged.' (*Libri tres de Comitiis Romanorum Nicolai Gruchii, qui superioribus annis in Lusitania docuit cum Buchanano, cuius per te ad ea quae nunc molior historiam Scoticam habere cuperem.*)[1] Commends Edward Henryson, a Greek and Latin scholar.[2]

Ep. 17, fol. 54. Hen° Sinclair, Desig. Rossen. 8 *April* 1559.

Conrad Gesner will be much assisted by pictures of rare fishes. The Bishop of the Orkneys, now dead, promised to send some. Begs him 'to send me a shell of the pearl-bearing oyster, especially that 'which is (?) gable-shaped (*fastigiata*). Hector Boece in his *Descrip-'tion of Scotland*, fol. 13, describes it at length and graphically '(*graphice*).[3] Hieronymo Cardano, in Book vii. chapter 37 of the work 'entitled *De rerum Varietate*, strongly impugns the passage.' (*Ut testam illius conchae margaritiferae potissimum fastigiatae ad me mittas* [*precor*], *quam Hector Boethius in descriptione Scotiae multis verbis*

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[1] Hence it would seem that Buchanan had written something on the history of Scotland in early life, many years before the publication of his great work, *Rerum Scoticarum Historiae* (1582). He is generally said to have begun the composition of the latter in 1568.

[2] See Thomas Dempster, *Historia Ecclesiastica gentis Scotorum* (Bannatyne Club, 1829), p. 349, *n.* 664.

[3] Hector Boece, *Scotorum Historiae a prima gentis origine*, etc. (Paris, 1527). The *Scotorum Regni Descriptio* comes before the *Historiae*, and is separately foliated. The passage alluded to occurs at folio 13, sig. BB v. If Ferreri by the word *graphice* means to signify 'by an illustration,' then I presume that the picture was drawn by hand in the margin. Or was there ever an illustrated edition? Cardano's criticisms (*Hieronymi Cardani Mediolanensis Medici, De Rerum varietate*, Libri xvii., Basiliae, 1557, pp. 242, 243) seem to me saner than Ferreri represents. For Cardano's visit to Scotland, see W. G. Walters, *Jerome Cardan, a Biographical Study*, 1898.

et graphice delineat: nam eum locum Hieronymus Cardanus libro 7, capite 37, quem de rerum varietate inscripsit, valde exagitat.) The writer believes that Cardan is 'out of his wits with far-fetched 'criticism' (*nimia sua argutia hallucinatur*).

The rejoicings over the Treaty of Cambresis. Nothing more is heard of the embassy from Scotland, which was to have included the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Lord Prior of St. Andrews, the Earls of Argyle and Morton.

Ep. 18, fol. 54 b. JACOBO BALFOUR, Thesauriario Ecc. Glasg.

28 *August* 1559.

Has received no letters for the past five months. The King of France has been most laudably active in rooting out heretics. He received a mortal wound during a tournament, after which no business could be transacted. Pope Paul IV. is dead.[1]

Ep. 19, fol. 55 b. GUALTERIO REED, Abbati a Kinloss.

21 *December* 1559.

You write about the fall of religion in Scotland, and how, 'saving 'only you and yours, nearly all have laid aside the ancient religion' (*fere omnes praeter te unum et tuos auitam religionem deposuerunt*). Encourages him to hope for French assistance. Here things go even better than they did under Henry. 'There is no one here, however 'great he may be, who is not immediately put under confinement, if 'he is found to be of evil mind in regard to religion. No one found 'guilty escapes severe punishment by the iron or the flame' (*nec ullus quantus quantus sit, hic vivit, qui si deprehendatur de religione perperam sentire, in vincula statim non detur, et si reus inventus fuerit, ferro aut flamma vindice, non gravissime puniatur*). No Pope has been elected yet. I now hear better news from Scotland. The queen regent has gained a victory and the fleet will soon come.

Ep. 20, fol. 56. HENRICO SINCLAIR, Ep. des. Rossensi.

26 *January* 1559-60.

Pius IV. has been elected Pope, 'the great friend and protector of 'your prelate from Dunkeld' (*praesuli vestro Dunkeldensi*) 'when he 'was pursuing his business in Rome.' The writer sends the elegy on the murdered President Minard by Joachim du Bellay. 'The Queen 'Regent of Scotland has restored the monks at Edinburgh, who had 'previously been cast out. The altars which had been overthrown

[1] The king's wound is spoken of in terms that would seem to have been penned during his life. Internal evidence, however (*e.g.* the death of Paul IV. on 18 August), shows that the king had been dead for nearly two months before the letter was sent off. The last sentence and date may have been added after the body of the letter was finished.

'are again raised in church, and upon them sacrifices are offered 'according to Christian rite and ancient usage, which are better 'attended than ever. In the same way the castle and town of 'Stirling are held by the French in force, and the Protestants have 'been driven away. Many from the faction of the fanatics have re-'turned and submitted to the queen regent. Amongst them are 'Robert Stuart, Commendator of Holyrood, and Lord Ruthven, 'with many others.' (*Regentis Scotiae opera Edimburgi iam sunt restituti monachi, qui prius electi fuerunt, eversa altaria rursus in templo excitata, in quibus christiano ritu et veteri more frequentius quam aliae unquam sacra peraguntur, similiter arx et oppidum Sterlingi, fugatis illine protestantibus, a Gallis fortissime retinentur, Quid plura? Jam multi a factione delirantium ad Regentem supplices rediere, in quorum numero sunt Robertus Stuart Abbas commendatarius Stae Crucis et Dominus a Ruven cum aliis non paucis*).

Ep. 21, fol. 56 b. JOANNI BEATONIO. 20 *September* 1561.

You ask me to inform you about Scottish matters. The Archbishop of Glasgow keeps with the regent. All disturbances would have been quieted had not the Queen of England sent ships; which, however, did little harm, and have been recalled. War with England is not expected this year, and in the meanwhile disturbers may be recalled to a better frame of mind. The Conference of Poissy and arrival of the Cardinal of Ferrara.

Ep. 22, fol. 56 b. JACOBO BEATON, Archiep. Glasgoen.
6 *December* 1561.

(The end of the Conference of Poissy, and its evil consequences.)

Sed neque minus periculosum est Scotia. Praepositus enim Edimburgensis cum illius loci Ballivis temere ausus est inscia Regina, usurpato tamen eius nomine, per precones ad urbis compita denuntiasse sacerdotibus vestris et papistis (sic illi per contumeliam optimos viros nuncupant) ut intra spatium 24 horarum, poena cauterii in gena singulorum proposita, ab urbe excederent. Id cum esset a cordatis viris reginae renuntiatum, adeo illa excanduisse scribitur ut nulla interiecta mora tantae audaciae authorem Propositum cum Ballivis ad se evocaverit, quos omnes gravissimis verbis castigatos in custodiam illico deduci mandavit. Sed Prior ita apud reginam egit, ut in carcerem detrusi non fuerint, nec tamen efficere potuit quominus Propositus cum Ballivis abire magistratu cogeretur, in quorum loco nullos adhuc subregatos audio.

Dñs de Morette et Dñs de Fois profecti sunt Edimburghum. De Fois, Senator Parisiensis et Reginae Navarrae affinis, qui sub Rege Henrico cum aliis non paucis custodiae traditus est.

[Nor is there less danger in Scotland. The Provost of Edinburgh

with the bailies of that place was so bold as to proclaim in the queen's name, though without her knowledge, by criers at the city cross roads, that your priests and the papists—thus abusively did they style those excellent men—should depart from the city within the space of twenty-four hours, and that all offenders were to be punished by branding on the cheek. When word of this was brought to the queen by some honest persons, she was so angry, that she summoned before her without delay the provost, the originator of this audacious measure, and bailies. Having reprimanded them all very severely, she ordered them to be at once cast into prison. The Prior [? of St. Andrews] prevailed upon the queen so far that they were not thrown into prison. But he could not prevent the provost and bailies having to resign their posts. So far I hear of no one having taken their places.

The Sieur de Morette and Sieur de Foix have gone to Edinburgh. De Foix is a member [? of the Parliament] of Paris, and a kinsman of the Queen of Navarre. He was imprisoned under King Henry with many others.

Ep. 23, fol. 57 b. JACOBO BEATON, Archiep. Glasgoen.

Imperfect. Gives an account of the bold proceedings of the heretics in Paris up to 27 December 1561.

[*Cetera desunt.*]

No. 2

THE CARDINAL OF LORRAINE TO THE REGENT MARY OF GUISE. Paris, 18 August 1556.

Paris, Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, *Mémoires et Documents, Angleterre*, vol. xv. fol. 16. Contemporary Register.

Du xix^me^ dudicte mois d'aoust.

MADAME,—Le secretaire, qui est a la Royne votre fille, arriva ung peu auparavant les couches de la Royne,[1] ou le Roy estoit si empesché et toute la compaignée pour le doubte que ung chaud [?] saison de sa santé, que cela donna excuse a ceulx qui n'ont pas envye que lon vous face bien tost responce. Depuis vinrent les

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[1] Catherine was delivered of twins on June the 24th, at Fontainebleau. Jehanne died immediately, Vittoria two days before this letter was written.—L. Paris, *Négociations* (1841), p. 894.

Who 'madame sa sœur' may be is not clear. Catherine was an only child, and the sisters of the 'madame' addressed were either dead or in the cloister. 'Sisters' are mentioned again in the next letter. Perhaps sisters-in-law are meant. See Anselme, *Histoire Généalogique*, ed. 1727, vol. iii. p. 485.

couches et arriva le legat,[1] qui a este une autre excuse jusque a son partement, qui fut il y a six jours: joinct, madame, que le Roy partant apres le baptesme, n'a jamais arresté en lieu du monde et n'a faict qu'aller de maison en maison passant son temps. Nous retournons a Fontainebleau ou le Roy arrivera apres demain, et la je feray tout ce que je pourray, pour entendre quelle resolution on voudra prandre en tout ce dont vous aves escript. Madame, les grandes challeurs que nous avons eues pardeca, si extremes que de memoire d'homme nont este veues telles, nous sont sus cest autonne infiny malades. Madame, le viii^me^ de ce mois print une fiebvre continue a la royne vostre fille, qui estant demourée a Fontainebleau auecques la royne; et le roy se trouvant lors, et moy aussi, a Annet. Et estoit mervelleusement furieuse et aspre. Il ne se pourra croire la diligence que la royne y fit, ne bougeant nuict et jour, de facon quelle fut bien secourue, de facon que des le lendemain elle print medecine, et le troisiesme jour elle fut seignée, le quatrieme elle en fut du tout quitte. Or, Madame, la royne envoya vers moy men advertir en dilligence, et me faillis incontinant partir en poste, de facon que partant le scoire d'Anet, je fus le lendemain a son disner pour luy faire service comme je doibs, et laiant trouvée a la declinaison de sa fievre continue. Je y demeure trois jours durant les quels elle eut deux acces de fievre tiree, qui persevere jusques a ennuit, qui est son quatriesme acces, sans toutefois ung seul mauvais accident ny danger, et ont oppinion les medecins quelle en aura jusques a sept acces. Je vins devant hier jusques a Paris pour veoir le Roy, et my en retourneroy demain au matin, car le roy ny arrivera jusques apres demain. Je vous supplie, madame, ne vous en mectre en peine et vous asseurer sur moy quil ny a aucun dangier. La royne bouge quasi point, mesment durant ses acces, Elle et madame sa seur y[2] sont tousiours, et ne scauroys asses vous tesmoingner l'obligation que vous y avez. . . . Je vous donneray bien tost advis de l'entiere santé avecques laide de Dieu, etc. . . .

De Paris ce xix^me^ d'aoust. . . .

Votre tres humble et tres obeissant frere,

C. Cardinal de Lorraine.

(*au dos*) A la Royne douairiere descosse.

(*Tout la dicte lettre est escrite de sa main.*)

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[1] The legate was Carlo Cardinal Carafa, who had come to engage Henry in the approaching war with Spain, out of which grew the war between England and Scotland, and thence again the revolt of Scotland from France with all its consequences. For an account of his negotiations at Paris (June-August), see George Duruy, *Le Cardinal Carlo Carafa*, Paris, 1882, chap. xv., and Dr. Anton Pieper, *Päpstliche Legaten in Deutschland, . . . seit der Mitte des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts.* Münster in W., 1897, p. 87.

[2] The manuscript reads *ils.*

[MADAME,—The secretary of the queen your daughter arrived shortly before the Queen [Catherine] was confined.* The king and all the court were at that moment much preoccupied by fears for her health during the heats, and this afforded an excuse to those who are not over-zealous for your receiving immediate answers. Then came the queen's confinement and the arrival of the legate,* and until he left, six days ago, he served as a further excuse. Moreover the king, starting off after the baptism, never stopped at any particular place, but went from house to house passing his time. We return to Fontainebleau, where the king will arrive the day after to-morrow, and there I will do my very best to make out what will be settled concerning the various points which you mention.

Madame, the great heats we have had here were so extreme, that their like had not been experienced in the memory of man, and in consequence there have come upon us this autumn an infinite number of diseases. Madame, the eighth of this month a persistent fever attacked the queen, your daughter, who was living at Fontainebleau with the Queen [of France], the king and myself being at Anet. The ailment was wonderfully severe and sharp. The pains which our queen took over her were really incredible, not leaving her night or day. Thus helped in good time, she took medicine, the second day, was bled on the third day, and on the fourth day she was quite free of fever.

Now, madame, the queen had sent word with speed to inform me, and I had to set out immediately by post. Leaving Anet that evening, I was with her by dinner time next day to pay her the service which I owe. I found that the persistent fever was subsiding. I remained there three days, during which she had two accesses of prolonged fever, which lasted till nightfall, and this is her fourth attack, but there was no mishap or danger at any time. The doctors think that there will be seven attacks. The day before yesterday I came up to Paris to see the king and shall return to-morrow morning. The king will not arrive till the day after to-morrow.

I beg you, madame, not to distress yourself, and take my assurance that there is no danger. The queen hardly ever leaves her, not even during her attacks. She and her sister are always there, and I could not sufficiently tell you your obligations to them.

[Family news. The twin baby princesses are dead, but the queen is doing well, etc.]

I shall soon send you the news of the complete recovery (with God's aid) of the queen your daughter . . . From Paris, this 19th of August. Your very humble and obedient brother,

C. CARDINAL OF LORRAINE.]

No. 3

THE CARDINAL OF LORRAINE TO THE REGENT MARY OF GUISE. Paris, 2 October 1556.

Same Register as the last, fol. 16. There are similar letters, dated 30 September and 1 October, from Henry II., L'Aubespine, and the Duke of Guise.

Du Deuxieme octobre. Lettre de mons^r^ le Cardinal de Lorraine a la Royne douairiere Decosse.

MADAME,—Je vous ay desia escript deux fois et faict entendre la malladie de la royne vostre fille, qui est plus estrange que dangereux, et ny a autre inconveniance que de longueur. Car quelques fois elle est huict ou dix jours sans avoir fiebre, puys sommes tous esbahis quelle en a quelques ressentimens par petits frissons. Et croys, madame, qu'on faict tous ce qu'on peult pour l'en mettre de tout hors, mais il nest possible tant la maladie est rebelle. Je vous assure bien, madame, quil ny a nul danger, et n'en debvies estre en craincte et sont les malladies de ceste année de telle qualité, dont plusieurs y ressentent. Notre petit nepveu le prince de Joinville a eu sa part d'une fiebvre quotidiane, dont il a bien eu soixante acces, et mons^r^ le dauphin est en ceste ville avec la fiebvre quarte, en laquelle il est tumbé du premier coup, et craignons fort et les medecins aussi que celle de ladite dame vostre fille se tornast. Mais nous sommes maintenant par la descours de sa malladie hors de ce doubte. Nous lavions faict mener a Meudon, ou elle a esté quelque temps pour la commodite de lair, qui est fort bon en temps desté. Mais voyant les froidures retourner, nous avons avises la raminer icy, ou nous noublierons rien de tout ce qui sera pour lentiere restitution de sa santé, que sera briesve, Dieu aydant. Auquel je prie, etc. . . . De Paris ce deuxieme jour doctobre 1556.

(*Et plus bas est escript de main dudicte Cardinal de Lorraine*)

Madame,—Je vous supplie nestes en peine et croire que en son mal il ni a autre danger que longueur. Elle est logeé a la maison de Guyse. Le roy et la royne y vont tous les jours. Monsieur le Dauphin qui est au Tournelles. Nous noublions rien, freres et seurs, a luy faire service comme nous sommes tenus et nous supplions vous en fier en moy.

(*Ainsi signé*) Vostre tres chere et tres obeissant frere,
C. CARDINAL LORRAINE.

(*et a l'adresse*) A la Royne et Douairiere d'Escosse.

[MADAME,—I have already written twice to inform you of the sickness of the queen your daughter, which is more strange than dangerous, and has no other inconvenience than its length. Sometimes she is eight or

ten days without having fever, then we are all in dismay because she has some symptoms of relapse in the form of little shiverings. I really believe, madame, that everything possible is being tried in order to cure her completely, but thus far without success, so obstinate is the ailment. I assure you, madame, that there is no danger, and you ought not to be anxious. It is one of the maladies of this year, which are affecting many. Our grandnephew, the Prince de Joinville, has had his share, viz. a daily fever, of which he has had almost sixty returns. M. the Dauphin is in this town with a quartan fever, into which he fell from the first, and we were greatly afraid, and so were the doctors too, that your daughter's fever would return yet again. But the course of her malady now puts an end to our concern. We have had her taken to Meudon, where she has been some time for the benefit of the air, which is remarkably good during the summer season. But seeing the cold weather returns, we thought well to bring her back here, where we shall not neglect anything for the entire restoration of her health, which, with the help of God, will be ere long. To whom I pray. . . .

Paris, 2 October 1556.

[*Autograph postscript*] Madame,—I beg you not to be disturbed, and to believe that in her ailment there is no other danger than the length of it. She is living at the Maison de Guise, the king and queen go there daily. The dauphin is [? here] at Tournelle. None of us, brothers and sisters, forget any of our bounden services to her, and we beg you to trust me.

Your very loving and very obedient brother,

C. CARDINAL LORRAINE.]

No. 4

THE REGENT MARY OF GUISE TO THE CARDINAL OF LORRAINE. 13 January 1556-7.

Paris, *ibid.* fol. 6, 7.

Du xiii^me^ Janvier. Minute d'une lettre escripte a Mons^r^ le Cardinal de Lorraine par la royne douairiere et regente Descosse.

MONS^R^ MON FRERE,—[1] Jay entendu par la depesche que ma apporté Asquin,[1] par le rapport quil ma faict a bouche, et par les lettres que m'a depuis apportées le Cappitaine Cocquebron,[2] la

[1] Arskin is probably the Artus Erskine (? of Blackgrange) mentioned in list of Mary's household in 1560 (Paris, *Négociations*, p. 747) as *escuyer d'escurie*, and who afterwards remained on in her service (Joseph Robertson, *Inventories*, pp. 123, 146; Schiern, *J. Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell*, p. 73). He may, however, be Alexander Erskine of Gogar.—Keith, ii. 85, *n.*

[2] 'Captain . . . Cockburn . . . goes now in diligence by England to Scotland to make his band of Scottish horse,' Dr. Wotton to Queen Mary of England, Poissy, 30 November 1556 (*Calendar, Foreign*, 1556, p. 277). In later years he became a spy for Cecil.—*Calendar, Foreign*, 1566, *n.* 303, etc.

fin de la maladie et convalescence de la Royne ma fille, qui m'a esté tres grand plaisir. Mais je ne me puis du tout satisfaire, que je n'en sache la continuation, que je supplie Nostre Seigneur vouloir permectre, et renvoyer parfaicte guerison a Monsieur le Daulphin ainsi ce que puissions avoir entiere joye de leur sante et bonne disposition, vous priant tres affectueusement faire en sorte que je puisse bien tost estre advertie de ce quil avra pleu a dieu ordonner, et de la prosperité du voiage, que messrs mes freres ont recommencé, pour lequel je suis en peine telle que je ne trouvay jamais tant, quand les guerres ont esté pardeca. Non que en ce je craigne tant la force et puissance de ennemys, que les meschancetés et poisons de quoy l'on use, et avecques cela la faute des vivres, dont je crains quil y ait necessité. Toutefois il fault tout remectre en la main de dieu, car cest luy qui est seigneur des victoires. [2] A ce que jay dict, parceque m'escrives, il s'est pourveu de toutes les choses que les hommes peuvent adviser, et principallement d'argent la faulte duquel a souvent esté la perte et ruyne des armées pardela avec les vices et insollences des gens de guerre, mesmes a l'endroict des femmes, que ceste nation Italienne, qui est vindictive, ne peult aucunement supporter, et sont cause de se rendre en hayne et souvent de se faire deteste des amys. Je stime que dieu fera ceste grace a monsieur nostre frere, de y donner bon ordre et de tenir tousiours bonne justice. [3] Ce que j'en dis n'est sans propos, ayant depuis peu de jours veu lettres venues de Rome, et d'autres d'un venetien (peult estre favorisant les ennmys, mais il fuict bon prandre garde a tous) ou entre autre discource quil y auoit de ceste guerre du pappe estoient ces mots. Il y a icy des gascons tant insolens et prompts a prandre le bien dautruy, quil nest jour que en Romanie n'en tuent a la desrobbée. Outre ce il en meurt beaucoup, et estans si sollennels voleurs et larrons de cappes, ils se acquirent une si grand inimitie que peu retourneront en Gascougne. [4] Je ne fais estat de cecy venant de telle part, mais ce que j'en dis est pour lennvy que jay que toutes choses soient si bien ordonnées par monsieur notre frere, que dieu et les amys en demeurent contents, et les enemys en craincte. De quoy je supplie et supplieray tous les jours notre seigneur de bon ceur, et sur tout quil luy plaise envoyer une paix, me doubtant bien que si ce bon dieu ny mect la main, et que si les choses se viennent une fois a rompre du coste de dela,[1] il est malaisé que n'en ayons aussi notre part, a quoy nous sommes fort mal prepares, nayant une seulle bonne place pour se defendre et soustenir ung siege, et daultre part vous scavez le peu de forces que le Roy a pardeca, ce qui ma grandement reculé mes affaires, et ay esté contraincte a ceste occasion faire ceste année dextremes despenses a tenir ordinaire-

[1] The MS. reads *deca.*

ment gens de cheual souldoyes sur les frontiers, pour dompter ung grand nombre de larrons et rebelles qui destruisent tous pais dalentour, et ont leur retraicte en Angleterre, qui cause que n'en pouvons venir a bout. [5] Et aussi que ce peuple, et principalement les grands seigneurs, sont si peu desireux de la justice, quils sont plustost bien aises de veoir tousiours quelque chose a desmeller qui lempesche. On ne peult en parler demander ladite justice, quils ne disent incontinant, que lon leur veult changer leurs loix. Je croy quils preignent example sur les anglois, car ils sont plus malayses a manier que jamais. Dieu scait, Monsieur mon frere, quelle vie jay, ce nest peu de chose que damener ung peuple nouveau a parfection et nouvelle servitude a ceulx qui ont envy de voeir regner justice. Les grandes charges sont aysées a prandre, mais malaisees a s'en bien acquicter devan dieu. Il est heureux qui a le moins a faire des choses qui sont du monde. Ne pouvant dire depuis vingt ans enca, avoir jamais eu ung an de repos, et croy si disois ung moys je ne failleroys poinct, car le mal de lesprit passe tous les autres. Et vous asseure que le voiage de messrs mes freres n'allege en rien ma peine, [6] vous priant penser une chose, que je croy que [*sic*] jusques a ceulx, qui aiment et desirent plus le Roy en Italie, ne le vouldroient y veoir prosperer. Je ne fais doubte, quils ne sont bien ayses de veoir ces deux grands princes s'empescher et rompre les desseigns l'un de l'autre. Mais d'avoir aultre chose d'eulx, il ne se trouvera jamais, vous en voies tous les jours les experiences, je scay, monsr. mon frere, que vous entendes mieulx tous cecy que je ne fais, mais je vous prie excuse mon affection, qui me faict en dire si avant. Ce que je laisray pour vous parler de lestat de deca, [7] qui est tel, que s'il ne plaist au Roy y avoir aultre esgard, il m'est impossible mectre la chose en si bon train comme je la desire. Car comme je vous vins de dire, les forces qui me furent ostées l'an passé, m'ont grandement reculé mes affaires, et faict croistre cœur aux meschants et a nos voisins, qui soustiennent et fortiffient ordinairement mes rebelles. Combien que tout cest este jay eu des commissions sur nos frontiers pour donner ordre a tous avecques eulx que la Royne dangleterre y avoit depputtes de son costé pour cest effect. Lesquels de bouche ont accordé le mieulx du monde, et mesmes ont le tout passé et signe. Mais venant au poinct dexecuter, cest toute collusion de leur costé. [8] Et quant a faire des forts pour la securetté du pais, encoresque je eusse largent prest, je ny auseroys avoir touché, nayant forces pour les garder, car je ne scay si ce serait le prouffict et seruice du Roy d'en faire pour les mectre entre les mains de ceste nation, qui outre cela a peu dexperience en telle chose, et davantage il ne fault petite somme pour feire ung tel oeuvre. Javoys esperance, que laffaire, qui avoit esté mis en auant au dernier parlement, seroit pour y satisfaire, voyant que les grans l'avont trouvé le meilleur du monde; mais la commune, noblesse et peuple sont entres en

une telle jalousie, que cest pour leur mectre une perpetuelle taile ; et me voyant faible autre costé, que je men trouve plus esloignée que du commencement, et ira la chose en beaucoup plus de longueur que je n'esperois. [9] Et ne fault que je vous celle, ce que aucuns mont dict en leur en parlant, que je ne vous refere pour vouloir accelerer et haster les choses, mais pour vous faire cognoistre les opinions de ceste nation. Qui fut que je mectoys la charrus devant les boeufs, et me trompoys de penser riens asseurer de deca, si au preallable le marriage nestois accomply, car ils estoient tousiours en doubte soubs que seigneur ils debvoient tumber. Je noseroys mander telles choses au Roy,[1] d'autant que lon pouroit estimer que je le disse pour mon affection particulliere. Dieu scayt ce qui en est. [10] Dauantage la malladye de ma fille a rendu beaucoup des choses doubteuses, et pour ne vous rien desguyser, les esprits des hommes ont esté de tant de sortes d'oppinion et tellement en suspens, que jay trouvé ceulx ausquels jesperoys le plus, estre en ce que jay desiré les plus estranges que je ne les avois jamais veus, non seulement depuis que je leur commande, mais depuis que je cognoys escosse. Il fault que je dissimule beaucoup pour attendre le temps plus propre. Quand je les ay rechercé pour faire quelque conclusion sur les affeirs publicques et pour traicter de paix ou guerre, jen ay faict ainsi que jay desiré et les ay mené ou jay voulu. Mais depuis quil est question que je veulx veoir la justice aller par le droict chemin et quils m'y trouve ung peu austere, ils ne le peuvent comporter et disent que ce sont les loix des francois et que leurs vieilles loix sont bonnes, la pluspart desquelles sont les plus injustices du monde, non d'elles mesmes mais en la maniere quils en usent, ce qui est cause de tous nostre discord, que je passe toutesfois le plus doulcement que je puis sans rien gaster attendant meilleure saison et que je voys ce quil plaira a dieu de disposer. [11] Au surplus jay entendu par despesche dudict Cappitaine Cocbron la levée quil plaist au Roy feir pardeca de quatre cents chevaulx legers, dequoy jay este bien aise, car a la verite ils sont beaucoup meilleurs pardela quils ne sont icy. Et vous asseure que jauroys peu descouvris de tous ceulx, que jentretiens en la frontiere du uest, nestoit le peu de francois qui sont avecques Mons doysel et le petit nombre de gens de pied, quil a peu amasser de chacune place. Aquoy il ne se trouve peu empesché, pour estre le nombre si petit qu'en en mectant d'un costé il fault desgarnir l'autre. En sorte que sans son bon ayde et prudence, je me trouvoys fort empeschée comme je vous ay escript parcydevant par plusieurs foys. [12] Il me reste man-

[1] On March 29 following, however, Mary did write to Henry on this subject. —Same codex, fol. 12.

tenant, monsr mon frere, a vous ramenteuoir Monsr Rubay,[1] qui est un suffisant personnage de sa robbe ce que lon cognoist tousiours de bien en mieulx par ses envies [*sic*]. Mais comme vous pouves penser, sil ne plaist au Roy le faire pourveoir de quelque honorable estat pardeca de la qualité que je vous ay mandé, il naura pas occasion ny moyen de pouvoir continuer longuement, et demeurer luy et sa femme hors de sa maison, comme ils sont tous deux a grande despence ayant augmente de beaucoup leur train, estats d'habillements et de toutes choses pour venir pardeca et diminuer leur repos et proufict, qui me faict vous prier tres-affectueusement avoir ledicte seigneur Rubay pour tres recommandé et faire tant envers le Roy quil soit gratiffié dudicte estat. Ce que jespere, monsr mon frere, suivant ce que vous en aves derniernement escript a monsieur doysel. De lislebourg le xiiime Janvier 1556.

[Monsieur my Brother,—[1] From the despatch which Erskine[n] has brought me, and by his verbal report, as well as from the letters which Captain Cockburn[n] carried, I learn that the sickness and convalescence of my daughter are over, which has given me very great pleasure. Still I cannot absolutely quiet my anxiety until I hear that her health continues, which I beg our Lord graciously to grant, and also to send to Monsieur the Dauphin a perfect recovery, so that our satisfaction at their health and good estate may be complete. I beg you most lovingly to take measures for my being informed betimes of what it shall please God to ordain. Let me also hear of the successes of the expedition which messieurs my brothers have commenced. I am more disturbed over it than ever I was when the war was raging in this country. Not that I so much dread the force and power of the foe as their underhand dealings and the poisons which they often use, also the want of supplies, which, I fear, will run short. But one must always leave all in the hand of God, for He it is that is the Lord of victories.

[2] This I say because you write that he is well furnished with all things that man can devise, and especially with money, the want whereof has so often caused the loss and ruin of armies in those parts.

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[1] M. de Rubbay is described among the signatories of the marriage settlement in November 1558, as 'Me yues de Rubbay, garde des sceaulx dicelle Dame,' *i.e.* Mary of Guise (*Acta Parl. Scot.*, ii. 513). In his passport of 21 January 1558, as 'Sir Jues de Rubarye,' master of requests and keeper of the seals to the Queen Regent (Bain, *Scottish Calendar*). In 1554 the regent gave him some of Huntly's powers as chancellor, which brought him into much odium with the Scots (*Foreign Calendar*, 1559-1560, *n.* 42 (3); *Register of Privy Council*, 1561, p. 167; Laing's *Knox*, ii. 262; Herries's *Memoirs* (1836), p. 29). Towards the end of the French predominance he was frequently employed on diplomatic missions.—Teulet, *Relations*, ii. 296.

The same result is often caused by the vices and lawlessness of the soldiers, even towards women, a crime which those vindictive Italians can in no wise endure, and which often makes [our] men hated and detested even by friends. I am sure that God will grant monsieur our brother the grace to establish good order, and ever to administer even justice.

[3] What I say is not beside the purpose. Only a few days ago I saw letters from Rome, and others from a Venetian (the writer perhaps sympathised with our enemies, but it would be well to take warnings from any one), where, among other things related of this war for the Pope, there occurred these words: 'We have here some Gascons 'so insolent and so ready to take other people's property, that not a 'day passes in the Romagna without [the inhabitants] secretly killing 'some of them. Moreover, many of them die, and being as they are 'professed robbers and thieves [who take the very clothes off one's back [1]], 'they incur such mortal hate that few will return to Gascony.'

[4] I do not make much of this, coming as it does from such a source, but I mention it because of my great wish that monsieur my brother should keep all in such good order, that God and our friends be content, and our foes in fear. I pray, and shall pray daily, to our Lord from my heart for this, and above all that He will please to send us peace. For I greatly fear that if that good God does not put His hand to it, when once matters come to an open breach on [? your] side, it will be difficult for us to avoid having our share. We are very badly prepared for war. We have not one single strong place where we could defend ourselves and resist a siege, and as for armed forces, you know how few men the king has here. My undertakings are much thwarted thereby, and this year I have been constrained by events to make extraordinary expenses in order to maintain upon the borders a standing force of paid horsemen to quell the numerous thieves and rebels, who lay waste all the country round about and then retreat into England, so that we cannot make an end of them.

[5] Moreover, this people, especially the great lords, are so little desirous of justice, that they are, on the contrary, always very happy to find some complication which may impede it. One cannot talk of [or] demand this justice without their instantly saying that one wants to change their laws. I believe that they are following the example of the English. They are more difficult to manage than ever. God knows, brother mine, what a life I lead. It is no small thing to bring a young nation to a state of perfection, and to an unwonted subservience to those who desire to see justice reign. Great responsibilities are easily undertaken, but not discharged to God's satisfaction without difficulty. Happy is he who has the least to do with mundane affairs. I can say that for twenty years past I have not had one year of rest, and I think

[1] I can find no authority for the translation of *larrons de cappes*.

that if I were to say not one month I should not be far wrong. Pain of the heart is worse than any other ill, and I can assure you that my brothers' expedition assuages nothing of my grief.

[6] I pray you think of this. It seems to me even those who favour our king and wish most to have him in Italy do not want to see him prosper there. I doubt not but that they are happy to see these two great princes cross one another and ruin each other's projects. Nothing good will ever be got from them, of this you see the proofs daily. I know, monsieur my brother, that you understand all this better than I do, but I pray you forgive my heart's affection which makes me so outspoken. I will now leave this subject to speak to you of the state of things over here.

[7] Our condition is such that unless the king is pleased to change his mind, it is impossible for me to put things in such good order as I should desire. For, as I have just told you, the taking away of forces from me last year has much hindered my enterprises, and put new heart into evildoers and into my neighbours, who are the continual stay and strength of my rebels. I had commissioners on our borders the whole of this summer to set all in order in conjunction with those whom the Queen of England deputed on her side for this purpose. As far as words went they agreed as well as possible, and even allowed and signed everything. When, however, the question of executing came, all proved collusion on their part.

[8] As for building forts for the security of the country, even though I had the money ready, I should not dare meddle with them, as I have no men to garrison them. I do not, in fact, know whether it would be for the benefit or service of the king to build them, and put them into the hands of this nation, which moreover has but small experience in such matters. Besides, no small sum of money would be necessary for such a work. I had hoped that the affair, which had been put before the last Parliament, would have satisfied them, seeing that the great lords had found it as satisfactory as possible. But the commonalty (*la commune*), both the lesser lords (*la noblesse*) and the people, have become so suspicious as to think that it would be a perpetual tax on them. On the other hand, seeing that I am weak, that I am more alienated [from them] than I was at first, the business will take much longer than I had hoped.

[9] Nor must I conceal from you, what some have said to me, when I spoke to them about it—(I do not refer the matter to you from a wish to accelerate or hasten it, but in order to make you acquainted with the temper of this country),—that it would be putting the cart before the oxen, and deceiving myself, if I thought of settling anything before the marriage is accomplished, for they are still doubtful under which lord they shall fall. I should not venture to write such things to the king* for fear he should imagine I said them from interested motives, but God knows the truth of the matter.

[10] Moreover, my daughter's illness has put many things in doubt,

and, to keep nothing back from you, men's minds have been so changeable, and so in suspense, that those from whom I hoped the most, I have found more estranged than I have ever seen them, not only since I have ruled them, but since I have known Scotland. I am forced to keep up many pretences till I come to the proper time. When I sought [to conciliate] them in order to come to some conclusion on public affairs, and to discuss the question of peace or war, I have done what I desired, and led them as I wished. But now that it is a question of my determination to see justice take a straightforward course, and they find me a little severe, they will not endure it, and say that these are laws of the French, and that their old laws are good, which for the most part are the greatest injustices in the world, not in themselves, but from the way in which they are administered. This is the cause of all our discord, which, however, I pass over as gently as I can, preventing things from getting worse, waiting for a better time, and until I see what it may please God to appoint.

[11] Moreover, I have learnt from the despatch brought by the said Captain Cockburn that the king intends making a levy of four hundred light horse here, at which I am very glad, for it is far better that they should be there than here. I assure you that I should have been able to find out but little from those whom I maintain on the western border, but for the few French who are with Monsieur D'Oysel, and the small number of infantry which he has been able to collect from each place. . In this matter he finds himself not a little hindered, for the number is so small that in order to move to one place he is compelled to withdraw the garrison of another. Without his good help and prudence I should find myself much embarrassed, as I have already told you several times.

[12] I have now, monsieur my brother, to bring to your notice Monsieur Rubay,[a] who is a sufficient person in his profession, as we have always known, and . . . from good to better by his . . . But, as you may imagine, he will neither have an inducement to persevere, nor the means of stopping with his wife away from home for long, unless the king is pleased to have him provided with some honourable estate here of the kind I have indicated to you, as he and his wife have both been at great expense in increasing the number of their household and providing clothes and all else to come here, to the diminution of their profit and their peace. For which reason I beg you in all affection to regard the said Sieur de Rubay as highly recommended on my part, and so to recommend him in turn to the king, that he may be gratified by obtaining the said post. I hope this the more, monsieur my brother, from what you lately wrote to Monsieur D'Oysel.

From Edinburgh, the 13th of January 1556-7.]

No. 5

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS TO THE DUKE OF SAVOY.

Fontainebleau, 25 April 1559.

Turin, Archivio di Stato. Museo a. 38. Original, pot paper, seal broken.

Mon oncle,—Jay receu votre lettre qui ma este fort agreable, Vous asseurant que neussiez sceu deppartir vos nouvelles a personne, qui de meilleure volunte les receust, comme je feray tousiours quant il vous plaira continuer a men faire part, ainsi que Je mettre peine le vous faire cognoistre quant locasion sen offrira, et du plaisir que Jay de lalliance dentre vous et madame ma tante, a laquelle, pour l'honneur et vertu qui est en elle et du bien que long temps Jay Receu et receoy ordinairement [delle *erased*] Je men sen son obligee, du demourant de mes bonnes nouvelles Je men remects sur monsieur le Conte de Stropiano[1] Lequel je vous prye croyre de tout comme vous feriez moy mesmie, Et surce mon oncle, apres mes affectionees racommandacions a vostre bonne grace, Je prye dieu vous donner bonne vye et longue. Escript a fontainebleau, Le xxv jour dauril 1559.

[*Autograph*] Votre entierement bonne niece, Marie.

[*Addressed*] A Mon oncle Le duc de Savoye.

[My Uncle,—I have received your letter, which afforded me much pleasure, and assure you that you could not have imparted your news to any one who would have been better pleased to hear them; as will be always the case, whenever you may be pleased to inform me of anything. I also shall endeavour to send you letters whenever the occasion offers. [I further assure you] of the pleasure which I experience from the alliance between you and madame, my aunt, to whom, on account of her virtue and honour, and because of the favour, which I have long received and still continue to receive from her, I am under great obligations. For the remainder of my good news, I remit myself to Monsignor the Count of Stropiano,[a] whom I beg you to credit just as you would myself. And now, my uncle, after affectionately recommending myself to your good favour, I pray God grant you a long and prosperous life. Written at Fontainebleau the 25th day of April 1559.

Your very good niece, Marie.

[*Addressed*] To my uncle, the Duke of Savoy.]

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[1] The Conte Stropiano had been the ambassador of Savoy at Paris.

No. 6

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS TO THE LORD JAMES.

Paris, 23 July 1559.

Paris, *ut supra*, *Mém. et Doc. Angleterre*, vol. xv. fol. 28. This letter follows one on fol. 27 from Francis in the same strain, dated 17 July. Bishop Leslie, *De Rebus Gestis Scotorum* (ed. Jebb), i. 213, gives Latin translations of both letters, and it is hence, presumably, that Spottiswoode (ed. 1655, p. 130) made his English translations, and took the erroneous date, 24 July, for Mary's letter.

Du xxiii[e] dudicte mois de Juillet. Lettre de la Royne audite Prieure de St. Andre.

MON COUSIN,—Je ne me puis assez esbahir que vous, qui me touches de si pres, a qui jay tant faict d'honneur de graces et de faveurs que vous scaves, aves daigné et ausé tant faillir, que jay sceu que vous aves faict et envers dieu et envers le Roy monseigneur et moy. Et qu'apres les plainctes et remonstrances, que vous me fectes dernierement que vous fustes icy, des choses enquoy il vous sembloit que mon cousin le duc de chastellerault et beaucoup dautres des plus grands de mon roiaume, que vous me nominastes, s'oublioient en mon endroict, vous soies des premiers et plus apparens qui ayez mis la main aux effects bien plus importans et de plus dommageable consequence, puisquils touchent jusques a l'honneur de dieu et a la diminution de l'obeissance qui nous est deue pardeca, ce que jeusse moins creu et pensé de vous, que d'homme de mon roiaume, et me suis en la fiance que j'avois en vous grandement trouuée trompée et deceue, et encore ne me puisse encore persuader quasi, quil soit vray, ne que vous aies le sens si allienné de la verité et de la raison, que vous soies de vous mesmes tumbé en cest erreur. Ce que je desirerois bien qu'il fust vray et que dieu vous eust faict ceste grace de vous recognoistre et remettre an bon chemin par autres effectes contraires. Dont jay bien voulu vous admonester par ceste lettre, et prier tant que je puis faire en sorte en rabillant les faultes passées, que le roy, mon dict seignieur et moy ayons occasion doublier une partie du juste courroux que nous avons contre vous, duquel autrement vous estes asseuré de sentir la poincture, celle quil vous en souviendra a jamais.[1] Ce que jaurois grand regret de veoir. Priant Dieu vous avoir en sa sainte garde. Escripte a Paris le xxiii[me] jour de Juillet 1559.

(*Signé*) Votre bonne cousin, MARIE.

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[1] Knox quoted this phrase, but altered 'il vous souviendra' to 'vous senteras.' He has also printed a translation of the Lord James's answer to the King's letter.—Laing's *Knox*, i. 386.

No. 7

THE LORD JAMES TO MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

Dumbarton, 12 August 1559.

Ibid. fol. 30.

Du dict Jour. [*i.e.* xii mois d'Aoust]

JAY receu la lettre de vostre maiesté de Paris le xxiii^me^ de Juillet derniere, contenant que vostre majesté s'esmervellois de ce quelle estoit asseurée de mes proceddures, etc., voulant que jeusse a restorer toutes choses a leur prieur estat et par la declarir ma repentance, autrement que je esprouveroys la pesanterie de l'offence, que le Roy a conceu contre moy de sorte que jen auroys souvenance a jamais. Vostre maiesté a experimenté en effect mon deue service en son bas aage jusques a lextremité de mon pouvoir, lequel justement pouvroit auoir persuadé ma bonne affection a vostre service. Et dernierement par la commande de vostre majesté procuray (avecques dilligence labeur et subs esperance de la liberté de conscience promise en la religion par la Royne vostre mere) une grande partie de la noblesse (contre laffection naturelle du sang) a condescendre au desir de vostre majesté. Et toutefois ceulx la ont incontinent apres experimenté plus grande contraincte de leur conscience auecques menaces dexterminer leurs personnes quils n'auoient faict auparavant, de sorte que les tres humbles supplications et diverses requestes faictes a plusieurs fois a la maieste de la royne votre mere, ny lexperience de bon service n'ont sceu obtenir ladicte liberté de conscience laquelle tant sentement ils demandoient. Mais estant presses et menaces ont este contraincts de supprimer et abolir toute Idolatrie et eslever et maintenir la vraye et sincere religion de dieu. Ce qui a esté faict sans prejudice de l'autorité de vostre majesté en civils et politiques affaires du commandement de leternel notre Dieu, avecques telle reverence et craincte dicellui que nous n'auserions eriger ny souffrir estre erigée (autant que le pouvons ampescher) la dejectée et supprimée idolatrie en mespris de son redoubte commandement, et en respect dequoy nous ne debuons encourrir le couroux de vostre majesté ni desservons sentir le poix dicelle, veu que ne nous sommes en ces proceddures mesles avecques aucune chose appertenant a lauctorité de vostre maiesté, et quil ne luy a esté nye aucune deue obeissance en ce qu' avons obey a la voix de dieu. Suppliant a ceste cause votre maiesté peser justement la matiere et considerer quil nous a faillu suivre cellui qui nous a appelles, et obeir a sa voix auquel toute creature, et le prince et les subiects, doibuent parfaicte obeissance, ausquelles choses nous advanceans [*sic*] avecques resiouyssance, nous remettons tout soucy sur luy, quelque dangereux que le chemin en semble,

et puis quil a le coeur de tous princes en sa main, nous le supplions amollir cellui de votre majesté et adoucir vostre couroux conceu sans occasion contre vos subiects, et pareilement quil illumine le coeur de vostre majesté avecques sa verité éternelle a ce quelle puisse droictement cognoistre quel est son debvoir a lendroict de ses subiects, et ce que de rechef vous pouvies justement recherchir deulx, car a ceste heure la nous n'aurons aucune occasion de craindre (comme nous sommes asseures) l'indignation de la majesté du Roy et de vous en ces affaires. Dieu eternel ayt votre maiesté en sa tressaincte sauueguarde. De Dumbartayn le xii^me^ Jour d'aoust 1559.

(*Et ung peu au dessoubs est escript.*)

De vostre Maiesté humble et obeissant serviteur,

(*Et signé bien bas*) JA. COMEN. DE SAINCT ANDRE.

[This letter follows a letter of similar tenor addressed to King Francis, of which a translation is printed, Laing's *Knox*, i. 386.]

No. 8

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS TO THE REGENT MARY OF GUISE. Paris, 7 March 1559-60.

Paris, *ibid.*, fol. 66 b.

Dudicte Jour.

MADAME,—Je nay voulu perdre ceste petite occasion de vous faire ce mot seulement pour me ramenteuoir a vostre bonne grace et vous asseurer de la bonne santé du Roy et Royne et tous mes oncles et parens et amys me remectant a vous escrire plus au long de toutes nouvelles par monsieur de Vallence, lequel sera demain depesché pour vous aller trouvé. Je m'assure que vous serés bien advertie des nouvelles que nous avons eues de la grande demonstration, que faict le roy d'espagne de ne vouloir en rien favoriser les rebelles, mais plustost nous offrir toutes ses forces pour nous y servir. Vous saurez tout cela plus amplement, et pour la haste que jay, je ne vous diray autre chose, sinon que nous voions des choses que nous neussions jamais pensé, et n'avons gueres meilleur contentement des traistres et rebells de deca que vous dela. Mais, Dieu mercy, ils sont descouverts, et avons trop de gens de bien pour craindre leurs menasses. Je vous promects quil estoit temps d'y penser. Vous scaurez plus amplement demain tous. Je finiray par mes tres humbles recommendations

a vostre bonne grace, priant Dieu, quil vous ayt a sa saincte garde.

(*Ainsi signé*) Vostre tres humble et tres obeissant fille,

MARIE.

(*En le marge de laquelle lettre est contenu ces mots*) Je n'ause plus dire craignant mes lettres estre visitées.

(*Ladicte lettre toute escrite de la main de la royne sa fille.*)

[MADAME,—I do not wish to lose this little opportunity of sending you a few words, to recall myself to your remembrance, and to assure you of the health of the king and queen, and of all my uncles and relations and friends, referring you for all news to the Bishop of Valence who will be despatched to-morrow to go to you. I am sure that you will be fully informed of the news which we have had of the great assurances made by the King of Spain, that he will in no way favour the rebels, but rather offers to assist us with all his forces. You will hear full details of all this, and as I am in a hurry, I will only add, that we are seeing things here which we never thought to see, and are not more happy in our traitors and rebels here than you are there. But, thank God! they have been discovered, and we have too many loyal subjects here to fear their menaces. I promise you it was quite time we bethought ourselves. You will know all more fully [? to-morrow]. I will conclude by recommending myself very humbly to your good favour, praying God to have you in His holy keeping.

(*Signed thus*) Your very humble and very obedient daughter,

MARIE.

(*On the margin of this letter is written*) I dare not say more, as I fear my letters are opened and read.

(*The above letter is all in the handwriting of the queen her daughter.*)]

No. 9

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS TO THE DUKE OF GUISE.

[*n.d.* ? 5 January 1561-2.]

British Museum, Egerton, 1819, fol. 28. A volume of modern transcripts purchased at the Dawson Turner sale (lot 416). They are written on English paper, which bears in the water-mark the date 1842. The date of the original document is fixed by the request for a pass for Montaignac, 5 January 1562, *Foreign Calendar*, 1561-1562, No. 785.[1]

MON ONCLE,—[1] Ayant enuoiè querir, sellon se que desja par St. Cosme je vous auois aduerti, que je delliberoys faire, une grande partie de la Noblesse et de l'esglise, pour empescher que à cause des bien de l'esglise il ne vint quelque broullerie, je auoys

[1] After this letter was put into type, the original document was identified, and a full description of it will now be found in an Additional Note on p. 521.

delliberé vous anuoier tout le discours de se qui si passeroit, qui me guarda de vous aduertir plutost des choses, pour lesquelles il m'a samblé nésésaire vous despecher montignac, present porteur, lequel a esté retardé aussi depuis d'une petite maladie, car s'en allant je l'ay instruict bien au long, pour vous randre conte comme toutes choses sont bien issi. Je l'ay conneu fort affectioné à vous faire seruice, & a moy aussi fidellement, qui m'a fait plustost attendre à vous écrire par luy pour vous pouuoir librement tout mander, [2] & sellon que par St. Cosme je aurays de vos nouuelles je guarde le Croc, pour, s'il est besoign, l'emploier à quelque chose d'importance pour votre seruice, auquel je veuls non seullement emploier tout ce qui est en ma puissance, mays moy, comme je desireroys plus auoir le moien vous tesmoigner par effect que par ecrit, qui me guardera vous user de belles parolles, mays, pour auoir plus de la cause de ma despesche en la teste que d'anvie de haranguer, m'assurant que le tamps vous faira asses connoitre ma bonne volonté, [or donques *erased*] je vous fairays se discours [*interlined*] sans plus user en etrangère, [3] je vous dirays la poine en quoi je suis pour les bruits qui courent issi, lesquells, encores qu'ils ne soient vrais, me samble mériter que je me mete en deuoir de vous en aduertir, & ofrir tout ce que je puis pour vous i seruir, & de moy & de mes voisins qui se montrent plus asurés amis, que je n'eusse osé espérer. Vous voirés se que en pourrés pretandre, & de quoy vous voullés ayder, tant par le discours que je vous en fairays que par les doubles que je vous enuoie.

[4] Premièrement, je reseus vne confession que l'on disoit que Monsieur auoit faite de Monsieur de Nemours, que je vous enuoie. Je la recouuris de Lediñthon, qui l'auoit eue d'Angleterre aueques l'aduertissement que le sieur de Foyx deuoit venir issi ambasadeur, de par le Roy, la Royne & le roy de Navarre, se qui aduint deus jours après, lequel m'aporta des lettres diseuls je vous en enuoie les doubles. Il ni a pas grand cas. Il me dit pour la creance qu'il estoit venu, ayant charge de me visiter de leur part & m'ofrir toute leur puisance si en quelque chose j'en auoys besoign, me priant continuer l'ansiene alliance entre les deus pais. Je les remersiay le plus honestement que je peus aueques samblables ofres.

[5] Apres, il me dit que il auoit charge de me dire, comme Monsieur de Nemours estant susget du Roy et tant obligé, s'estoit oblié jusques à ça dauoir voulu enmener Monsieur, et que l'on i adioustoit grand foy, l'ayant raconté Monsieur troys fois d'auant le conseil sans rien changer, et si bien donant à entendre les sirconstances, et puis qu'il estoit vraisamblable que vn enfant ne mantiroit de tieulles choses à sa mère, et que neanmoin la Royne ne voullant adiouster foi trop soudain, mays auoyt enuoie lui faire commendement de s'an venir descharger se que n'aiant fait, mays au contrere s'en estan fui, faisoit plus aparante

demonstration qu'il estoit vray, et que non obstant elle lui auoit encores ecrit une fois, qu'il ne sauoit se qu'il en fairoit, mais pour fin, l'asurance que ils auoient, & sur tous la Royne, que je vouldroys resentir ma part de ses bonnes & mauvaises fortunes, lui auoit fait comander de m'auertir priuement de tout. [6] Je lui dis que je estoys fort bien marrie que la royne feut en tieulle poine, que je croioys n'auoir grand fondement, ne me pouvant persuader que Monsieur de Nemours, que je tousjours congneu si fidelle au roys et à Elle, voulut se tant oblier. Et puis qu'il y auoit peu d'esperance qu'il le peut faire, quant la volonté i seroit, & que je pansois qu'il s'en eclarsiroit, & que j'en estois bien marrie, pour etre si prosche de Madame de Sauoie & son mari, lesquels je pansois en reseuoir grand ennui, & aussi pour se que il auoit tousjours esté ami de seuls qui m'apertenoient desquels je luy prié me dire des nouvelles, & comme ils estoient aueques la Royne, je luy demandis exprès pour voir si il m'en diroit suivant la confession. [7] Il me dit que ils n'estoient plus a la court, mays que ils y deuoient reuenir bien tost, estant partis le mieuls du monde aueques toute la compagnie, s'entrefaisant la meileure mine. Je lui demandis premier ou l'on vouloit mener Monsieur. Il me dit qu'il ne sauoit, et que l'on disoit à Paris, les autres en Sauoie et en Lorene, mays peu disoient le dernier. [8] Je ne me seus guarder de pleurer, & lui dis que quant à Paris que sella estoit trop impossible à persuader, mays que de Lorrayne je sauois bien qu'il en auoit esté parlé, et que j'esperoys que l'on conoitroit, que ses dreseurs de querelles là seroient coneus pour meschants & manteurs, & euls pour gens de bien & sens, que auoient fait pour le seruice du Roy, se que autre mayson, quelle qu'elle soit n'oseroit se vanter, & que ils auoient tant de aparantes merques & le roiaulme aussi, de leur fidellité, que si l'on la vouloit metre en doubte, sella fairoit pancer que leur seruice auroit esté bientost mis en obli, & que, pour n'auoir eues guard que à sella, il leur en viendroit mal au lieu de bien, & que si sella estoit, je n'auroys jamays joie pour ma part, ayant tout perdu, tout se que j'auois de cher en se monde fors qu'euls, & que il estoit aysé de faire dire à un enfant se que l'on vouloit. [9] Il me dit incontinant, & qui soupsoneriés vous? Je lui dis, persone, mays qui que se soit, ils ne vallent rien. Il me dit Vous ne soupsonés pas Carnauallet ni son maitre, Vous saués qu'ils sont honestes gens du roy de Nauarre. Il est fort bien aueques euls. Je lui dis, je ne veuls panser qu'il soit si meschant, & en aurois trop de regret pour lui étre si prosche. Il me dit qu'il estoit marri de m'auoir aporté nouelles qui me troublassent & que je ne deuois le prandre aynsin, car mes oncles ni estoient en rien brousllés, au moigns qu'il sent, & qu'il m'auoit dit ce qu'il auoit en comision. Je lui dis que, sans mantir, j'en auois oui d'ailleurs plus amples nouuelles. Il me dit que Monsieur le Cardinal auoit asses de moien & aueques les secretaires. Je lui dis, que je lui asurois que je n'en sauois

rien de la, mays que un de mes gens m'avoit enuoie la propre confession. Il se prit à rire et me dit qu'il me montreroit ses instructions, si je voulois, la ou il ni auoit autre chose. Je ne le voulus, disant que je croirois que la Royne auoit trop de jusgement pour croire rien d'euls, les auant tant esprouvés, & que elle se fairoit trop de tort, & que de moy, si je ne vous pansois plus nuire que seruir, en mestant en doubte se que il se deuoit croire de vous sans respondant, que je respondroys pour toute notre mayson. [10] Je vous enuoye le double de se que je lui en ay ecrit sur se propos. Si je mal fait pardonés moy, mays le despit me surmonta pour le bruit que j'auois eu, & mesmes depuis lui mesmes a dit à un Escosois, que l'on sauoit troué des lettres qu'escriuiés en Allemangne, lesquelles i dit auoir esté ranuoies à la Royne de par seuls à qui les ecriviés, disant que esties aussi bien brouillé en sessi de Nemours, mays que l'on n'en fairoit samblant que dissi a deus ans pour les affaires & faulte d'argent, mays que à seste heure là, ils seroient quites, & que ils ne craindroit roys ni empires pour en parler. Je ne lui en osay faire samblant, mais je panse vous en aduertir, e puis l'on ma mandé que Lignerolles sera pandu, & que l'on vous a mandé au quinsième de se moys. Sella me fasche. Je ne vouldroys que l'on voulut vous en prester une,[1] car les gens de bien sont bien souvant en poine pour fausetés, [11] qui m'a fait vous enuoier se porteur aueques les doubles des lettres que sur sella la royne d'Angleterre et moy sommes entrecrites, sur ce propos. Elle se montre bien fort desireuse de mon amitié. Ledinthon vous enuoie aussi le double des lettres qu'il a eues de Sisille, et moy une autre de lui, là ou elle me fait ofrir la faueur de son ambasadeur, laquelle ne saschant si en aures besoign je ne veuls refuser. Il ne vous en peut venir mal pour moy, mays que je vous serue, sest mon beut suivant l'obligation que j'en ay. Vous voirés le double de se que je lui ecris par se porteur, et saurés par lui sa responce.

[12] Si vous n'aués affaire vous n'aurés qu'a lui en faire un honeste remersimant lui montrant que vous en santes oblisgé, car elle a enuie d'auoir votre amit à se que je me puis aperseuoir. Si vous samble aussi qu'il vous puisse seruir acceptés le comme estant fait par moy et à ma requeste, car je pance que l'on ne vous sauroit sauoir maués gre, si, en ma faueur vous aués des amis que les autres ont tant rescherché, [13] mesmes encores à seste[2] je ecris des lettres de créance à tous troys. Vous les voirés et en faires comme bon vous samblera. Se porteur, dira sa créance sellon que l'instruirés et parlera quel lagasge que vouldrés; si en aués besoign pour Dieu servés vous en, et d'elle aussi; car je veuls bien que l'on sashe que moy, et se que je pourays auoir d'amis respondrons pour vous, & prandrons le parti que bon vous samblera, car si l'on vous fait tort, se m'est autant qu'à moy, vous pouués pancer que les autres seront estonés, si

[1] A word seems to be missing here.

[2] 'heure' omitted.

nous voient si bien, la royne d'Angleterre et moy, qu'elle veuille que son ampasadeur vous serue comme l'inploires [*sic*]. [14] Le sieur de Fois un jour parlant à moy, car il venoit privément une fois le jour sans aduertir, m'en dona des ataques & que la paix ne seroit jamays si sertaine entre deus si prosches qu'elle et moy, comme entre le roy et moy, car outre l'ansiene alliance, il ne pouuoit auoir profit de me faire la guerre, et me dit plainement que je ne deuois oblier la France pour l'Angletere mes ensiens anemies, & dit au Croc que si je le faisois, je m'en repentiroys. Je lui asuré bien qu'ansi ne fairois je, mays que je auroys son amitié la plus seure que je pouois, voiant le roy et elle en paix, et que elle m'en rechershoit par tant de bons ofices, qu'ele faisoit vers moy, et que la royne mesme me l'auoit conseillé, me disant qu'elle nauoit moien de rien faire pour moy à seste heure; mays que se ne seroit pas pour rien nuire a selle que je tenois pourtant de raisons meilleure, & mesme, que tous mes parents, qui il estoient, m'en solisitoit trop, qui estoit seuls du conseil desquels je resois le plus; et de vray, je ne m'osblisge en rien. Vous voire par se qui est entre nous qu'il vient plus de bonne volonté que d'autre chose. [15] Quant à se que i estoit commensé, vous aurés le double de se qu'elle m'an a écrit, & de ma responce. Je ne faires rien pour la rompre si on ne se vouloit prandre à se qui me tousche, & si sella estoit je maitroys poine, sellon se que m'an manderés, de m'en plaindre, & montrer que je ne suis si mauese nature que de soufrir faire tort à la maison dont je suis; que je ne me misse en deuoir de declarer combien il me seroit grief, pour le mongns si seuls que saués, ne se guardent, il ne tiendra qu'a vous, si je puis, qu'il ne perdent une de leur plus belles plumes; car si ils se sont seruis d'Angletere en secret et pour mauuesse cause, ils ne sauroient que reprandre, si vous reseués l'ofre de vous fauoriser publiquement aueques rayson en la faueur de seuls qui le doiuent comme moy, vous en userés comme bon vous samblera, et fairés usere à se porteur que je m'asure faira fidelemant vos commandements. [16] Il vous contera bien au long toutes les choses de se pais, car se ne m'est plus rien quant je oui parler de se qui vous tousche, pour le moigns quelque dificulté qu'il i est pour la religion, ils se conforment au reste à ce que je veuls, et sur tout mon frere le prieur et Ledinton se montrent affectionés et à tout ce qui vous tousche; saschant combien vous m'estes chers ils ne faillent de m'aduertir de tout se qu'il entandent, qui vous peult seruir & mesmes m'ont conseillé de vous faire seste despesche; vous l'anvoirés, mes que l'aiés ueue, à Monsieur le Cardinal, car je haste ce porteur pour s'il peut vous acompaignir a la court et vous servir s'il peult, de ma part. Si je pouvois mieuls je ne l'espargneroys. Ledinthon vous écrit de mes affaires. Je vous [prie] lui montrer l'avoir agreable par vos lettres, car il me sert fort bien, et vous suplie me mander de vos nouuelles, car j'en suis en grande

poine et men sois[1] que par du royne d'Angletere, ons seuls qui ont de nouuelles. Ma lettre est si longue que, pour ne vous inportuner, je remets ce qui me reste sur la sufisance de se porteur, que vous croyrés comme moy, & en sest endroit je vous présanterays mes bien humbles recommandations à votre bonne grace, priant dieu qu'il vous doint, mon oncle, en santé très heureuse & longue vie.

Monsieur & Madame de Savoie m'ont envoié Morete me visiter. Sa despesche seroit trop longue à écrire, veu la despesche de se porteur si soudaine et puis sellon les nouelles que je aurés de vous, je vous enuoires Le Croc, qui vous contera tout plus amplement, car je ne lui selle rien.

[*Unsigned.*]

[My Uncle,—[1] According to what I previously informed you by St. Colme that I meant to do, I have already sent to summon a large part of the nobility and of the Church, in order to prevent disturbance arising over the goods of the Church; [and as] I had intended to send you the whole discourse of what took place, this kept me from informing you sooner about things, for the sake of which it seemed to me necessary to despatch this bearer, Montaignac, to you, and he also has since been a little delayed by a slight sickness. When starting I instructed him at good length, in order to report to you how well all things go here. [As] I found him well affected to your faithful service and to mine also, this made me rather wait, and write to you by him, in order to be able to send all freely.

[2] I am keeping Le Croc in order (according as I shall have news of you by St. Colme) to use him when necessary in something important for your service, in which I wish to employ not only all that is in my power but myself. As I should rather have the means of proving this by deed than by letter, I shall beware of occupying you with fair words, but rather—for my head is full of the reasons for writing, not of the desire of talking, and I am sure that time will make known to you my good intentions well enough—I will make you my discourse without treating you any longer as a stranger.

[3] I will tell you then of the distress in which I am, because of the reports current here. Although they are not true, it seems to me that I ought to make it my duty to inform you of them, and to offer you all I can to serve you herein, both by myself and by my neighbours, who show themselves more trusty friends than I had dared to hope. You will see what you may look for, and what help you may like to accept, both from the discourse which I shall make you about it, and by the duplicate letters which I am sending you.

[4] First, I have received a confession, which they say Monsieur[2] made about Monsieur de Nemours, and which I send you. I obtained it from Lethington, who had it from England, with the news that the Sieur de

[1] Probably a slip for 'n'en sais.'

[2] *i.e.* the Duke of Anjou.

Foix was to come here as ambassador from the king, the queen, and the King of Navarre. This came to pass two days later. He brought me the letters, of which I send you the copies. There is not much in them. He said to me [when explaining his] credentials, that he was come, with the charge on their part of visiting me, of offering me [the support of] all their forces if I had any need of them, and of begging me to continue the ancient alliance between the two countries. I answered them as handsomely as I could, making similar offers.

[5] Afterwards he said to me that he was charged to tell me how Monsieur de Nemours, a subject of the king's, and greatly bounden to him, had so far forgotten his duty as to wish to abduct Monsieur. That much credit was given to this, because Monsieur had told the story three times before the Council without changing anything, and making the circumstances quite clear to understand. Moreover, that it was not probable that a child would tell lies in such things to its mother. Nevertheless, the queen would not give credence to it at once, but had ordered Monsieur de Nemours to come to clear himself, which he had not done, but on the contrary had fled, furnishing a somewhat evident proof that the story was true. That nevertheless she had written to him yet once again. That he [the Sieur de Foix] did not know what would come of it, but in fine they were all sure, the queen above all, that I should take my share in their good and bad fortunes, and [therefore] had ordered him to inform me of everything in private.

[6] I said to him that it wounded me very sore that the queen should be in such trouble, though I believed it had no great foundation [in fact]. I could not persuade myself that Monsieur de Nemours, whom I ever knew so faithful to the king and to herself, would so far forget himself. Moreover, there was little chance that he would be able to execute [the plan], even if his will had been [as described]. I thought he would clear himself of it. I was very grieved, being, as I was, so nearly related to the Duchess of Savoy and her house. They, I thought, would feel very unhappy about it. [M. de Nemours] too had ever been the friend of those who belonged to me, and I begged him to tell me news about them, and how they stood with the queen. I asked him this expressly, in order to see whether he would speak according to the confession.

[7] He told me that they were no longer at court, but that they were to return very soon, and had parted the best friends in the world with all the [royal] company, setting meanwhile the best face on the matter. I asked him first where they wanted to bring Monsieur. He said he did not know. Some said to Paris, others said to Savoy, and to Lorraine, but only few said the last.

[8] I could not keep from crying, and said that as for Paris, that was too impossible to be believed, but well did I know that Lorraine had been spoken of. That I hoped it would become known that the framers of wrangles there should be known [*sic*] as miscreants and liars, and

they as good and wise men, who had done for the service of the king what no other house, be it what it might, durst boast of. That [the court], and the realm also, had so many clear signs of their fidelity, that if they wished to cast doubt on it, this very thing would make people think that their services had soon been consigned to oblivion, and that evil was befalling them instead of good, because they had ever been intent on that [service] only. If this should happen, I for my part should never have joy [again], having lost all, all that I held dear in this world except only them. It was easy to make a child say what one would.

[9] He said to me immediately, 'And whom do you suspect?' I said to him, 'No one; but whoever they are, they are good-for-nothings.' He said to me, 'You don't suspect Carnavallet, or his master? You know that they are honest servants of the King of Navarre. He is on very good terms with them.' I said to him, 'I would not think that he is such a rogue, and should feel it too painful, being so nigh to him.' He said it hurt him to have brought me news that troubled me, and that I ought not to take it so, for my uncles were in no wise implicated, at least as far as he heard, and that he had only told me what he was commissioned. I told him that in truth I had heard fuller news from elsewhere. He said that Monsieur le Cardinal had means enough and secretaries too. I told him I assured him that I knew nothing from thence, but that one of my people had sent me the confession itself. He took to laughing, and said that, if I liked, he would show me his instructions, wherein there was nothing further. I refused, saying that I believed that the queen had too much sense to believe anything against them. Having had such proofs of them, she would thereby put herself too much in the wrong. As for myself, if I did not think that it would rather injure than aid you (as throwing doubt on what ought to be believed about you without a surety), I would answer for the whole of our house.

[10] I send you the copy of what I wrote to him on this subject. If I have done amiss, pardon me, but anger overcame me because of the rumours I had heard. Even after this he himself said to a Scotsman that the letters which [you] sent into Germany could be found, which, it is said, had been sent back to the queen by those to whom [you] wrote them. [He] said that you were also deeply implicated in the affair of Nemours, but that notice would not be taken of it till two years hence, owing to the affairs [of the kingdom] and the want of money, but that then they would be quits, and neither kings nor empires should make them afraid of speaking. I did not dare take notice of it to him, but I wish to warn you. Since then I have been told that Lignerolles will be hanged, and that you were summoned on the 15th of this month. That grieves me. I should not like them to lend you a [. . .][n] for honest folk are very often in trouble for lies.

[11] This has caused me to send you this bearer with the copies of the letters which the Queen of England and I have interchanged on this subject. She shows herself very heartily desirous of my friendship.

Lethington also sends you copies of the letters he has had from Cecil, and I send another of his. In it she makes him offer the favour of her ambassador, and not knowing whether [you] would have need thereof, I would not refuse. No harm can come of it to you for my sake; but to serve you, this is my object, according to the obligations under which I lie. You will have the double of what I write to her by this bearer, and will learn from him of her answer.

[12] If you have no use for it, you will only have to give her honourable thanks, showing that you feel yourself obliged at it, for she is desirous of your friendship as far as I can discover. If it seems to you that it may be of service to you, accept it, as if it were done by me and at my request. I think that they cannot but thank you, if [through] my favour you have friends whom the others have so much sought for.

[13] Even now at this [hour], I write letters of credence to all three. You will see them and will do as seems good to you. This bearer will communicate his credentials according to what you shall instruct him, and will speak the language which you shall like. If you have need of him, for God's sake make use of him and of her also, for I much wish that people should know that I, and such friends as I may have, will go bail for you, and take the side that seems good to you. If they do you wrong, it is for me the same as done to myself. You can think how the others will be astonished if they see us, the Queen of England and I, [getting on] so well, that she desires her ambassador to serve you as you appoint him.

[14] Sieur de Foix one day in conversation (for he came in private once a day without giving notice) attacked me [about this, saying] that peace could never be so secure between neighbours so close as she and I, as between me and the King of France. For to say nothing of our old alliance, he could never have an interest in making war on me. De Foix said to me plainly that I ought not to forget France for England, my ancient enemy. He told Le Croc that if I did I would repent it. I strongly assured him that I would not do so, but that I desired to maintain her friendship as securely as I could, seeing that the king and she were at peace. That she sought to win me by the numerous good offices which she did me, and that the queen [mother] herself had counselled me this, saying that she had no means of doing anything for me at this time. This alliance too would in no wise injure that one, which I held to be the better for so many reasons. Also that all, who were my relatives, solicited me much for it, and they were the council from whom I received most. In truth I did not oblige myself any way. You will see, from what passed between us, that there was more [talk] of good wishes than of anything else.

[15] As for what has been commenced herein, you will have the copy of that which she has written to me about it and my answer. I shall do nothing to break off [the negotiation] unless some one [attacks] that which concerns me. If that should be, I should take pains (according

to what you should commission me) to make complaint, and to show that I am not of so evil a nature as to endure wrong being done to the house from which I am descended, and that I should [?] make it my duty to say clearly how that would aggrieve me. If those whom you know are not cautious, it will at least only lie with you, that they do not lose (if my power serves) one of their finest feathers. For if they have made use of England in secret and for a bad purpose, they will not know what to reprehend if you accept the offer of favouring yourself publicly and with good reason, in the favour of those who owe it, as I do.[1] You will make use of it as shall seem good to you, and you will make use of this bearer, who, I am sure, will discharge your commands faithfully.

[16] He will recount to you at length all the affairs of this country, for it is no longer anything to me, when I hear talk of what touches you.[2] At least, whatever difficulty there is about religion, they conform in other things to that which I desire. Above all my brother the Prior and Lethington show themselves well affected, even to all that touches you. Knowing how dear you are to me, they do not fail to inform me of all that they hear which can be of service to you, and have even advised me to send you this despatch. You will send it, that is after you have read it, to M. the Cardinal, for I hurry this bearer in order that he may if possible accompany you to court and serve you on my part. If I could do better, I would not spare. Lethington writes to you about my affairs. I [should like] you to show him by your letters that [this] pleased you, for he serves me right well, and I beg you to send me your news, for I am very anxious about them, and . . . [hear nothing except through] the Queen of England. [They] are the only persons who have news. My letter is so long that in order not to importune you I leave what remains to the trustworthiness of this bearer, whom you will trust as you would myself. And here I offer you my very humble commendations to your good favour, praying God to grant you, my dear uncle, health and a long and happy life.

Monsieur and Madame of Savoy have sent me Moretta to visit me. His despatch would be too long to copy, seeing how suddenly this bearer is sent off, and hereafter, according to the news I shall receive from you, I will send you Le Croc, who will tell you all at greater length, for I hide nothing from him.][3]

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[1] The meaning can only be explained by a paraphrase: 'The Bourbons and the rest have made use of England in secret and for evil purposes, therefore *they* will not be able to find fault with *you*, if you accept my offer of receiving in public the tokens of English friendship. They are in reason due to you, for they are due to those, who, like myself, are your debtors.'

[2] *i.e.* when preoccupied about you, I can talk of nothing else.

[3] Baron A. de Ruble, *Jeunesse de Marie Stuart*, Paris, 1891, pp. 122-130, describes the alleged attempt to abduct the little prince (called 'Monsieur' because he was the oldest of the king's younger brothers) from a point of view contrary to Mary's.

No. 10

NICHOLAS DE PELLEVÉ, BISHOP OF AMIENS, TO MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS. Paris, 21 April 1562.

British Museum, Additional mss., 19,401, fol. 84. Original, with autograph signature. On the flyleaf of the codex—'Purchased of Dawson Turner, Esq., 2 April 1853.'

[1] MADAME,—Jay veu et entendu bien au long la despesche que a apporte le sieur de Sainct Cosme, plaine dautant bon et saige discours que le plus grand Roy ou Royne bien conseillee scauroit faire, et fault recognoistre en vous, Madame, que Dieu donne quelque specialle assistance aux Roys et Roynes qui le seruent comme vous, pour estre mieulx conduictz et commandes que les autres. La Resolution a este aisée à prendre a Messeigneurs voz oncles, et tous d'une opinion louent ceste entreueue de voz deux Magestez, y observant Madame ce qui vous appartient et est deu, non seullement la, mais par toute la chrestiente. Il me semble que la Royne dangleterre a tant de bon jugement, et est si bien advisee quelle ny oubliera rien, elle se fera honneur a elle mesme vous le rendant tel quil vous appartient. [2] Quant a la seurete de vostre vie elle est fondee sur la foy publique laquelle ne se peult nullement violer, ayant este tousiours sainctement gardee par tous les princes du monde. La Royne dangleterre entre autres grandes vertus sest tousiours faict recommander par la chrestiente destre princesse de parole, faisant demonstracion de desirer votre bonne grace et amytie. Madame jay ceste asseurance que votre presence luy croistera laffection de se maintenir en une bonne ferme et stable amytie. Sa force et la vostre s'augmentera de toutes sortes auec voz subgectz, et conduirez en semble voz affaires en plus grande dexterite en voz personnes, que si vous y auiez tout le monde en vostre absence, et si vous leuerez une suspicion qui bien souuent empesche beaucoup de grands effects auec les princes, en traictant par ministres, et plus elle prendra garde a vous offrir conditions raisonnables et dignes de vostre Mageste. Et si sa Maieste mect la main a la conscience elle ne vous les peult offrir que grandes et desirables. Le temps ou nous sommes, Madame, me garde que je ne suis si heureux que je desirerois pour partir si promptement pour vous y aller faire tres humble service. Je nen suis touteffois encores hors desperance.

[3] Quant au faict de la religion vous auez procure et faict tout ce que le temps vous permect, et me semble quant a Dieu que vous en estes deschargee et justifiee deuant le monde. Nostre Seigneur y pourvoyera sil luy plaise au repos et salut public de vos subiects et de toute la chrestiente, et ny veris meilleur moyen pour reconciliation de tous les royaulmes, veoir de tout le monde, que

par lassemble dung bon concile general et libre, auquel le pape mesme se submect d'obeyr, auec acces et reces, et si ample saufconduict que ung chrestien y puisse venir retourner, et remonstrer tout ce que sa conscience admonnestera, et veris toute la germanie en ceste esperance d'y enuoyer. Et sil y a personne de qui il faille esperer, dy apporter ou estre ministre des fruicts de la paix que nous attendons chacun jour par la grace de Dieu, ce sera par Monseigneur le Cardinal vostre Oncle, lequel y est desire de toutes partz. Et a dire verite, Dieu luy a donne des graces qui ne sont communes aux autres hommes veoir entre les plus grandz et excellentz, Dieu face, Madame, que la bonne volunte quil a puisse reuscir. Mais je vous asseure, Madame, quil avoit le comble de tous ses desires sil vous voyoit en repos selon votre grandeur.

[4] Madame, tous les princes Chrestiens nont accoustume de faillir enuoyer a une telle assemblee, comme je crois mesme que la Royne dangleterre fera de son coste, et quelle sest laisse entendre de sa part, qui sera cause que vous en aurez plus dargument. Cest ung lieu ou tous les grandz princes et Roys desirent garder leur seance et preeminences. Je dis, Madame, ne considerant mesme que le temporel seullement.

[5] La resolution plus ample de cest article feut hier remise a la venue de Monseigneur le Cardinal qui sera demain ici et aussy pour veoir comme les autres princes se conduiront. Je scay bien, Madame, quil se peult faire beaucoup de difficultez dune part et dautre, mais par vostre prudence cela se pourra esclarcir.

[6] Quant aux tumultes et emotions qui sont aujourdhuy, il y a assez de subiect, Madame, pour en discourrir longuement, Il nest possible de veoir une plus grande union entre la Royne, Roy de Nauarre, Messeigneurs voz oncles, Messieurs les Connestable, Mareschal de France et autres ministres du Roy, et ne doubtent quil nayent assez de forces pour pacifier ses troubles, et vous asseure Madame, que lon en prend le chemin, qui est au tres grand contentement de tous les bons, et au tres grand regret dung chacun de veoir une telle rebellion et mesmes que Monsieur le Prince de Conde (ainsy comme lon dict) est force entre ceulx qui sont a Orleans.

[7] Quant au Roy, Madame, il ne scauroit desirer de ses bons subiectz plus grande demonstracion de toute obeissance et subiection que ce qui sen voit par apparence, ny attendre en Roy despagne plus dignes offices envers sa Maieste, la Royne et ce Royaulme que la demonstracion quil en faict par tous ses deportemens, mais, Dieu mercy, il y a assez de force en ce Royaulme sans chercher celles des estrangers.

Madame je ne vous scauois celler que Messeigneurs voz oncles sont tant honorez et bien vouluz par tout ce royaulme, que chacun ne cesse de leur desirer toute prosperite. Lon a bien raison, car cest la France de tous les bons, et vous asseure, Madame, que la Royne et le Roy de Nauarre se gouuernent fort sagement et vertueusement. Qui est lendroict ou je prie Dieu, Madame, donner

a vostre Majeste en tres parfaicte sante tres longue et tres heureuse vie.

De Paris ce xxi^me^ jour dauril 1562.

Vostre tres humble et tres obeissant seruiteur,

N. DE PELLEUE, E. Damyens.

[[1] MADAME,—I have seen and considered fully the despatch which the Lord of St. Colme has brought. It was full of as much good and wise reasoning as the greatest king or a well-advised queen would have been able to make. One cannot but notice in your case, madame, that God gives special assistance to kings and queens, who serve Him as you do, so that they are better conducted and better governed than the rest. It was easy for your uncles to come to a decision, and all are of one mind in praising the interview between your two Majesties, seeing there[in], madame, that which is properly due to you, not only there but throughout Christendom. I think that the Queen of England has so much good judgment, and is so well advised, that therein she will not forget anything. She will do herself honour in paying you that respect which is your right.

[2] As for the security of your life, it rests upon public faith, which can in no way be violated, having always been guarded as sacred by all the princes of the world. The Queen of England, among other great virtues, has ever made herself respected by Christendom for being a princess of her word, and makes it evident that she desires your good favour and friendship. Madame, I feel assured of this, that your presence will increase her desire to remain your good, firm, and stable friend. Her power and yours will increase in every way with your subjects, and when together you will in person manage your affairs with greater dexterity than if you employed all the world in your absence.[1] You will thus eliminate suspicion, which very often is an obstacle to great results in the case of princes who treat through ministers. So much the more, too, will she take care to offer you reasonable conditions worthy of your Majesty, and if her Majesty is really conscientious she cannot but offer you large and handsome ones. The times in which we live, madame, prevent me from being so happy as to leave at once (which I should like to do) to go and do you very humble service. I do not yet, however, entirely despair about it.

[3] As for religious matters, you have done, or had done, all that the times allowed you. It seems to me that in God's sight you have discharged your duty, and are justified before the world. Our Lord will provide, if it please Him, for the quiet and commonweal of your subjects and of all Christendom. [You] will not see a better means for the reconciliation of all kingdoms, not to say of the whole world, than by the

[1] The meaning of course is: You will do more in one conference than you would by using innumerable messengers without meeting.

assembly of a good general and free council, to which the Pope himself should yield to obey. There should be freedom to come and go, and a safe conduct so ample that any Christian might come and go and show forth all that his conscience shall counsel him, then [you] will see all Germany in the hope of sending to it. And if there be any one about whom one should hope, that he would bring forth or be the minister of the fruits of the peace, which we daily await by the grace of God, it will be monseigneur the cardinal, your uncle, who is desired there by all parties. To say the truth God has given him graces which are not common to other men, not even to the greatest and the best. May God grant, madame, that his good intentions may be realised. But I assure you that he would have gained the summit of his desires if he should see you in the peaceful enjoyment of the greatness that is your due.

[4] Madame, the princes of Christendom are wont to send envoys to such an assembly. Even the Queen of England will do so, I think, on her own behalf, and she has let this be understood as from herself. This will give you good reason [for doing the like]. It is a place where all the great princes and kings wish to preserve privilege of session and precedence. I say this, madame, even with regard to what is only temporal.

[5] The further resolution of this article was yesterday postponed for the coming of monseigneur the cardinal, who will be here to-morrow, and also to see how the other princes will conduct themselves. I know well, madame, that there may be many difficulties on the one side and the other, but by your prudence the matter may be made clear.

[6] In the tumults and commotions that take place nowadays, there is matter enough for long discussion. But it is impossible to see greater unanimity than exists between the Queen, the King of Navarre, messeigneurs your uncles, and messieurs the Constable, the Marshal of France, and other ministers of the king. Doubtless they have power enough to pacify these troubles. I assure you, madame, that the right way is being taken much to the pleasure of all the good, [though it causes] great regret to every one to see such a rebellion, and even Monsieur the Prince of Condé, as has been said, is forced to join those who are at Orleans.

[7] As for the king, he could not wish for ampler demonstration of perfect obedience and loyalty from his good subjects than is clearly to be seen, nor expect in the King of Spain more appropriate good offices towards his Majesty, the queen, and this realm than [that monarch] shows in all his dealings. However, thanks be to God, this kingdom has power enough without applying to strangers for it.

Madame, I cannot conceal from you that messeigneurs your uncles are so honoured and favoured throughout this realm, that every one is always wishing them all prosperity, and rightly so, for that is the France of all the good. I assure you, madame, that the Queen and King of Navarre conduct themselves most wisely and virtuously.

This is the place, where I pray God to grant to your Majesty health and a long and happy life. From Paris, this 21st of April 1562. Your very humble and obedient servant, N. DE PELLEVÉ, BISHOP OF AMIENS.]

No. 11

MONSIGNOR SANTA CROCE, RESIDENT NUNCIO, TO CARDINAL BORROMEO. Paris, 27 June 1563.

The Italian text is printed in J. Aymon, *Synodes nationaux des églises réformées*, La Haye, 1710, p. 242; also Cimber et Danjou, *Archives curieuses*, tom. vi. I have translated from Vat. Arch., *Pio*, 133, p. 377.

[*In cipher.*] You must take it as a most certain truth that the queen [Catherine de Medicis] hates [the Cardinal of] Lorraine as much as any man alive. They say she has good cause, and that amongst other things in the time of Francis II., the Queen of Scots one day said to her, 'You will never be anything but a merchant's daughter.' This, it is thought, was a suggestion of Lorraine, and her Majesty cannot forget it, though she has not courage enough to show her feelings fully. Certainly the decisive reason for sending him to the council was to be quit of him at home, and now she keeps him there for the same cause, rather than out of hope of any service he may render. For these reasons I can with difficulty believe that her Majesty would recall him.

The Constable hates him no less, and is more courageous, so that he would [not] be in favour of his recall. Roccasurion [*i.e.* Charles de Bourbon, Prince de Roche-sur-Yon] hates him more than the above, and would be of the same mind. The chancellor [de l'Hospital], although he loves him, does not want him here.

I believe that the queen will prevail. Her desire is, in brief, to go on very quietly, and to keep up appearances [*dissimulando*] until her son comes of age. She is, moreover, one who understands Frenchmen very well, and she knows that, however much they hate one another for their individual interests, they may reunite.

No. 12

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS TO THE DUCHESS OF AERSCHOT. 26 April 1564.

Besançon, Bibliothèque, *Mémoires de Granvelle*, vol. xii. p. 183. Contemporary copy, on pot paper, with corrections.

MA TANTE,—Sen allant Angelo present porteur, Je nay voulu perdre ceste commodite de[1] me ramenteuoir[2] en vostre bonne grace,[3] et vous dire laise que jay quant je reçois des vos lettres.

[1] Corrected from—*faillir de vous faire ce mot pour.* [2] *Tousiours*—deleted.
[3] Corrected from—*souvenance.*

Desquelles je nay eu deppuis le partement de mon secretaire Roullet qui ia est de retour de France, maiant apporte nouvelles de la bonne sante de madame ma grand mere, et de tous mes oncles, qui sont les meilleurs que ie vous puis mander. Ils esperent se treuuer en Lorraine bien tost auec le Roy et des la se sera a vous de men mander, de quoy ie vous prie et quant loccasion se presentera des vostres bien ou long. Je ne vous dirai pour le present autre chose, sinon que jatends chesem en bonne devotion. Ce pendant je vous baise les mains daussi bon cœur que je prie a Dieu vous donner, ma tante, en sante tres hereuse et longue vie. De St. Jonston, ce xxvi[e] dapril 1564. Vostre bien affectionnee et bonne niepce. [*No signature.*]

[My Aunt,—As Angelo the bearer of this is going, I was loath to miss the opportunity of maintaining myself in your good esteem, and saying how happy I am when I get your letters. I have not had one since the departure of my secretary Raullet, who is already back from France, and has brought me news of the good health of Madame my grandmother, and of all my uncles. This is the best tidings I can send you. They hope to be soon in Lorraine with the king, and from thence you must send me news. I pray you write me good long letters when the occasion shall offer. I will not say any thing more for the present, except that I am very anxiously awaiting Chisholm. Meanwhile, I kiss your hands and very heartily pray God grant you, dear aunt, both health and long and happy life. From St. Johnston, this 26th of April 1564. Your very loving good niece.]

No. 13

QUEEN MARY TO KING CHARLES IX. OF FRANCE.

26 October [1565].

Paris, Bib. Nationale, exhibited in the gallery of autographs.

Monsieur mon beau frere,—Voiant la bonne amitie quil vous plest me porter et la Royne votre mere aussi principallement en ce tamps de nos si grandes afferes ie ne veulx feyillir vous aduertir de toutes les ocurances du roy mon mari et de moy, qui est locasion pour la quelle iay despesche expres ce porteur, pour en aduertir aussi vostre ambassadeur, auquel, pour ne vous importuner ien ecris au long et de l'issue de notre voiage,[1] sur lequel me remectant auuesques ce que ce porteur vous en pourra compter par mon raport, ie finiray la presante par mes affectionnees raccommandations a vostre bonne grace, priant dieu quil vous doint monsieur mon beaufrere en sante tres heureuse et longue vie.

De lislebourc, ce xxvi doctobre. Votre bien bonne sœur,

Marie.

[1] Mary marched to Dumfries, 13 October 1565, driving the rebel lords into England.

[My Brother-in-Law,—Seeing the great love which you, and the queen your mother also, are pleased to bear to me, especially in this time of our great toil, I would not fail to advertise you of all that befell the king, my husband, and myself. This is the reason for which I sent this express bearer, as also to inform your ambassador. To him, in order not to importune you, I write at length about the matter, and also concerning the issue of our voyage.[n] Remitting myself to him, and to such words of mine as this bearer can recount to you, I will end this by my affectionate commendations to your good favour, praying God to give you, my dear brother-in-law, a very happy and long life with good health. From Edinburgh, this 26 of October. Votre bien bonne sœur, Marie.]

No. 14

THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR AT ROME, HENRI CLEUTIN D'OYSEL, SIEUR DE VILLEPARISIS, TO KING CHARLES IX. Rome, 15 April 1566. (Extract.)

Paris, Bib. Nat., Fonds Français, 16039, fol. 93. Original.

. . .

Sire,—Me reste, pour respondre au surplus de vostre dicte lettre, dire a V. Mtie, que cidevant que sa Ste me demande, quelle responce elle m'aura faicte touchant les affaires de la Royne d'Escosse, madame vostre belle soeur, auec la Royne d'Angleterre, Quelle y avoit desia pourveu auant sa recommendation. Et cependant il y a icy lettres de plusieurs endroits, que ce nouveau Roy d'Escosse son mary sest revolte de la nouvelle relligion, faict abatre ce qui restoit d'Images, chasse presbtres et faict trencher la teste a un secretaire francoys de la Royne, madicte Dame, de quoy se trouvant estonnée, elle se seroit voulu retirer en une de ses principales places ou elle n'auroit este recue, et par ainsi auroit pense embarquer pour se retirer devers vous Sire, sinon que le Roy son dicte marry se la seroit faict ramener, grosse, comme on dict quelle est, et en assez piteux estat, dont toute ceste court se trouve fort scandalize. Et croy bien que le Pape, le quel ne men encores mis en propos, y aura tres grand regret, aiant dict a ceulx qui men ont communique, que V. Mtie. nen scavoit rein a mon advis quant elle mescripuit dudict xxii^e^, Et falloit croire (pour ce que l'on est icy adverty du retour de Monsr. de Ramboillet), que ce malheur fust interuenu depuis son partement d'Ecosse. N'oubliant d'avoir entendu que tout aussi tot V. Mtie auroit envoie gentilhomme expresse audict pays pour entendre que cestoit, et veoir si ce seroit chose ou il se peust remedier. . . . Quant a l'evesque de Ceneda il partit dicy le vii^e^ de ce moys, etc.

De Rome, le xv^e^ d'abril 1566. Vostre tres humble et tres obeissant subget et serviteur, Villeparisis.

[Sire,—In order to answer the remainder of your said letter, it remains for me to say that, before his Holiness asked me what answer [? your

Majesty] would make on the Queen of Scotland your sister-in-law's affairs with the Queen of England, he [? you][1] had already provided before the recommendation. Nevertheless, letters from several quarters have come here, saying that this new King of Scotland has revolted [to] the new religion, caused the images which remained to be broken, has driven out priests, and had a French secretary of the queen's beheaded. Dismayed at this she would have liked to retire into one of her strongest places, but was not received there. She had therefore thought of taking ship to return towards you, sire, but the king, her husband, had her brought back in a very piteous plight, and big, as they say, with child, whereat this court is highly scandalised. I am sure that the Pope, who has not yet spoken to me of it, will be much grieved at it. He told some persons, who have told me, that your Majesty knew nothing of the matter, in my [? his] opinion, when you wrote to me on the 22nd, and [that] one must believe that this disaster took place after the departure of Monsieur de Rambouillet from Scotland (for they are informed here of his return). [I must] not forget [to add that I] have heard that your Majesty immediately sent a gentleman in express to the said country to find out what it was, and see if the matter was one which could be remedied. . . . The Bishop of Ceneda left here on the 7th of this month. From Rome, the 15th of April 1566. Your humble and most obedient subject and servant, VILLEPARISIS.]

No. 15

THE SAME TO QUEEN CATHERINE DE MEDICIS.

Rome 29 April 1566.

Ibid. fol. 103. Extract.

MADAME,—Nous avons icy depuis trois jours l'evesque de Domblaine pour les raisonnes que V. Mtie doibt avoir entendues, ainsi qu'il me dict, de monseigneur le Cardinal de Lorraine. Et croy bien que sans les troubles survenus a la royne d'Escoce sa souveraine, il eust rendu a sa Sté en son nom lobedience, a laquelle il se contentera maintenant, ainsi que jay appris de luy, de faire narration des calamites et estat en dicte Royaulme d'Escoce, luy remonstrant que la royne, madicte dame, a tout besoing de son ayde, et n'a encores eu audience, sil ne la ceste apresdiner. Assurant V. Mtie que sur le bruict qui courut premierement en ceste court des affaires dudicte Escoce tout le monde en feut esmeu, mais je ne scay si la pauvrete du Pape permettra quil puisse faire de ce coste la, tout ce dont il monstre auoir envye quand je len ay ouy lamenter, et en parler les larmes aux yeuls auecque beaucoup de ces seigneurs. . . . Dudicte Rome, le xxix jour d'April 1566. Vostre tres humble, etc.,

VILLEPARISIS.

[1] The grammar throughout is so clumsy that it is impossible to be sure what persons are referred to by the pronouns—'elle,' 'quelle,' 'sa,' etc.

[MADAME,—We have had here these three days the Bishop of Dunblane, for the reasons which your Majesty must have heard, as he tells me, from Monseigneur the Cardinal of Lorraine. I doubt not that, but for the misfortunes that have befallen the Queen of Scotland, his sovereign, he would have rendered his Holiness obedience in her name. He will now content himself, as I have learned from him, with making a speech on the calamities and state of the said realm of Scotland, showing him that the queen has much need of his aid. He has not yet had audience, unless he had it after dinner to-day. I assure your Majesty that every one was moved at the rumour which was current in this court at first about the affairs of Scotland, but I doubt whether the poverty of the Pope will allow him to do in this matter all that he showed himself anxious to do, when I heard him lamenting it and talking before many of these seigneurs with the tears in his eyes. From Rome the 29th day of April 1566. Your humble, etc., VILLEPARISIS.]

No. 16

THE SAME TO KING CHARLES IX. Rome, 10th June 1566.

Ibid. fol. 108. Extract.

SIRE,—. . . Je receus auanthier au soir celle quil a aussi pleu a Vre. Mtie. mescripre du xxvi^e^ dudict moys, du contenu de laquelle je feis incontinent scavoir au Pape par Denely mon secretaire, de quelle me commande par icelle, lequel veritablement monstra recepvoir grand plaisir dentendre la bonne disposition de V. Mtie., le repos et tranquilitie de toutes choses en son Royaulme mesme a Paris, et non moigns, Sire, de la bonne nouvelle que le Sieur de Mauvisiere vous auoit apportee a son retour d'Escosse, quil y eust laisse toutes choses en bon estat, se rabillant peu a peu les troubles y advenus dernierement, disant en fin s. Sté. a mon dicte secretaire, quelle estoit de nouveau confirmée dun advis quelle mauoit donne deux ou trois jours auparavant venu d'Allemagne par lettres du xxv^e^ du passe, que ces princes la traicteroient auec ces princes la une ligue pour aller au dommage de la France ou de Flandres, &c. . . .

De Rome ce v^e^ jour de Juing 1566. Vostre tres humble et tres obeissant, etc., VILLEPARISIS.

[SIRE,—I received the evening before last what it pleased your Majesty to write to me on the 26th of the said month. I immediately communicated its contents to the Pope by Denely, my secretary, so far as I was therein ordered. He really seemed to receive great pleasure at hearing of your Majesty's good government, and the peace and tranquillity of all things in your realm, even at Paris. Nor was he less satisfied with the good news which the Sieur de Mauvisiere brought you on his return from Scotland, that he had left all things in good condition, the disorders lately raised there being redressed little by little. In fine,

his Holiness said to my secretary that [the news] was confirmed by the latest news from Germany in letters of the 25th of last month, which he had given me two or three days before, and which related that the princes [in the one place] were treating with the princes [in the other] for a league tending to harm France or Flanders. From Rome this 10th day of June 1566. Your humble and very obedient, VILLEPARISIS.]

No. 17

THE SAME TO THE QUEEN [CATHERINE]. Rome, 10 June 1566.

Ibid. fol. 113. Extract.

MADAME,—. . . L'evesque de Mondevie doibt partir d'icy dedans deux jours pour sen aller en Escosse de la part de sa Ste., ainsi que je luy ay escript par mes precedentes. Lequel ne passera sans faire la reverence a Vos Mties. au lieu quelles seront, ou, a ce que j'entends et puis juger, il se resouldra de continuer ou terminer son voiage selon ce quil y entendra des affaires dudict Escosse. Votre Majestie verra, Madame, par mes susdits lettres au Roy l'extreme maladye [1] ou je suis retumbe depuis quinze jours . . . suppliant sa Mtie. . . . quil mest possible . . . de me mettre en chemin pour m'en aller jusqu'en Lucche, y chercher le remede que les medecins m'asseurent estre le meilleur . . .

[MADAME,—The Bishop of Mondovi should leave this within two days to go to Scotland on his Holiness' behalf, as I have written to you by my former letters. He will not pass you without going to do his reverence to your Majesties, in whatever place you may be. There, according to what I hear, and can judge, he will determine to continue or cease his journey, according to what he shall learn of the said affairs of Scotland. Your Majesty will see by my above mentioned letters the grave malady into which I have relapsed this last fortnight. . . . I beg your Majesty, if it be possible, to let me start for Lucca to find the remedy which the doctors assure me will be the best.]

No. 18

EMANUEL FILIBERTO, DUKE OF SAVOY, TO MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS. Turin, *n.d.* [Nov. 1566].

Turin, Archivio di Stato, *Registre lettere de la Corte*, 1565-1567, fol. 78. Draft with corrections, not signed or dated, but placed after a letter of 8 November 1566.

A la Royne descosse.

MADAME,—Puis quil à pleu a V. M^te^ me faire cest honneur que de vouloir que I'assistasse a tenir sur les saincts fonts Monsieur le Prince son fils, que nostre seigneur luy à donnè, je nay voulu

[1] A short letter of the 19th is Oysel's last. He died in Rome before the end of the month.

faillir de l'en remercier tres humblement et envoyer le Sr. de Morette mon cousin pour y assister de ma part. Asseurant V. M. que ainsy comme de la joye et contentement quelle en aurà prins, la mien en à reprins plus grand force, aussy de l'heur que ce [? ie] sens en moy a present de la faveur quelle cest daigné me faire, sont redoubles les obligations, que je luy ay perpetuelles, les quelles du moin je recognoiscray, sinon daultre, de bonne contente, et ne cederay d'affection a personne vivant, ainsi que de ce et daultre choses de pardeca luy fera plus particulierement entendre ledicte S. de Morette, a la suffisance duquel me remectant, je finirai le present par mes tres humbles recommandacions a sa bonne grace et suppliray le createur quil donne

Madame,—a votre Majeste trescontente et treslongue vye et accroisement du tout bon heur a monsieur le prince vostre fils. De Thurin.

[To the Queen of Scots.

MADAME,—Since it has pleased your Majesty to do me the honour to wish that I should assist in holding at the sacred font Monsieur the Prince, your son, whom our Lord has given you, I would not fail to thank you very humbly, and to send my cousin the Sieur de Moretta to assist thereat on my part. I assure your Majesty that my joy and contentment has gathered new strength from that which you will have felt, and also that from the moment I realised the favour that you have deigned to do me, my obligations towards you are redoubled, perpetual though they were. I shall acknowledge them, if for no other reason, at least out of pleasure, and in my affection towards you, I will yield to no man living. Of these things and of others relating to us, the said Sieur de Moretta will give you more particular information, and referring myself to him as to a very sufficient person, I shall finish this letter by very humbly recommending myself to your good grace, and shall beg the Creator to give, madame, to your Majesty very happy and very long life, and to Monsieur the Prince, your son, the increase of all good fortune.]

APPENDIX II

SPANISH DOCUMENTS

A. THREE OPINIONS OF THE DUKE OF ALVA

No. 1

ON THE SPANISH INTERVENTION.

Extract from a document entitled *Parescer de su Excellenza sobre cosas de Inglaterra y Scoçia embiado a Su m^d de Alua*, 1562,[1] *a 2 de Agosto*. Two copies have been collationed for the text, British Museum, Add. 18,789, fol. 24, and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, *Fonds Espagnol*, 161. Both are sixteenth century transcripts, of about the same authority.

[2 *August* 1560]

... [1] DESDE que murio la Reyna de Inglaterra Maria que Dios tenga, siempre se temio que Françeses quisiesen meter pie en Inglaterra, y a V.m^d por los de su consilio que residian en flandes se le representaron muchas vezes los inconuinientes y daños, que se seguirian a las cosas de V.m^d metiendo Françeses el pie en aquel Reyno, y estando yo en Paris en vida del Rey Enrique, entendiendo dellos ser platica suya muy caliente la inuasion de aquel reyno y que andauan por mouermela, advertia a V.m^d dello, y de la gente que al presente entendi embiauan para acquietar los rumores de Escocia, que se commiçauan, pareçiendome que era camino que prinçipiauan para la intencion que se les auia entendido tener, y desde etonçes siempre se estuuo con recato, de que por aquella parte cargando de fuerças alli, era el mejor camino que ellos podrian tener para poder conseguir su desseo, [2] V.m^d embio a mandar al Principe de Euoli y a mi, que nos hallauamos juntos embiasemos a V.m^d nuestro parescer sobre si seria cosa conueniente a su servicio, entrar en partido con ellos para que juntamente V.m^d y ellos tomasen la empresa de aquel reyno, y saliendo con ella si partiesse,[2] y por las causas que en la

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[1] This year number is found in both copies. The internal evidence, however, for the date 1560 is quite conclusive.

[2] The brevity of the phrase makes it obscure. The question proposed by Philip seems to have amounted to this: Would a joint expedition against England by France and Spain, and followed by a division of the fruits of victory, be advantageous to Spanish interests?

respuesta[1] representamos a V. m^{d}, nos resoluimos en que no convenia al seruicio de V. m^{d} hazerse tal empresa. [3] Despues en Toledo el obispo di Limoges hablo a V. m^{d} dandole quenta de aquellas alteraçiones, y como el Rey su amo queria embiar gente para allanar y castigar sus rebeldes, pidiendo a V. m^{d} embiase a mandar en Flandes le acomodasen delos nauios y otras cosas de que para este effeto tendria necessidad. Respondiosele de parte de V. m^{d}, que mirase como se embiauan estas fuerças en Scoçia fuesse de manera que no hiziesse zelos a los vezinos porque V.m^{d} no lo podria comportar ni lo comportaria. [4] auiendo el hecho grandes exclamaciones sobre que no se havia de estoruar al Rey su amo, que no castigase sus rebeldes, viendo V. m^{d} la razon que era no yrle a la mano en esto, y por otra parte el inconuiniente y peligro tan euidente que era para las cosas de Inglaterra, meter el grandes fuerças en Scocia, conosciendose por las que son las de Inglaterra, visto que quedaria por correr todo el verano, donde verisimilmente se podia tener porcierto que Franceses podian tener fuerça superior a las de Scocesses e Inglesses para entrar en Scocia mal de su grado, y que haziendo el Rey este esfuerço, no podia dexar de subçeder, [5] opponersele una de dos, ponersele V. m^{d} a la fronte, y con todas sus fuerças estorualle que no pasase en Escoçia y que esto era romper la paz que V. m^{d} tanto trabajo por dar a la christiandad, o dexalle pasar sus fuerças donde con ellas con tanta façildad podria conseguir su fin tan desseado y platicado, y en tan gran daño de V. m^{d}: teniendo tambien fin a que, si ellos pensasen valerse desto, tanto menos diligencia y esfuerço harian en sus cosas, se resoluio se le propusiese el medio que se le propuso con las condiciones[2] que juntamente se le dixeron. [6] Y despues de pasados muchos dias, y en ellos platicado diuersas vezes en la materia, viendo el no poder atraer a V. m^{d} a que libremente le dexasse hazer lo que queria, vino a resoluerse en pareçerle buen medio y que lo screuiria á su amo,[3] y

[1] There is a paper contained in both codices named at the head of this document entitled, *Parescer . . . que el Duque embio a Su m^{d} sobre negocios de Inglaterra*, Paris, 10 July 1559, but though it refers to the negotiation of which Alva is here speaking, it does not appear to be the actual document referred to.

[2] 'El medio con las condiciones' are set forth with precision in the Instructions given to Glajon, on 27 March (Teulet, *Relations*, ii. 67-74) Stated summarily, the 'means' for the pacification of Scotland without upsetting the balance of power of Europe, was this: that Philip should undertake the chief part in that pacification, by inducing Elizabeth not to favour Scotland, and furnishing the greater part of the necessary armament himself, viz. the fleet and stores and three thousand men. The 'conditions' were that the French should not send more than four thousand men. The negotiations of the Bishop of Limoges with Alva are given more fully in Teulet, *Relations*, ii. 67-74.

[3] The Bishop of Limoges, by letter of 23 February 1560 (L. Paris, *Négociations*

hauiendolo hecho la respuesta vino en el tiempo que començauan las alteraçiones en Françia, que fue aprouar lo que el Embaxador auia dicho, [7] despues V. m^{d} embio a Glajon a Inglaterra a persuadir á la Reyna se quisisse acquietar, y no fauoresciese a los rebeldes de Escoçia. Poco antes que llegasse ella mando entrar su campo en Scoçia teniendo entendido ya la offerta que V. m^{d} hauia hecho a Françeses y la yda de Mons^{r} de Glajon. [8] Hora . . . no veo que se aya sanado ninguno de los inconvinientes y peligros, . . . lo que siempre se a entendido conuenia a los negoçios de V.m^{d} era que Françesses saliesen de Scoçia, o que quedasen, quando huuiesen de quedar, tan baxos que no les quedase la mano libre para por alli esecutar su fin contra Inglaterra . . .

[9] V. m^{d} tiene a su cargo el mas pesado y trabajoso negoçio que se puede pensar, porque por lo que conuiene a todas sus stados como se a de poner ala deffensa de qualquiera dellos, conuiene que se ponga ala de Inglaterra un reyno flaco, sin fuerças, sin gente para defenderse, sin cabeças particulares que le sepan deffender, pobre con una Reyna, que no entiende ni ella ni ninguno des los suyos el peligro en que estan, sin entender el fauor e ayuda que tiene en V.m^{d} antes sospechosa y recatada del, governada mas por su cabeça y apetito que por ninguna razon. Pero con todas estas difficultades es menester deffenderle, mientre V.m^{d} no tuviero la comodidad de offenderle . . .

[[1] Since the death of Mary, Queen of England, whom may God have in His keeping, it has ever been feared lest the French should set foot in England. It has already been represented to your Majesty many times by those of your council who reside in Flanders what inconveniences and harm would ensue to the affairs of your Majesty if the French did set foot in that kingdom. While I was in Paris, during the life of King Henry, I heard from them that the invasion of that country was being very warmly discussed, and that they were going to propose it to me. I informed your Majesty of it and of the force, which I learnt they were then sending to quiet the disturbances of Scotland, which were commencing. It seemed to me that they were preparing the way [to attain] the object which I had understood that they intended. Thenceforth we ever stood on our guard, lest their gathering soldiers in those parts should prove the best road they could follow to attain their desire.

[2] Your Majesty sent orders to the Prince of Evoli and to me that

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sous François II., 1841, p. 276), conveyed to Francis the commencement of this negotiation. Francis's letter of acquiescence does not seem to be extant. The date assigned by Alva, *i.e.* at the time of the 'Tumulte d'Amboise,' would correspond with the beginning of March, About the middle of March Philip issued orders for the mission of Glajon (Teulet, ii. 75), who arrived at London on 5 April.—*Ibid.* p. 98; *Giessener Studien* (1887), No. iv. pp. 51-62.

we should discuss the matter together, and send your Majesty our opinion as to whether it would be a thing convenient for your service to enter into alliance with them, in order that your Majesty and they should undertake the enterprise of that kingdom together, and on ending it make a division." For the reasons which we laid before you in our answer, our decision was, it was not for the service of your Majesty to undertake such an enterprise."

[3] After this at Toledo the Bishop of Limoges spoke to your Majesty, giving you an account of those revolutions and how the king his master desired to send men to put down and chastise his rebels, and begged your Majesty to send orders to Flanders that they should lend him the ships and other things of which he had need for that purpose. It was answered him on behalf of your Majesty that care should be taken that the army for Scotland should be sent in such a manner as not to cause trouble to [Scotland's] neighbours, for his Majesty could not and would not endure it.

[4] [The French ambassador] having made a great outcry, saying that the king his master ought not to be hindered in punishing his rebels, your Majesty perceived what reason there was for not opposing him [the King of France] in this matter, and on the other side the inconveniences and most evident danger that there was for the affairs of England, if he should send great forces to Scotland, when the forces of England are known to be what they are, seeing [also] that the whole summer was still to run, during which one might take it almost for certain that the French could obtain a force superior to those of the Scots and English for entering into Scotland in spite of your Majesty, and that if the King of France made that effort he could not help succeeding.

[5] One of two alternatives had therefore to be faced. Either your Majesty should withstand him to the face, and with all your forces hinder him from crossing into Scotland, and this would be to break the peace, to give which to Christendom your Majesty had laboured so hard. Or else to let him transport his forces [to the position], whence with such facility he would be able to attain his object, so much desired and talked of, and so very hurtful to your Majesty. It was also borne in mind that as much as they reckoned on availing themselves of [your aid], so much the less diligence and effort would they use in their own affairs. Then it was resolved that the means should be proposed which were proposed, with conditions which were conveyed to them at the same time."

[6] After many days had passed, during which [the French ambassador] spoke many times upon the subject, seeing that he could not draw your Majesty to leave them free to do what they would, he came to the conclusion that the means proposed were good, and that he would write to his master accordingly." Having done so, the answer came at the time when the disturbances of France were beginning. It approved what the ambassador had said.

[7] Then your Majesty sent Glajon to England to persuade the queen

to be content with peace, and not to favour the rebels of Scotland. Shortly before he arrived she ordered her army to enter Scotland, for she had already heard both of the offer your Majesty had made to the French and of the journey of Monsieur de Glajon. . . .

[8] I do not see that any of these inconveniences and dangers have as yet past away. . . . What we always held to be for your Majesty's interests was that the French should leave Scotland; or, if they remain, that they should remain so weakened as not to have their hands free to attempt from thence to execute their plans against England. . . .

[9] Your Majesty is charged with the most weighty and troublesome business that can be thought of. For, both by reason of what is for the interest of all your states, as also for the defence of any of them, it beseems you to ally yourself with England, a state that is weak, without armies, without soldiers to guard itself, without leaders that can defend it, poor, with a queen such that neither she nor any of her council understand the danger in which they are. She does not comprehend your Majesty's favour and aid. On the contrary, she is suspicious and on her guard against you, and is governed rather by her whim and fancy than by any reason. Nevertheless, despite all these difficulties, it is necessary to defend her until your Majesty has the convenient opportunity of offending her. . . .]

No. 2

THE DUKE OF ALVA'S OPINION ON THE UNION OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND. [1560.]

Same sources as the last, ff. 35 and 33. The document extends to three pages and is entitled *Copia de Carta que el Duque mi Señor, scrivio al cardenal de Granvela siendo obispo de Arras, año de 60, sobre cosas de Escoçia y Inglaterra.*

. . . Me paresçeria a mi, que lo que prinçipalmente haviamos de desear seria que en Escocia huuiesse Rey particular della, como le ha avido por el passado, y que este, si fuesse possibile ser catholico, seria lo que se podria dessear, que sino fuesse, por esto de la religion, viendo la materia que sigue la Reyna que oy es de Inglaterra, lo que a my mas conueniente me pareçeria, seria estar Inglaterra y Escocia en una mano, por que seria añadir fuerças a Inglaterra para que pudiesen defenderse de Franceses con mas comodidad, donde no estariamos nosotros con tan necesaria y continua obligacion a valellos, y con la pena de pagallo sino lo hazemos.

[. . . It seems to me that what we ought chiefly to desire would be that Scotland should have its own king as it had in the past. If he could possibly be a Catholic that would be what we should wish. If it were not for the question of religion—seeing the matter [? course] which

the present Queen of England follows—what seems to me most fitting, would be that England and Scotland should be under one ruler. That would add strength to England to defend itself against the French with more facility, and then we should not have such a continual and strict obligation of defending them under penalty of paying for it if we do not do so. . . .]

. . .

No. 3

THE DUKE OF ALVA'S OPINION ABOUT THE ARCH-DUKE MATCH. 12 February 1561.

Extract from same codices as above, ff. 32 and 30. The document is entitled, *Paresçer que su Excellenza embio a su Md de Alua, a 12 de Hebrero* 1561. *Sobre casamientos de Scoçia, Françia, Alamania, Boemia, y otros particulares.*

. . . [1] En los dos casamientos que dize auelle hablado, y Martin de Guzman ay a propuesto a V. md con la Reyna Maria biuda y del Rey de Françia, qualquiera parentado que el Emperador y el Rey de Boemia tomen con Françia, paresce que puede traer grandes inconvinientes al seruicio de V. md. [2] Si bien me acuerdo el obispo de Ischia me dixo que a su Sd le auian propuesto este casamiento de Archiduque Carlos con la Reyna Maria de Escoçia, para que el lo tratase, pero que su Sd tenia por çierto que V. md no vendria de buena gana en ello, por el derecho que pretendia a Inglaterra, y que podria venir a subceder en aquel Reyno, faltando hijos la Reyna che oy es. [3] Yo le dixe que porque le auia de pesar a V. md de aquello, dixome que por las cosas de Flandes y las pretensiones que los hijos del Emperador se dezia que tenian, y respondiendole yo que V. md auia tratado muy de veras y con gran desseo que se hiziesse el casamiento del dicho Archiduque con la Reyna que oy es, me dixo que bien lo avian entendido, pero que no avian creido que V. md lo quisiese ni tratase de veras, [4] en esto apunta don Antonio la pretension que casandose el Archiduque con esta Reyna Maria tendria a las cosas de Inglaterra, y como se favoresceria de Françeses haviendo de ser un pensionario, como lo an sido los otros reyes de Scocia, y teniendo renta en Françia, como la tiene la Reyna Maria por su duario, y assi mismo ellos se podrian ayudar a fauorescer del para sacar gente y tener parte en Alemania, y començar por su mano la guerra de Inglaterra; y siendo valedores quedarse con la mejor parte, subcediendoles como les subcederia la empresa, no estoruandosela V. md: y estoruandosela seria ser contra hijo del Emperador, y hermano del Rey de Boemia, que podria ser tomallo ellos, demanera que se resintiesen mucho de V. md . . . El de Margarita con el Principe nuestro Señor, siendo la edad y salud que agora tiene Su Altezza la que es, y la de Madama Margarita tambien tan poca, se podria muy bien responder quanto tempo queda para poder se platicar adelante . . . [6] y tambien los de

Guisa, que son los que han de tener la mano en casar la Reyna de Escoçia, viendo responder alo de Margarita con tiuieza y al Principe, N.S., sin estar atado, an de tener siempre sperança del casamiento de Su Alª con la dicha Reyna, como lo propusieron al Abbad de Sant Salud, y que tambien responderan a lo del Archiduque friamente. . . .

[[1] As for the two marriages, which he says have been mentioned to him, and which Martin de Guzman has proposed to your Majesty, *i.e.*, those of Queen Mary the widow, and of the King of France, whatever alliance the emperor and the King of Bohemia make with France, it seems that it may bring great inconveniences to the service of your Majesty.

[2] If I remember right the Bishop of Ischia said to me that they had proposed this match of the Archduke Charles with the Queen Mary of Scotland to the Pope in order that he might negotiate it, but that his Holiness held for certain that your Majesty would not favour it because of the right to England to which [she] claimed, and that she might come to succeed to that kingdom, as the Queen [of England] that now is has no sons. [3] I asked him why this matter should displease your Majesty. He said because of the affairs of Flanders and because of the pretensions which the sons of the emperor are said to entertain. When I answered that your Majesty had negotiated very sincerely, and with great desire that the marriage of the archduke with the queen, that now is, should take place, he said to me that it was quite true they had heard that, but they had not believed that your Majesty would desire it, or would negotiate about it in earnest.

[4] In this matter Don Antonio points out the pretension which the archduke, when married to that Queen Mary, would claim over England, and how he would be favoured by the French, because he would be their pensioner, as other kings of Scotland have been, and because he would have rents in France, as Queen Mary has for her dowry. And in the same way they might be aided and favoured by him, and so levy troops and maintain a party in Germany, and commence the war against England through him, when they, being the stronger, would come off victors, succeeding, as they would succeed, in their enterprise, unless your Majesty opposed it. [5] And if you did oppose it, you would be opposing the son of the emperor and the brother of the King of Bohemia, and this might mean touching them in such sort that they would be very vexed with your Majesty. . . . As to the [marriage] of [Princess] Marguerite with the prince our lord [Don Carlos], seeing that the age and health of his Highness is what it is, and that that of Madame Marguerite is likewise no better, one might very well give an answer when it is time to treat the matter more thoroughly. . . .

[6] Moreover, the Guises, who will take the leading part in marrying the Queen of Scotland, seeing us lukewarm in our answers about Mar-

guerite, and without embarrassment about the prince our lord, will always be hopeful that his Highness may marry their queen, as they proposed to the Abbate of San Salute, and they will also answer coolly the offers of the archduke. . . .]

B. SPANISH DOCUMENTS RELATING TO SCOTLAND AT THE ARCHIVES NATIONALES, PARIS.

For the years 1565, 1566, 1567.

(Catalogue and Extracts supplementary to Alexandre Teulet (Junior), *Relations Politiques de la France et de l'Espagne avec l'Écosse* (1862), vol. v. pp. 5 to 32, or his *Papiers d'État* (1851), iii. pp. 5 to 39.)

For a general account of the series, part of which is here catalogued, see *État Sommaire des documents aux Archives Nationales*, Paris (1889), p. 205. The numeration of the 'cartons' has been altered since M. Teulet wrote. Carton B. 19, is now divided into K. 1504, 1505. B. 20 corresponds with K. 1506, and B. 21 with K. 1507. Wherever, as in No. 5, such a note as 'Received, February 7,' occurs, it will be understood that this information is taken from an endorsement on the original despatch.

DESPATCHES OF DON FRANCES DE ALAVA, SPANISH AMBASSADOR IN FRANCE, TO KING PHILIP II., WITH MINUTES OF THE KING'S ANSWERS AND SOME ENCLOSURES.

No. 4, ALVA to PHILIP II. K. 1503, No. 33.

Toulouse, 18 *January* 1564-5. 1565

The ambassador of Scotland has come from the Cardinal of Lorraine to say that during the interview between him, Coligny, and the Cardinal of Chatillon, they treated of such things as made for God's service and the king's.

[There is a duplicate of this, K. 1503, No. 40. A summary of the letters of January (K. 1505, No. 28) indicates that the marriage of Mary was discussed, and also the exclusion of Catherine from the government of France.]

No. 5, ALAVA to PHILIP II. (decipher). *Ibid.* No. 35, Teulet, v. 5.

Toulouse, 23 *January* 1564-5.

Archbishop Beaton endeavours to send his brother to King Philip. Alava stops him.

[Received 7 February. For answer, see No. 52.]

No. 6, THE DUKE OF ALVA to ALAVA (minute). *Ibid.* No. 52.

Madrid, 16 *February* 1564-5.

You did well to stay the messenger. Do not let him come, he will be answered soon. Philip has read your letter.

No. 7, ALAVA to PHILIP II. K. 1503, No. 56 b.c., Teulet, v. 9.
Toulouse, 15 *March* 15

The ambassador of Scotland urgently begs an answer. M critical condition.

[Received 27 March. The passage printed by Teulet has scored in pencil. Though endorsed as if it had been answered, no reference to this paragraph in the minute (No. 60), which an the rest of this despatch.]

No. 8, ALAVA to PHILIP II. *Ibid.* Nos. 64b and 68b.
2 *and* 4 *April*

The English ambassador has been to talk of the proposed ma of Elizabeth with the King of France, or Duke of Orleans. The of Guise is proposed for Mary. Quarrel for precedence be ambassadors of England and Portugal.

[Received 8 and 22 April. The second letter is printe Teulet, v. 10.]

No. 9, PHILIP II. to ALAVA (minute). *Ibid.* No. 74. 16 *April*
Directs him not to listen to the English ambassador.

No. 10, GIO. GASPAR BARCHINGO to ALAVA *Ibid.* No. 80a.
Paris, 27 *April*

[Il Barchingo was Alava's Paris news-agent. His letters are lively, but there are unfortunately very few of them, as the ambas generally resided in the capital. Throughout the despatch the fo ing ciphers are used: *Nal* = Catherine de Medici, *Nel* = Queen Eliza *Nil* = Mary of Scotland, *Mil* = Philip of Spain. The genders are s times interchanged, perhaps in order to keep up the disguise. T are other ciphers, some still undeciphered, the meanings of whic here added in square brackets.]

'The affairs of the kingdom of *Nel* [Queen of England] are r 'most deserving of attention, and I am therefore doing my be 'learn all about them.'

I have made friends with an English Catholic, an exile for relig who knows Italian well. He gives me a glowing account of Dar 'who is a great favourite, and no wonder, for in all Europe the 'not a gentleman more gallant or more handsome than he.' (*estremo accarezzato, ne questo è maraviglia, poiche m'assicura non e in tutt' Europa più disposto ne più bel cauallero di lui.*) The Eng man laughed at the idea of Elizabeth marrying. She has even Darnley to Mary to stay her from marriage, or if she does marry the marriage will be the least formidable to England.

Yesterday I went with him to visit *l'abbate Mina* [deciphered

intimate friend of the Cardinal of Lorraine. He prudently declined to give an opinion on Mary's marriage, as the cardinal had been so long out of town. Before he left, 'no difficulty whatever' was seen in the match with the emperor's brother, if only King Philip had been serious in encouraging it. I asked why the emperor's support was not sufficient, and his answer was that the emperor was weak, distant, and did not affect men's imaginations. If Philip knew his own interests he would push the match with all his might.

'A fine occasion, yes,' said I, 'but not an easy one.'

'Most easy,' answered the abbate, 'for though there are many 'heretics there are five times as many Catholics.' This is why Elizabeth is so fearful, and Philip so bound to seize the opportunity. 'Nowadays Catholic princes must change their old ways. In the 'past friends and foes were distinguished by the boundaries of pro- 'vinces and kingdoms; men were called English, Germans, French, 'Spaniards, Italians. To-day one should but speak of Catholics and 'heretics. A Catholic prince should reckon as friends all the 'Catholics of all lands, just as heretics consider all heretics as their 'friends and their subjects, whether they be vassals of their own or 'of others. Remember this my prophecy. . . . This is a sort of war 'against which no power can avail, which awaits attack at home.' (*Hoggidi non si debbono i principi Catholici gouernare come per lo passato. Si distinguevano altre volte amici da li nemici con la distintione de confini de le provincie et regni, et si diceuano Inglesi, Thedeschi, Francesi, Spagnoli, Italiani. Hoggi se deve dire Catolici et heretici, et chi è principe Catolico deue hauere per amici tutti i cattolici de tutte i paese, come gli' heretici hanno per amici et per sudditi tutti gli Heretici, o siano suoi vasalli o da altri. Recordativi di questa profetia mia . . . Questa è una sorte di guerra che nisсuna grandezza se ne puo guardare, se l'aspetta in casa sua.*) Even Mohammed never had such arms as heretics have now with their 'freedom in printing, licence in promis- 'ing, their abuse of taxes and imposts as unendurable, and the hopes 'they hold out of dividing the goods of the Church among the 'poor.' (*I libretti, la licencia che promettono, con biasimare le grauezze et i tributi come intolerabili, con la speranza che danno di dare bene de la chiesa a poueri.*)

The abbate was so vehement that I was sure he would say out all he knew, so I asked him whether the queen-mother would interfere.

'This I know,' was his answer, 'that the greatest scare she ever 'had in her life was the alarm lest the marriage between *Nil* [the 'Queen of Scotland] and *Si* [? Don Carlos] should take place. And 'well may I say I *know* this, for she spoke to me about it more than 'once, and I to my lord [? the Cardinal of Lorraine].' (*So che la maggior paura ch'habbia mai hauuta è stata quando ha temuto che si facesse il matrimonio fra* Nil [La di Escocia, in decipher] *et* Si [un-deciphered]. *Et questo ben posso dire di saperlo, perche me ne ha parlato più d'una volta, et io a Monsignore.*)

'And what if she and Elizabeth agreed to make away with [*levarsi dinansi*] the Queen of Scotland?' I asked the Englishman.

The abbate was mute for a moment, then he sighed, and said, that if Philip did not take that opportunity, he would for ever regret it.

L'Amico [the Englishman seems to be meant] says that [M. de Foix's] agent in Paris reports that his master is to stay on all this summer and not to go to the King of Spain. L'Amico adds that this is due to [Catherine] 'in order to cross any plans [Mary] may have 'made. Her friend she can never be, as she is a Huguenot of the 'school of the chancellor [*i.e.* l'Hospital] and a creature of the '[Admiral], and because the hatred between them is unbounded. My 'friend, however, believes that there is a close coalition between '[Catherine] and [Elizabeth] against [Mary], and that the two will do 'their very best to hinder [Philip] from doing anything in [Mary's] 'behalf.' (*Nal* [*vuol*] *sturbare ogni dessegno del Nil, della quale non puo essere amico per essere ungonotto* [sic] *alla cancellieresca et creatura del* [*Admiraglio*], *et perche l'odio fra Nal et Nil è smisurato, crede l'amico che fra Nal et Nel sia stretta intelligentia contra Nil, et che siano ambedue per fare ogni sforzo accioche sopra Nil non possa Mil fare alcun disegno.*) 'Also that what [Elizabeth] does not know, [Catherine] tells 'her, she having the sharper and craftier wit. For report says that 'the [*first secretary*] of the realm of [Mary] has come to [Elizabeth], 'by whom he is much favoured, and that he is coming to visit '[Catherine]. His name is Dinton [Lethington], a man closely in 'touch with the brother of [Mary],[1] both of whom are subsidised and 'maintained by [Elizabeth] in order that [Mary] may be kept in 'restraint and in more complete subjection. Of her wit and endur-'ance I hear say great things; those who know her declare her 'worthy of all good fortune and favour.' (*Quello che non sapra Nel gli lo mostra Nal, come piu acuto et piu fino, et perche s'è inteso che'l primo* secretario *del paese di Nil è venuto da Nel, dal quale è favoratissimo, et se ne va a trovare Nal . . . lo chiamo* dinton, *il quale è benissimo d'accordio con il fratello del Mil* [sic], *sostenuto et mantenuto insieme con lui da Nel, acciochè Nil sia tenuto stretto et in suggettione maggiore. Del sapere et patientia del quale intendo dire cose grandi, et che lo cognosce lo giudica degno d'ogni favore et d'ogni bene.*)

No. 11, Il Barchingo to Alava. K. 1503, No. 82.

Paris, 5-20 *May* 1565.

[On the publication of books in Paris.]

No. 12, Alava to Philip II. *Ibid.* No. 86. 5 *May* 1565.

Overtures from English ambassador [No. 92 *idem*]. The Scottish ambassador says he is most disappointed. If you come to Fuenterrabia he will go and interview you, as his mistress has every right

[1] The Lord James of course is meant, but by an evident slip Barchingo has written *Mil* [= Philip] instead of *Nil* [= Mary].

to [? know your mind]. I then communicated the whole of your letter. His brother will go with the Duke of Guise.

[Alava's letter is obscure, and I did not find Philip's answer.]

No. 13, IL BARCHINGO to ALAVA. K. 1503, No. 97.

Paris, 20 *May* 1565.

The Scots here say that Mary and Darnley are already married.

An English gentleman gives me these explanations of Elizabeth's favouring the Darnley marriage. 1. The Lord Robert and the Earl of Hertford are enemies, for the Duke of Northumberland caused the Earl of Somerset to be put to death. Lord Robert therefore wants Mary to succeed, not Hertford. 2. Elizabeth objects to Darnley far less than to the archduke or to Don John.

Encloses a list of Scottish nobles, ecclesiastical and lay. The Catholics are distinguished by a cross. [List now missing.]

A few days ago an exiled Scot gave poison to the Admiral [Bothwell], who is here out of fear of the Bastard of Scotland.

No. 14, ALAVA to PHILIP II. K. 1504, Nos. 4 a, 5, 6.

Bayonne, 4, 5, 8 *June* 1565.

His dealings with the English ambassador. The marriage of Queen Elizabeth and King Charles. The succession of Mary to the throne of England.

[A paragraph about Mary from the notes of June 4 is printed in Teulet, v. 11.]

No. 15, PHILIP II. to ALAVA (Minute). *Ibid.* No. 11.

12 *June* 1565.

'You will hear from the Duke of Alva that which I offer to do in 'behalf of the Queen of Scotland, and so I need not repeat it.'

[*i.e.* Alva will inform you at the conference of Bayonne.]

No. 16, ALAVA to PHILIP II. *Ibid.* No. 23. 22 *June* 1565.

'The ambassador of Scotland has established himself half a league 'from this, and presses me for your Majesty's answer. He says his 'mistress expects it with the utmost anxiety, not wishing to make any 'resolution until it arrives. Her life is in much peril, and she has 'no friends.' (*Dize che espera su ama con la mayor ansia del mundo sin quererse en ninguna maniera resolber hasta que llege, teniendo muy abenturado su vida, y nem por ella. llego anoche el* [?] *rim.* 11. 19 *nam.*)

'There arrived by night [name undeciphered], as [?] I wrote to your 'Majesty. I know not what he carries. There must be urgency '[? *priesa*] about the said answer. He past by here, and sent to tell me 'that he had a packet from the ambassador Diego de Guzman.'[1]

[1] Philip has scribbled a *postilla* in the margin, which I cannot satisfactorily read. The meaning seems to be that the deciphering should be done again. K. 1504, No. 38, contains a summary of this despatch, but these paragraphs are not noticed.

No. 17, THE DUKE OF ALVA and JUAN MANRIQUES to PHILIP II. K. 1504. No. 31. *Bayonne, 29 June* 1565.

Interview with Cardinal Santa Croce, who says that everything will go to ruin unless remedied now. The marriage with Darnley.

[The passage relative to Mary is printed in Teulet, v. 12-14. There is also a summary of it in this carton, No. 39 b.]

No. 18, ALAVA to PHILIP II. *Ibid.* No. 41. 1 *July* 1565.

The English ambassador is trying to discover what your Majesty thinks of the Darnley match. I told him first that I would inquire, then I informed him that you were pleased, and the Guises and the Constable still more so. He went off looking vexed, Elizabeth also is probably angry. The ambassador of Scotland sent back his brother yesterday to his mistress. He was delighted at hearing that your Majesty showed your approval. He was pleased with what I told him, more pleased still with what the Duke of Alva added.

No. 19, ALAVA to PHILIP II. *Ibid.* No. 47 a. 5 [?20] *July* 1565.

Elizabeth's court is discussing once more the match with the Archduke, but France wants to re-open negotiations. The French are glad of the Darnley match, which frees them from fear of Don Carlos. The English ambassador is disturbed at the popularity of the match in England.

No. 20, ALAVA to PHILIP II. *Ibid.* No. 48 a, Teulet, v. 15. *Mont de Marsan, 23 July* 1565.

Condé is said to be much vexed with the Cardinal of Lorraine for deceiving him about the match with Mary.

No. 21, ALAVA to PHILIP II. *Ibid.* No. 55 b. *Bayonne,* 18 *August* 1565.

Three days ago there was a debate in council whether they should send to the Queen of Scots. In the end they gave a commission to the last envoy they accredited to Elizabeth. He is to show it to her with reserve (*riendosi*), and if she approves he is to go on to Scotland.

No. 22, ALAVA to PHILIP II. *Ibid.* No. 56 b. *Cunach* [*Cognac*], 21 *August* 1565.

The match of the king with Elizabeth is definitively broken off. 'The French seem more unfavourable to Mary than to the devil (*estan aqui con la d'Escocia peor que con el demonio*), and there is a 'new outburst of hate against the Guises since the Cardinal of 'Lorraine's new measures.'

[Printed in Teulet, v. 16, who explains that the *Guerre du Cardinal* is alluded to.]

No. 23, ALAVA to PHILIP II. K. 1504, No. 69 b.

Poitiers, 5 October 1565.

Catherine is wavering between an English and a Spanish-Scottish alliance.

[Important, printed in Teulet, v. 17.]

No. 24, ALAVA to PHILIP II. (decipher). *Ibid.* No. 72 a.

Poitiers, 31 October 1565.

Numberless posts arrive for the English and Scottish ambassadors, who come and explain matters to me. The ambassador of Scotland conjures me not to let your Majesty allow his mistress to drown (*anegar*). He has given me the *capituli* presented to her by the heretics and her answers, which I send on. The French have promised aid, but it is not clear what they will do: they are said to have dissuaded Elizabeth from war.

[This enclosure is now K. 1503, No. 12:—*Capitulos que dieron los hereges de Escocia a su Reyna y la repuesta dellos.* A Spanish version of the two documents calendared in *Foreign Calendar*, 1565, Nos. 1327, 1328. No date, but the place St. Johnston (*i.e.* Perth) is given, which Mary left 1 July 1565.]

No. 25, ALAVA to PHILIP II. *Ibid.* No. 87 a.

Blois, 14 December 1565.

Mission of Rambouillet with an order for Darnley. 'But I believe 'they sent him to scent out (*a oler*) what is going on in these 'kingdoms, and to disturb them (*revolverlos*) if he can.'

No. 26, PHILIP II. to CHANTONAY, at Vienna. Minute. *Ibid.* No. 95. *24 December* 1565.

As the emperor wants me to support the match between Elizabeth and the archduke, you are to do so, provided she does not insist on her conditions about religion.

[A similar direction on 26th September, K. 1504, No. 13.]

DOCUMENTS CONNECTED WITH THE SPANISH EMBASSY IN ENGLAND, WHICH HAVE BEEN PLACED BY ERROR AMONG THE PAPERS OF THE SPANISH EMBASSY IN FRANCE.

No. 27, DON GUZMAN DE SILVA to PHILIP II. (Summaries). K. 1505, No. 34 a. *London, 10 June to 13 August* 1565.

'That he holds for certain that the Earl of Leicester is already 'secretly married to the queen, and that for fear of consequences he '[or she] acts prudently in his regard, in view of what may follow.' (*Que tiene por cierto que esta casado ya el Conde de Lesester con la reyna*

secretamente, y que temiendo cuenta con esto se governia con el prudentemente por lo que podia succeder.)

'That the said earl desired to know, and asked me if your Majesty 'favoured the archduke.'

Lady Margaret [Lennox] is in prison, but has means of correspondence.

[In the margin is noted '*que lo haga assi*' (let him do it so). Though written opposite the first sentence this would seem rather to apply to the last.]

No. 28, De Silva to Philip II. (Summaries). K. 1505, No. 36.

London, August and September 1565.

Por cartas de Guzman de Sylva a S. Md., de xx, xxviii Agosto, y iii de Septiembre.

. . . Que la de Escocia ha declarado por rebelde a Milort Jaymes su hermano Bastardo, el qual y otros dos hombres principales estauan con alguna gente, y se tienne por cierto que ellos y los protestantes que tambien son de su bando, son fauorescidos de la Reyna de Inglaterra, y que los Reyes de Escocia tenian quatro mill hombres y se trataua de concierto entre los unos y los otros, no se sabe en que parara.

[*In margin*] Ya se le scrive, lo que vera, que auise siempre de lo que en esto huuiere.

Discurre de la Importancia que es esto de Escocia, por que si Ingalaterra se reduxesse, cessaria la heregia en Flandes y Francia y las intelligencias di Alemania. y assi para sostenerse aquel reyno, procura de ayudar y animar a los vezinos que son como los del.

[*In margin*] Que hage bien.

Que aquella Reyna embio a Escocia a Thomaur su gentil hombre de la camra para que la Reyna de Escocia la satisfaziesse de se auer casado con subdito suyo sin comunicarselo, y de la seguridad que le dio de que durante su vida no pretenderia el Reyno ni alteraria lo dela religion, y dize lo que succedio al dicho Thomaur sobre el passaporte que le dauan firmado de Rey y Reyna, y no lo quiso y despues lo huuo de tomar.

[That the Queen of Scotland has declared mylord James, her bastard brother, a rebel. He with two other leading men had raised some soldiers, and it is held for certain that they and the Protestants who are on his side are favoured by the Queen of England. The King and Queen of Scotland have four thousand men. There was treating about an agreement between the one party and the other, it was not known what would come of it.

[*In margin*] He has already been ordered by letter, as he will see, always to report what is done in this matter.

He discourses on the importance of Scotland, for if England were

reduced heresy would cease in Flanders and France, as also the news of [? understanding with] Germany. Wherefore to sustain that kingdom, he will take care to aid and encourage its neighbours [? the Catholics of Scotland], who are like the inhabitants of it [? England].

[*In margin*] He does well.

That that queen sent Thomaur [Thomworth], a gentleman of her chamber, to Scotland, that the queen might satisfy her for having married an English subject without telling her, and the pledge she gave her that during her life she would not be a pretender to her kingdom, and would not alter religion. He also related that which befell the said [Thomworth] about his passport, how they gave it him signed by king and queen and he would not have it, but afterwards had to take it.]

No 29, DE SILVA to PHILIP II. K. 1504, No 59.
London, 17 *September* 1565.

The French are busying themselves about Scotland, and are much more active than we are.

No. 30, [QUEEN MARY'S] INSTRUCTIONS to [? YAXLEY]. K. 1503, No. 13. *n.d.* [? *October* 1565].

[Anonymous Spanish translation of a clause in her instructions to some agent, presumably Yaxley, who left Scotland in mid-September 1565. The translation is on Spanish paper, and was therefore probably written during his stay in Spain, 20 to 30 October 1565.]

✠

Dezir a su Mag^{d} que de todas las alianças que sus Mag^{es} pueden tener tanto en Françia como por alla, no ay ninguna que mas dessean entretener ni corroborar, que es la aliança de España de Su Md Cath^{ca} y mas asegurar, que sus Magestades (presentandose la occasion) buscaran todos los medios para endereçar las cosas de la religion de aquel pays conforme a los otros reynos, no obstante que al presente sean forçados de ceder y dar lugar al mal tiempo, lo qual podra ser causa que ellos requieran algun Principe Christiano paraque les ayude. Y en esto han puesto toda su esperança en el Rey Catholico, aquien ellos tienen por padre y mayor amigo, rogandole quiera tomar cuydado de las cosas de aquel Reyno como de las suyas proprias.

Que sus Magestades non consentiran jamas que baxen Franceses a esta ysla, sino fueren forçados por gran necessidad. Lo qual aun no haran sin consentimiento del Rey Catholico.

Hec privatim peragenda sunt.

[To inform his Majesty that of all the alliances which their Majesties can maintain, whether in France or elsewhere, there is none which they more desire to continue and strengthen than the alliance with

Spain and his Catholic Majesty. Moreover to assure him that their Majesties, when the occasion presents itself, will seek every means to put straight the affairs of religion in that country in the form in which they are in other kingdoms, albeit that at present they are forced to yield and give place to bad times, which may cause them to beg some Christian prince to help them. In this matter they have placed all their hope in the Catholic king, whom they hold as their father and greatest friend, and beg him to be pleased to care for the concerns of that kingdom as he does for his own.

That their Majesties will never consent that the French should land in that island, unless they are constrained by great necessity, nor will they do so without the consent of the Catholic king.

These matters are to be treated privately.]

1566 CORRESPONDENCE OF THE SPANISH AMBASSADOR IN FRANCE (*continued*). (Cartons K. 1505, K. 1506.)

No. 31, ALAVA to PHILIP II. K. 1505, No. 67 b.

Moulins, 18 *January* 1565-6.

'From Scotland there has arrived a French gentleman, who 'has lived there six or seven years. And though he has come 'nominally to demand three or four thousand arquebusiers, no 'doubt his real mission is to negotiate in the matter of the mar-'riage.' . . . (*De Escoçia ha venido un gentilhombre Frances, que ha seis o siete años que reside alli, y aunque ha venido con voz de pedir tres o quatro mill arcabuzeros cierto viene a hablar en la materia de casamiento.*) The election of the Pope [*i.e.* Pius V.] has caused some vexation here.

No. 32, ALAVA to PHILIP II. *Ibid.* No. 87.

Moulins, 29 *March* 1566.

S. C. R. M. . . . Oy que son xxviij paso por aquy en posta el obispo Escoçes, que aquel rey y reyna embian al Papa, y dos oras antes auia pasado el secretario del embaxador que este rey tiene en Inglaterra, el qual dixo a un amigo myo, que traya una nueva muy algore, que era quel rey d'Escoçia auia muerto a su mujer, y metido todos los erejes foraxidos y levantadose con el reyno, ello deve ser çierto a mi pareçido auizar dello a V. Mag^d. Dixo mas el dicho secretario que aquella entrepriza auia hecho que no saliesse el dicho Embaxador de Inglaterra seys messes antes de lo que auia de salir, de donde se puede bien sacar quien tenia parte en el negotio, y Rambullet no devio de yr a quitarle el fuego. Si esto es verdad este rey y reyna bolveran muy presto a Paris . . . De molins 29 março 1566.

[. . . To-day, the 28th, the Scottish Bishop [of Dunblane] passed here in post. The king and queen of that country are sending him to the Pope. Two hours before him, there passed the secretary of the ambassador, whom the king of this country keeps in England. This

man told a friend of mine that he was bearer of very [? sad] news, to wit that the King of Scotland had murdered his wife, admitted the exiled heretics, and seized the kingdom. I certainly think it my duty to advise your Majesty thereof. The said secretary added that this enterprise was the cause why the said ambassador did not leave England six months ago. Hence one may conclude with certainty what part he has had in the matter. Rambouillet too will not have gone to put the fire out. If this news proves true the French king and queen will soon return to Paris. . . . From Moulins, the 29th of March 1566.]

No. 33, ALAVA to PHILIP II. K. 1505, No. 93 b.

Montargis, 21 *April* 1566.

Report has asserted for many days that the Queen of Scotland was murdered by her husband. The English ambassador has been to tell me that the French desire war between England and Scotland, in order that England may be weakened. He said that he had already informed Elizabeth that her best allies were Spain and the emperor. 'They [*i.e.* the French court] are not much concerned about Scotland.' (*Lo de Escoçia tampoco los apriesa*).

No. 34, ALAVA to PHILIP II. *Ibid.* No 102 b. *Paris*, 25 *May* 1566.

'The affairs of Scotland go on steadily growing calm; not that 'there was no revolution at all: but the cause of anxiety was 'the king's want of sense.' (*Lo de Escoçia anda todavia templandose, no que aya auido alteracion ninguna, pero temerse del poco sesso de aquel Rey.*) The Queen of England is very cautious about the marriage with the archduke, but the new ambassador says that if negotiations fail, religion will be the cause.

No. 35, ALAVA to PHILIP II. K. 1506, No. 7 a.

Paris, 10 *June* 1566.

[The words in italics are in cipher deciphered.]

S. C. R. M. . . . El Embaxador de Inglaterra me afirma que la reyna de Escocia ha pedido a su ama vistas en Arinozen, que dizen que es una villa en medio de Inglaterra, y que no las ha querido admitir por esto año. *El de Escocia* vino muy atribulado a mi quatro o çinco dias ha, ha dezirme que my fe su ama ya no podia tener mas la cruz aquestos *porque el Rey su marido* y seis consejeros de stado, que agora nuuamente han creado, heran herejes y ayudados *de la Reyna de Inglaterra* estauan muy puestos en dar con la fe catholica por el suelo *en aquel Reyno*, y que ella queria dezamparallo y venir a bivir en Françia en Januila en compagnia de la duqueza de Guiza vieja y aunque esto, alo que entiendo, es verdad que esta en mal punto, *pero tambien es negociacion porque* el Papa le embia xxv^{m} escudos y nunçio con ellos, y este rey otros tantos, y este nunçio me ha hablado en la materia, como hombre *solicitado del Cardinal de Lorena y deste Embaxador de Escocia* para que yo lo escriva a V. Magd., para comoverle a embiarla algun dinero de nuevo ala dicha reyna.

[YOUR MAJESTY,—. . . The ambassador of England assures me that the Queen of Scotland has asked his mistress [? for a meeting] at Arinonen [?], which, they say, is a town in the middle of England, and that she has not been willing to let her come this year. The ambassador of Scotland came to me in great grief four or five days ago [? to] tell me that for certain his mistress could not carry that cross of hers, for the king her husband and the six councillors of state, who have just lately been created, were heretics and were aided by the Queen of England, and that they were very set on levelling to the ground the Catholic Church in that kingdom, and that she sought to leave him, and to come and live at Joinville in company with the old Duchess of Guise. And though this, according to what I hear, is true that she is in a critical position, yet there is also a negotiation on foot for the Pope to send her twenty-five thousand scudi, and a nuncio with them, and this king is to send as much again. The nuncio here has spoken to me of the matter, as though he had been requested to do so by the Cardinal of Lorraine and the ambassador of Scotland, to induce me to write to your Majesty, to move you to send once more some money to the said queen.]

No. 36, ALAVA to PHILIP II. K. 1506, No. 13. See also K. 1506, No. 18.
Paris, 24 June 1566.

La Reyna de Escocia a embiado a pedir a este rey muy secretamente sea su compadre, sera su comadre la de Inglaterra. An ambiado un cauallero a Escocia a concluirlo, y an me dicho que andan por meter a V. Magd tambien por compadre en caso que sea varon el que pariere, pero disque esta muy puesto la de Inglaterra en que si ella a de ser comadre, se ha de batizar a su modo.

[The Queen of Scotland has sent very secretly to ask this king to be godfather, the Queen of England will be godmother. A gentleman has been sent to Scotland to conclude the matter. They have told me they are going to put your Majesty down as godfather also, in case the child she bears is a boy. They say, however, that the Queen of England is very set on having the baptism according to her manner, if she is to be godmother.]

No. 37, ALAVA to PHILIP II. *Ibid.* No. 14 b (a decipher).
Paris, 27 June 1566.

[There is a summary of this document, K. 1506, No. 19, but even with its aid several obscurities remain, which I cannot solve.]

A la Reyna de Escocia ha hecho tiro, y aun creo que al Papa, porque assegurada la dicha Reyna de que este Rey le embiaria veinte y cinco mil escudos, al darle la librança, le dixeron a su embaxador que se entendia que eran a cuenta de los que esta corona le daua de su viudedad, *el dicho Embaxador todavia los accepto,* dandole una assignacion

en parte, donde han ya recebido para este Rey los dos años venideros:[1] replica tornanle a dar otra a dones, halla mayor impedimento. Esta el dicho Embaxador sin esperança ninguna di auerlos ni aun parte dello, traen una negociacion de baxar la moneda muy secretamente; no he sabido el como, procurare informarme.

[On the Queen of Scotland he has played a trick, and also, I think, on the Pope, [? in order that] the said queen, [being] assured that this king would send her twenty-five thousand crowns, should [*lit.* to] give him the quittance. They said to her ambassador that it was understood that the money was part of the account which this crown paid her for her allowance as widow. *The said ambassador, however, has accepted them,* giving him a [? deed of] assignation in part, whence they have already received from [*lit.* for] this king [the revenue for] the two coming years. [He] protested [that] they ought to return him another [such sum] in gifts. He finds greater difficulty. The said ambassador is without any hope of getting them or any part of them. They carry on a negotiation [to] debase the money very secretly. I do not know how: I will take care to ascertain.]

No. 38, QUEEN MARY to PHILIP II. K. 1506, No. 17. 17 *July* 1566.

[Summary translation, perhaps made in preparation for an answer, printed, Teulet, *Papiers d'État*, iii. 22.]

The birth of her son consoles her. She has written fully to the Spanish ambassador in London, and hopes Philip may come to Flanders.[2]

No. 39, ALAVA to PHILIP II. *Ibid.* No 72. *Paris*, 2 *November* 1566.

. . . Llego a esta reyna anoche correo de Scoçia. Escrivele el embaxador que alla tiene este rey, que aquella reyna estaua con calentura desde los xviii del pasado hasta los xxiiij con tan grandes vomitos, que los medicos sentian tan mal de su enfermedad que podria ser no durar tres dias. Embiome esta tarde del embaxador de Scoçia la copia de una carta de la misma data de lo que esta reyna tiene, que le

[1] It would diminish one of the obscurities of this decipher if the words which I have italicised were inserted at this point. The sense seems to be, 'the Scottish ambassador accepted the partial payment, protesting that he would expect a further sum to be given as a free gift. But no such gift was afterwards made.'

[2] For other letters sent on this day to the Pope and others, see p. 262 *supra*. De Silva sent on Melville's messages on 20 July (*Documentos Inéditos*, 89, p. 348; *Spanish Calendar*, p. 567). From the same *Calendar*, p. 559, it appears that de Silva had waited six months before he found an opportunity of sending by Stephen Wilson (about 16 June 1566) the news about Yaxley, which Philip had sent to him on 24 October 1565. This letter may therefore be considered as Mary's answer to de Silva's message.

escriuen quatro consejeros le su reyno los mas catholicos y confidentes que cabe sy tiene, en que le dizen que es verdad que su reyna esta muy mala, pero que no tanto que no tengan grande esperansa que dentro de pocos dias estara libre de calentura, y que si dixeren que le an dado veneno, que no lo crea hasta que ellos le escriuan la verdad, aunque se atiende alos remedios del harto.

[A courier from Scotland reached the queen here last night. The French king's ambassador there writes to her, that the queen [Mary] has had a fever from the 18th of last month till the 24th, with vomiting so violent that the physicians think the sickness dangerous, and that possibly she may only last three days. To-night the ambassador of Scotland sends me the copy of a letter of the same date as that which Queen [Catherine] has received, addressed to her by four of that queen's council, perhaps the most Catholic and most trustworthy councillors she has. In it they say that the queen's condition is really serious, but not such as to exclude great hopes of a cessation of fever in a few days. It was said that she had been poisoned, but she [Catherine] should not believe it until they advised her of the truth. Sufficient attention, however, was being given to remedies.]

No. 40, ALAVA to PHILIP II. (decipher). K. 1506, No. 73, Teulet, v. 18. *Paris*, 10 *November* 1566.

Further details of Mary's illness, her speech when she thought herself dying.

No. 41, ALAVA to PHILIP II. K. 1507, No. 1. 24 *December* 1566.

The Cardinal of Lorraine is worse hated than ever by Catherine, and those of her party. It is said that he told the Pope she was but half a Catholic, and an improper person (*impertinente*) for the government of so great a kingdom. Because of old feuds he is also hated by the Constable (because of his son Montmorancy), by l'Aubespine, by the Bishop of Orleans.

1567 SAME SERIES (*continued*). (Cartons K. 1507, K. 1508.)

No. 42, GUZMAN DE SILVA to ALAVA. *Ibid.* No. 69, Teulet, v. 19. *London*, 1 *March* 1566-7.

The murder of Darnley, etc.

No. 43, ALAVA to PHILIP II. *Ibid.* No. 70, Teulet, v. 20. *Paris*, 6 *March* 1566-7.

Same subject.

No. 44, GUZMAN to ALAVA. *Ibid.* No 74. *London*, 8 *March* 1566-7.

Same subject.

No. 45, ALAVA to PHILIP II. *Ibid.* No. 78, Teulet, v. 22. *Paris*, 15 *March* 1566-7.

Same subject.

No. 46, ALAVA to PHILIP II. (decipher). K. 1507, No. 79.
Paris, 17 *March* 1566-7.

'Moretta, whom the Duke of Savoy had sent to Scotland, arrived here 'yesterday. He came at once to see me, and reported that Scotland 'was going through a most dangerous crisis, and that its queen de-'sired to leave the country.' (*El Moreta que el Duque de Sabo ya hauia embiado a Escocia llego aqui ayer, vino luego a verme, dize que la Escocia esta peligrosissima, y aquella Reyna desseosa de salir de alli.*) The Queen of England told him he might assure me that the rebels of Flanders, much as they might offer, would never be admitted [to her favour], and that your Majesty should have no cause whatever for complaining about England. He reports that it was really wonderful how the English, both great and small, publicly showed their desire for your Majesty to come to Flanders. The said Moretta left me to find Queen [Catherine], and says he means to stay here two or three months.

No. 47, ALAVA to PHILIP II. *Ibid.* No. 97, Teulet, v. 23.
Paris, 30 *March* 1567.

Suspicions about Mary, etc.

No. 48. *Ibid.* No. 98.
[Another decipher of last despatch, with trifling variants.]

No. 49. *Ibid.* No. 104.
Summaries of letters from 13 February to 9 April. No further details.

No. 50, ALAVA to PHILIP II. K. 1508, No. 16 a, Teulet, v. 24.
Paris, 15 *May* 1567.

Earl of Murray, having consulted with Condé and Coligny, has gone to Geneva.

No. 51, ALAVA to PHILIP II. *Ibid.* No. 22 b, Teulet, v. 25.
Paris, 16 *June* 1567.

Bishop of Dunblane on the match with Bothwell.

No. 52, ALAVA to PHILIP II. *Ibid.* No. 28 a, Teulet, v. 26.
Paris, 30 *June* 1567.

The imprisonment of Mary.

No. 53, ALAVA to PHILIP II (decipher). *Ibid.* No. 33.
Paris, 5 *July* 1567.

'They will send the Earl of Murray to Scotland within three or 'four days, with the object of which I wrote in my last note but one.' (*Al Conte de Mure despachan dentro de tres o quatro dias a Escoçia con el designo que a V. Md. escrivi en mi penultima.*) [On 16 June Alava had said that Murray would be retained in France, on 30 June that

he would be sent back with all the honour France could show him, to prevent Elizabeth gaining possession of the infant James.

No. 54, ALAVA to PHILIP II. K. 1508, No. 37, Teulet, v. 29. 17 *July* 1567.

Murray desires to go to Scotland.

No. 55, ALAVA to PHILIP II. *Ibid.* No. 39, Teulet, v. 30. 29 *July* 1567.

Murray has gone. Alava's fears for the consequences.

No. 56, ALAVA to PHILIP II. *Ibid.* No. 42, Teulet, v. 32. 3 *August* 1567.

Mary has attempted to escape.

No. 57, ALAVA to PHILIP II. *Ibid.* No. 55 a. 12 *September* 1567.

The ambassadors of England and Scotland, with the Duke of Chatelherault [Xatelerao], after consulting the Cardinal of Lorraine, go to the French court together. The English ambassador says that Elizabeth was not a party to Mary's imprisonment, and sought her release. Would France help? The king promised to take advice, afterwards he said he would send *un Cavallero* to Mary. The Duke of Hamilton is therefore gone to-day to Elizabeth's court. The *Cavallero* will join him there, and then go on. The Earl of Murray has seen Mary, and she said to him amid many tears, 'Give me free-'dom, my brother, since you can give me into, or take me out of, 'these men's power.' (*Alas de*[1] *hermano libertad, pues me la podeis dar y sacarme de las manos destos.*) An intelligent Scot tells me that Murray wants to put both Mary and Prince James out of the way. His mother is Mary's warden, and James's guardian is his intimate friend.

[1] I would suggest *Me dias.*

APPENDIX III

ECCLESIASTICAL DOCUMENTS

A. CORRESPONDENCE OF THE FATHER GENERALS OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS ON SCOTTISH AFFAIRS, 1562 TO 1567. (Catalogue with extracts.)

The codices are described above in the Introduction and under the sections relating to the de Gouda Mission, to which this correspondence forms the sequence. For brevity's sake the codices are referred to as i. ii. iii., etc., according to the numbers assigned to them in the Introduction. The Generals, during the years 1562 to 1567, were Father James Laynez, who died 19 January 1565, and then Father (now Saint) Francis Borgia. The Father Secretary was Father John Polanco. It is often impossible to tell from the registers of Generals' letters at this period whether any particular letter was sent in the Secretary's name or the General's, but the presumption is that they were signed by the Secretary only. The registers were kept by Spanish lay-brothers, whose Italian was often faulty. Italian was the language usual between the Fathers of the Society at that time, but the letters to bishops and dignitaries were in Latin.

No. 1, POLANCO to BORGIA, Vicar-General in Rome. i. 35 b. (Spanish). 1562
Trent, 12 *November* 1562.

[A letter for Hay to carry to Rome.]

We have heard what happened in Scotland from Master Edmund [Hay], Master William [Crichton], and Father de Gouda. The party that came thence numbered six or seven Scots. Three of these are now going to Rome: Edmund, who is already a '*Bacillar*' in theology; William, who, 'though very young, is nevertheless a Master in Arts 'and well versed in languages.' The third may enter the German College. He does not seem to feel a call to the Society, at least not yet.

No. 2, POLANCO to DE GOUDA, i. 105. *Trent*, 15 *December* 1562.

'Refer to Father Provincial for what is decided in Rome about the 'business of Scotland, and about your staying in Louvain or Antwerp.'

No. 3, HAY to LAYNEZ. Partly translated in Forbes-Leith, *Narratives*, pp. 80, 81. 1563
Rome, 2 *January* 1563.

Praises de Gouda's report; but it must not be forgotten that no

remedy will suffice while the Lord James rules all, both Protestants (except the Earl of Hamilton) and Catholics, who are the smaller number. The queen's authority is nominal only.

1564 No. 4, POLANCO to HAY, at Innsbruck. ii. 168.

Rome, 29 *August* 1564.

Walter is ill here, we shall therefore send him to Ingolstadt or Dillingen. Father Andreas Aventinus will succeed you as professor of Scripture, and you will go to Paris and do what Father Oliver [Manare] thinks best.

No. 5, POLANCO to the RECTOR and Others, at Vienna. ii. 167, *sqq.* (Italian). *Rome*, 29 *August* 1564.

There are several letters of this date about the foundation of a new college at Braunsberg in Prussia. The second amongst the three *deputati* from Rome is 'Roberto Scoto' (Abercromby). He started from Rome with three recruits for the college at Vienna, but his party 'must not lose time, but at once take the road to Prague, which we 'suppose to be the best for going to Prussia, and will join the parties 'from Cologne, Mayence, and Dillingen. . . . The three horses, 'although they will have been very useful to the party for Germany '[*i.e.* Vienna], are nevertheless destined for those going to Prussia, and 'are therefore to be given to them, if serviceable for such a journey. 'Otherwise your reverence will give them the best directions you can, 'and make up any deficits in their journey money, putting the sum 'down to our account.' He is to buy them warm shirts and give them a bill of credit on Cracow, where Cardinal Hosius's messengers will look out for them and direct them further. The party finally started on the 30th, the six *fratelli* having *tre cavalli boni* between them.

No. 6, LAYNEZ to CARDINAL HOSIUS. ii. 172.

n.d. after 3 *September*.

[After communicating details of arrangement for the future college.] Magister Robertus Scotus minister erit . . . M. Robertus subdiaconus est, et ad reliquos ordines sacros primo quoque tempore promovendus erat, si hoc iter non suscepisset. Si videbitur V. D. Ill^mae^, isthic promoveri poterit, nam vir optimus est et doctus mediocriter, etiam in theologicis, et prudens et apud suos nobilis genere, et forte cum Anglis et Scotis Daniscum confluentibus utilem operam praestare poterit. Rutenicum idioma sperat se cito assecuturum.

[Master Robert [Abercromby] the Scot will be the [Father] Minister. . . . He is a subdeacon, and was to have been promoted to the other orders as soon as possible, but for this journey. If your eminence desires to ordain him there you can do so, for he is an excellent man, not wanting in knowledge, even of theology, and prudent. In his own country he is of good birth (*nobilis*). He might

perhaps do useful work with the English and Scots who come to Danzig. He hopes that he will soon learn the Ruthenian dialect.]

No. 7, POLANCO to the RECTOR at Louvain. ii. 172.

Rome, 4 September 1564.

Quanto al electo Vescovo Scoto Mons^r^ [?] Gudlelne, lui e molto conosciuto de Nro. Pre. Generale et de Pre. Pr. Ma . . . . elle et dalli altri, ma in effetto hauendo la chiesa de Dio hoggidi tanto bisogno de boni pastori delle qualita di esso non pare sarebbe grato alla M^ta^ divina che se nascondessi nella religione come lucerna sub modio posita, quantumque l'amore della pouerta, et bassezza gagliardamente lo tiene, deue etiam ricordarsi che è sposata con la sua Chiesa, et che non si può diuidere il tal matrimonio spirituale, se non si fossino alcuni grandi impedimenti che non li permettessino far suo officio.

[As for the Scottish bishop elect, Monsignor [? Dunblane], he is well known to our Father General, and to Father [Peter] Ma[nu]elle and to others. But really the Church of God has so much need in our days of good pastors like him, that it does not seem as though it would be pleasing to the Divine Majesty that he should hide himself in religion, like a 'light placed under a bushel.' However strongly the love of poverty and humility may influence him, he should also remember that he is wedded to his Church, and that such a spiritual marriage cannot be dissolved unless there be some great impediments which do not allow him to do his office. You do not state what they are. Perhaps they will cease when Mary marries a Catholic. We quite approve of his living in our college among the boarders.]

No. 8, FATHER GENERAL (or FATHER SECRETARY) to the BISHOP OF DUNBLANE. ii. 176. *Rome, 5 September* 1564.

Pax Christi.

Ex literis nostrorum qui Lovanii versantur intellexeram adventum e Scotia in inferiorem Germaniam D. V. Rm̃ae, nec sine causa gregem illum quovis pastore indigentem relictum esse mihi persuadeo, cui verbum Dei a D.V. strenue proponi audiveram, cum ex illo regno P. Gaudanus reversus est: postmodum accepi literas a D.V. ex quibus et adiunctis etiam Rectoris Lovaniensis literis facile colligo ferventem animum et ad ea quae perfectionis sunt valde propensum et consiliorum Christi amantem quod mihi laetitiae et edificationis ut par erat plurimum attinet. Novit enim D.V. Rm̃a quod a multis annis a me diligatur ex animo quodque eam indolem et ea Dei dona in te cognoverim, unde ad Dei gloriam et animarum auxilium fructum uberem redire posse sperarem, unde non potuit mihi non esse gratissimum quidquid de D.V. Rm̃a audivero quodque illi meae expectationi respondeat. *F* Quod autem ad status mutationem attinet, non sane existimo in praesentia eam expedire, nec enim intellexi

talia esse impedimenta in Regno Scotiae, propter quae diffidam posse aliquem Christi gregem a veris suis pastoribus pasci, et si nunc difficile id esset donec Regina maritum habeat, id diu non differendum esse spero, et tunc haud dubie libertatem maiorem habituros esse Catholicos pastores, ut suum officium faciant, credibile est. Reservet ergo se D.V. ad meliora tempora, et vires colligat in hac privata vita quam modo ducit, ut cum restitutus fuerit Sponsae suae Ecclesiae, verbo, et exemplo, et omnibus aliis rationibus commissum sibi gregem pascat, et ad omnia bona promovere studeat, ac alios pastores quoque suo exemplo ad hoc ipsum praestandum excitet. Nos quidem semper coniunctissimos peculiari charitatis vinculo habebit, et, ut spero, cooperatores aliquando in vinea illa Scotiae excolenda experietur ad gloriam Dei, cuius bonitatem precor ut luce suae sapientiae dirigat D.V. Rm̃am et omnibus donis suis spiritualibus ad suam et Ecclesiae utilitatem exornet.

Romae die 5 Septembris 1564.

[The second half of the above, commencing from the point marked *F*, has been cancelled and the following paragraph substituted.]

F Quod ad status mutationem attinet, res est sane non levis momenti, et quae considerationem magnam indigeat. Sine Summi Pontificis facultate ea fieri nequit, et ut a Summo Pontifice impetretur rationes aliquae, quae ad huiusmodi mutationem merito hortentur, adducendae essent. Scribat ergo D.V., si quae habet impedimenta gravia suum officium Episcopale in Scotia exercendi, quid etiam se posse in Societate praestare existimet quod ad maiorem Dei gloriam sit futurum, et tunc quid ego sentiam in Domino rescribam. Interim precor Dei bonitatem ut luce suae sapientiae dirigat D.V. Rm̃am, qui in quovis statu Societatem nostram sibi altissimo caritatis vinculo coniunctam habebit. Vale in Domino Iesu Christo.

Romae, 5 Septembris 1564.

[(To the Scottish Bishop.) Pax Christi.

From the letters of ours at Louvain I had already heard of your lordship's arrival in Lower Germany from Scotland, and I do not doubt that it was only out of necessity that you left without a shepherd that flock to which you formerly preached the word of God with zeal, as Father de Gouda informed me on his return from that kingdom. Later on I received letters from your lordship, from which, and from those of the Rector of Louvain which accompanied them, I well perceive how fervent is your desire for perfection and for following the counsels of Christ, to my great joy and edification. For your lordship knows that I have regarded you with affection for many years, and recognised in you that disposition and those gifts of God, whence I hoped that great fruit would come to the glory of God and the good of souls, so that I could not but rejoice to hear any news of your lordship which accorded with my expectations.

F But as to the change of your state in life, to tell the truth I do not think it at present expedient. For I do not understand that the impediments in Scotland are at present such as to prevent the possibility of a diocese being ruled by its true pastors; and if for the time being this is difficult, until the queen takes a husband, yet that I hope will come to pass ere long, and then we must surely believe that Catholic bishops will have greater liberty to perform their duties. Your lordship should therefore wait for better times. Gather strength in the retirement you now enjoy, so that when restored to the Church, to which you are wedded, you may feed your flock by word, by example, and in every way, and encourage it in all good works. Such an example would also stimulate other pastors to do likewise. You may always count on having our Fathers united with you in the closest bond of charity, and some day I hope as fellow-labourers in the vineyard in Scotland, to the glory of God, etc.

[The last half of the letter, from the point marked *F*, has been cancelled and the following paragraph substituted.]

F The change of your state in life is certainly a matter of great importance and one that requires careful consideration. Without the leave of the Pope it cannot be done, and to obtain that leave reasons would have to be alleged which would fully justify the change. Your lordship should therefore write and explain the grave impediments you may have in exercising your episcopal function in Scotland, and state what you think you will be able to do to the greater glory of God if you enter the Society. I will then write back what I shall think best. Meanwhile I pray God's goodness to guide your lordship with the light of His wisdom. In every state of life you will always find our Society attached to you by the strongest bond of affection. Vale in Domino Jesu Christo.

Rome, 5 September 1564.]

No. 9, POLANCO to FATHER CANISIUS, PROVINCIAL OF AUSTRIA. ii. 185 b. *Rome, 23 September* 1564.

'Now that the queens[1] and members of the imperial court are 'absent, Doctor Edmund, the Scotsman, may be taken away with less 'difficulty, and sent towards France.' (*Il Dottor Emundo Scoto, con occasione del absentia dele Regine, et di quelli Signori del Ex. regimine, si potra tanto piu facilmente levare et mandare la volta di Francia.*)

No. 10, POLANCO to FATHER PONTIUS [PAUL DU PONT] at Paris. ii. 214. *Rome,* 15 *November* 1564.

'Doctor Edmund, the Scotsman, who is to have charge of our

[1] Five of the Emperor Ferdinand's eleven daughters resided at Innsbruck, and were great patrons of the Jesuit College there.—Ig. Agricola, S. J., *Historia Provinciae Societatis Jesu Germaniae Superioris*, Vienna, 1727, i. 67.

'college, is a man very discreet and learned, and of an admirable 'spirit. He is a native of France,[1] though born in Scotland, and 'knows, moreover, the French language.' (*Il Dottor Emundo Scoto che hauera cura del collegio nostro, et è persona molto discretta, et dotta et di bonissimo spirito, et nativo di Francia, benche nato in Scotia, et sa anche la lingua francese.*)

No. 11, POLANCO to FATHER HAY. ii. 218. *Rome*, 16 *November* 1564.

Molto Reverendo in Christo Padre. Pax Christi.

L'ultime lettere de V.R. sono de Augusta del primo d'Ottobre et anche havevamo altre de 27 de Agosto et 9 de Settiembre fatte in Ispruch et per lettere del Rettore de Moguntia sappiamo che V.R. era passato per Spira, Dio nostro Signor gli habbia datto bon viaggio insin' a Pariggi, et la anco gli dia suo spirito et gratia per far bene l'officio che l'obbedienza santa li ha imposto de Rettore del Collegio nostro, et non mancaremo di dar aiuto con le orazioni et speriamo nella bonta divina, che con satisfactione et spiritual frutto delli nostri et anco de' i forestieri esercitara V.R. questo ministerio. Credo che il P Comissario o havera aspettata sua venuta in Pariggi, o havera lasciato ordine qual conveneva, et con lettere anche se intendera V. Reverenza con lui, et alle volte scriva a Roma avisando di qual che conviene. Io li scrivero Italiano per darli occasione di non se smenticar della lingua. Se pur non li sara facile rispondere nella medesima lingua, risponda nella Latina. Arrivo a Roma M^ro^ Giacomo, et è un suggetto molto bono et sta sano, et si rifresca questo anno nella philosophia et udira di nuovo li libri d'anima et metaphisica, che non l'haveva udito, perche secondo il suo bon ingenio et eruditione con fundarsi cosi, et udir dipoi un poco di Theologia sara atto a leggere l'uno et l'altro; et per il desiderio de lui medesimo et col parere delli altri Scosesi questo anno si formara nelli studii che ho detto. Valtero nostro sappiamo che arrivo in Augusta et speriamo che in Ingolstadio o Dilinga se trovara bene et si potra aggiutare nella dottrina et nel resto. Quel giovene Inglese è stato meglio havia preso la via de Pariggi, che de Roma. M^ro^ Roberto Scoto secondo le nove che havemo de lor arrivata a Vienna gia crediamo stara in Prussia. Haveva bon animo d'imparar presto la lingua et quando si apresse qualche porta[2] in Scotia non sara troppo distretto; et ben speriamo che un di si aprira, poiche Iddio Nostro Signore va preparando la gente et forse in Pariggi per vestra Reverenza si aumentera questa nuova Provincia, poiche credo li sarano assai scolari in Pariggi. Di quel altro gia suo servitore in seculo che si formo in Ispruch desideriamo faccia cosi lor

[1] At the marriage of Mary and Francis letters *de grande naturalisation* were accorded to the Scots.—Teulet, *Relations*, i. 312, 315.

[2] An allusion to 1 Cor. xvi. 9.

progresso come ha' dato il principio. D'altre cose appartenenti al Collegio d'Ispruch non dico per questa altro poiche non accade. N. Padre Preposito et tutti ci raccomandano molto nelle orazioni et sacrificii de V.R. et di tutto il suo Collegio.

[Your last letters were from Vienna, dated the 1st of October, and we also had others of the 27th August and 9th of September, written in Innsbruck, and we hear from the Rector of Mayence that your reverence had passed Spiers. May God our Lord have given you a prosperous journey as far as Paris, and there too may He give you His spirit and grace to do well the duty that holy obedience has imposed upon you, viz., to be Rector of our College. We shall not fail to help you with our prayers, and we hope in the Divine Goodness that you will exercise your ministry to the satisfaction and spiritual profit alike of ours and of externs. I think that the Father Commissary will either have waited for you in Paris or have left suitable orders. Your reverence will correspond with him also by letter, and from time to time will write to Rome, and send such news as seems convenient. I shall write to you in Italian to give you an opportunity of keeping up the language. If, however, you find a difficulty in answering in the same tongue, do so in Latin. Master James [Tyrie] has arrived in Rome. He is a very promising subject, and keeps in good health. This year he is repeating his philosophy, and he will attend the lectures on [Aristotle's] *De Anima* again and on the *Metaphysica*, which he has not yet heard. For he is so talented and well informed that with this grounding, after hearing a little theology, he will be able to lecture on both books. It is his own desire that he should spend this year in forming himself in the studies I have mentioned, and the other Scots approve. We hear that our Walter arrived in Vienna and we hope that he will find Ingoldstadt or Dillingen suit him, and be able to make progress in his studies and the like. It would have been better had that young Englishman gone to Paris instead of to Rome. To judge by the news we had of their arrival at Vienna, we suppose that Master Robert Scott [Abercromby] will be in Prussia by this. He was very zealous about learning the language immediately, and if a door[n] were opened in Scotland, he will not be too occupied [to go]. And surely we hope that one day it will be opened, seeing that God our Lord is preparing the men. Perhaps through your reverence being in Paris this new [Scottish] province will be increased, as we think there will be many Scottish students in Paris. With regard to the former serving man, whom you had when you were in the world, and who is now being educated at Innsbruck, we hope that his progress will correspond with his commencement. I have nothing more to say now about the College of Innsbruck. Our Father General and all of us commend ourselves earnestly to the prayers and sacrifices of your reverence, and of all your College.]

No. 12, POLANCO to MANARE and Others at Paris. ii. 221 to 229.

Rome, 21 *November* 1564.

Official letters making Father Hay rector.

'We trust that day after day he will satisfy you better [and better] 'as to the excellence of his spirit. He will soon be master of the 'French language as far as it is requisite. Do not doubt but that he 'is a fitter man for the post than the other whom you expected.' (*Speriamo dara alla giornata più sodisfattione del suo buon spirito, et presto si fara patrone della lingua Francese a sufficientia, et non dubiti V.R. che serà piu al proposito che l'altro che aspettava per tal officio*).

1565 No. 13, POLANCO to CANISIUS in Austria. ii. 249 b.

Rome, 9 *February* 1564-5.

'We will write to Father D. Edmund the Scot, to ask if he thinks well that his brother should go there' [*i.e.* to Paris].

No. 14, POLANCO to the RECTOR at Louvain. ii. 256.

Rome, 19 *February* 1564-5.

We are glad to hear of Maestro Stefano, whom the Pope sent not as legate, but messenger, with certain despatches. We shall see how he behaves in Paris. Here he was reputed *poco quieto*. We wish he could make some spiritual exercises there.

The Scots Carmelite may be helped in all that appertains to God's service, but do not mention entrance into the Society. We should not take him even with the Pope's dispensation.

No. 15, HAY to POLANCO. vii. 142. *Paris*, 11 *June* 1565.

College matters. Walter might recover his health here. Troubles in Paris. 'We dare not fish freely yet. A certain person of im- 'portance, a singular good friend of ours, has often warned us not to 'go on too fast. In this matter we are exposed to many calumnies. My fellow Scotsmen here will almost all have to be made Catholics, 'before we can see whether they will embrace Christ's counsels. 'Would that we made more progress in helping them! No news yet 'from the Bishop of Dunblane.' (*Nondum audemus libere piscari. Nam quidam vir magnus, et nobis unice amicus, ne nimis acceleraremus saepe admonuit in hoc negotio quod multorum calumniis pateret. Scoti mei plerique omnes qui hic commorantur, tales sunt ut cum illis primum laborandum videatur, ut sint catholici, deinde videndum an velint Christi consilia amplecti. Utinam in illis juvandis majores progressus faceremus.*) [Two paragraphs from this letter have been printed above, p. 191.]

No. 16, POLANCO to HAY. ii. 300 b. *Rome*, 20 *August* 1565.

Gives him leave to read prohibited books *ad oppugnandum*. 'I 'must also inform you that our good Bishop of Dunblane has been

'heard with pleasure by the Pope, who has promised him to do all 'that he has requested, and [to be favourable] to all the objects for 'which he came. He has also promised the application of certain 'prebends for a college [? of the Society in Scotland]. Now he is 'soliciting their expedition.' (*Li do anche auiso che il nostro bon Vescovo Duplanense, è stato molto volentieri udito del Papa, et gli ha promesso di far tutto quello che ha dimandato, et per* [sic] *tutto quello che era venuto* [sic], *et l'applicatione di certe prebende per un collegio. Adesso va sollicitando l'espeditione.*)

Your brother Walter is going to Paris. Father William [Crichton], his companion, will probably be rector of a college in Aquitaine until 'a door is opened' in Scotland.

[On the 14th of the same month, the writer had asked Father Oliver Manare to tell Father Hay that the bishop had brought Father Hay's letters, and begun his business.]

No. 17, POLANCO to the FRENCH PROVINCIAL. iii. 3.

Rome, 10 *September* 1565.

'The bearer of this will be Father William Crichton, the Scot. He 'is to be rector of the college of Rodez, unless your reverence thinks 'well to give him charge of another. He is an excellent subject, 'both virtuous, learned, and prudent.' (*Il portatore di questa sarà il P. Guglielmo Creitton Scozzese, il quale se bisognara fosse Rettore del Collegio di Rodez, si non parera à V.S darli cura di un altro: è un bonissimo sogetto di virtù, dottrina et prudenza.*)

No. 18, HAY to BORGIA. vii. 51 b. *Paris*, 26 *September* 1565.

In Scotia omnia tendunt ad arma. Nam spurius ille reginae frater, Hamiltonius, pater illius juvenis (de quo sentio ut antea scripsi) qui Romae detentus fuerat,[1] et aliquot alii comites declarati sunt hostes regiae majestatis, contra quos Rex exercitum parat. Regina Angliae rebellibus illis opem feret, ut impleat peccata sua semper, Rex Scotorum omnes illos in libertatem restituit quos pro sua libidine spurius ille, dum penes illum esset summa rerum, ante regno ejecerat aut incluserat carceri. Inter hos primus est frater natu maximus nostri Magistri Jacobi Gordonii, cui restituentur omnia quaecunque patri erant adempta, modo eam operam Regi praestet quam debebit et poterit. Hoc poterit V.R., si ita videatur in Domino, magistro Jacobo indicare ut pro fratre oret. Rogo V.R. per Christum Dūm et Salvatorem nostrum, ut negotium Scoticum omnium orationibus piis

[1] It seems natural to connect the Hamilton detained in Rome some time before September 1565 with John Hamilton, *vir nobilis*, who received a complimentary letter in July 1565 to take back to Scotland, *ante*, No. 52. If this be so, then the genealogical details here given would show that this John was the Commendator of Arbroath, afterwards created first Marquis of Hamilton.

desideriis et sanctis sacrificiis commendandum curet. Agitur nunc de summa rei. Nam si vicerit Rex omnis de religione controversia tolletur, sin adversarii, quod absit, fuerint superiores, ut minimum dicam, multa bona impedientur et multa differentur. De his enim rebus praeter Societatis consuetudinem scribo, non alia ratione quam ut per V.R. omnibus commendentur.

[In Scotland all tends to war. The queen's bastard brother, Hamilton (the father of that young man who was detained in Rome, my opinion of whom I have already written[a]), with some other earls, have been declared enemies of their Majesties. The king is preparing an army against them. The Queen of England will aid the rebels, so that she may ever fill [the measure of her] sins. The King of the Scots has restored to liberty all those whom the bastard, whilst he was in power, had driven into exile or shut up in prison as he liked. First amongst these is the eldest brother of our Master James [Gordon]. All that had been taken from his father will be restored to him, if only he serves the king as he should and can. This your reverence might communicate to Master James, if it seems good to you in the Lord, so that he may pray for his brother.

I entreat you by Christ our Lord and Saviour to commend the affairs of Scotland to the prayers, the pious aspirations, and holy sacrifices of all. The crisis is now going on. If the king conquers, the controversy about religion will wholly cease. If our adversaries gain the upper hand (*quod absit*), to say the least, much good will be prevented, and much postponed. Of these things I write, though such is not our Society's custom, for no other reason than to get your reverence to commend them to [the prayers of] all.]

No. 19, BORGIA to MANARE. iii. 19. *Rome*, 1 *October* 1565.

Il Portatore di questa è il R^mo^ Vescovo Dublanense il quale ha fatto cio che si poteva fare, nella sua missione, con il effetto che lui dira, et a tutti noi ha molto consolato et edificato la sua presenza. Mostra che haveria charo che il P^re^ Emondo Hayo andassi con esso in Scotia. Pur questo negocio è degno di consideratione, et essendo tanto utile la presenza di esso in Pariggi con haver adesso poca la speranza del frutto che ci tirassi à rimoverlo di là, et in questo V. R. et il P^re^ Emondo istesso scrivano ciò che sentono.

[The bearer of this is the Most Reverend Bishop of Dunblane, who has done everything in his power here for the success of his mission, of which success he will give you the particulars. His stay here has been a source of consolation and edification to all of us, and he seems to wish to take Father Edmund Hay back to Scotland with him. Such a matter, however, will need consideration, especially as that father's presence is so useful in Paris, and the hopes of advantage to be gained by removing him are so small. Your reverence and Father Edmund will report to me what you think on this subject.]

No. 20, POLANCO to SIMON BELLOST.[1] iii. 39.

Rome, 13 November 1565.

'As to the return of the Scots to the bosom of the Church, we 'thank God for having opened wide the door, and we daily hope for 'better things. When the state of affairs shall call for it, the Society 'will not refuse such little help as she can give to that kingdom.' (*Quod attinet ad Scotorum reditum ad ecclesiae gremium gratias agimus Deo, quod Is ostium amplum aperuit, et in dies meliora speramus, et cum rerum dispositio id postulabit, non denegabit Societas suam operam qualemcunque illi regno.*)

No. 21, POLANCO to RECTOR of Louvain. iii. 39.

Rome, 13 November 1565.

. . . Salutations to Father de Gouda. 'In regard to what is written 'about sending some [of our people] to Scotland, affairs are not yet 'sufficiently matured. The Bishop of Dunblane, while passing, 'may be able to give you information.' (*Di quello che si scrive di mandar alcuni in Scotia, pare non sia la cosa tanto matura, il R^mo Vesc^o Dublanense come andarà di la ci potrà avisare.*)

No. 22, POLANCO to CRICHTON. iii. 42 b. *Rome, 26 November* 1565.

Has received his letters of 17 September and 14 October. The good news from Scotland, which we have received from the English here, moves some to ask for you and Father Edmund Hay to be sent to Scotland. For that the time does not seem ripe 'until arms have 'done their work, although they have already done much, having 'defeated the heretical rebels. . . . Our Father General has ordered 'each priest of the Society to say seven Masses, and the others to say 'prayers for seven days, for the good success of that prince and 'kingdom' (*insin a tanto che le arme faccino l'officio suo, benchè assai hanno fatto fin à hauendo rotti li heretici ribelle . . . N. Pre. ha ordinato 7 messe ad ogni sacerdote della compugnia, et che 7 giorni gl' altri faccino oratione per il buon successo di quel Principe et Regno*).

No. 23, POLANCO to HAY. iii. 43. *Rome, 26 November* 1565.

Quanto alle cose di Scotia, V. R. ci da consolatione con gli auisi che di quelle ci manda, et facci conto che si hanno à mostrarsi à persone grande, et forse anche al Papa quel che scrivera di momento, però conviene siano di buono originale, perchè quà anche di altre bande si hanno auisi di quel Regno, come ultimamente è venuta nuova di esser pigliato prigione il Duca Amiltonio, et gli altri ribelli messi in fuga con li subsidii Anglici. Dio N. S^re aiuti più

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[1] An English Jesuit at Louvain, formerly of Merton College, Oxford. See Foley, *Records of English Province S.J.* VII. ii. 1419.

a la giornata le cose di quel Regno, a la quale N. P^re^ dà il soccorso di messe et orationi, che V. R. intendera dal P^re^ Provinciale.

[As for the affairs of Scotland, your reverence sends us consoling news. Remember that what you write on important matters is shown to persons of position, perhaps even to the Pope. It is therefore only fitting that the news should be derived from good sources, because news of that kingdom comes from other quarters also. For instance, just lately tidings came that the Duke of Hamilton had been taken prisoner, and the other rebels, with the English auxiliaries, put to flight. May God daily help the affairs of that kingdom, to which our Father [General] has given the succour of Masses and prayers, as your reverence will be informed by Father Provincial.]

No. 24, POLANCO to MANARE. iii. 48. *Rome*, 10 *December* 1565.

'For the present there is no intention of removing Father 'Edmund, the Scot, from Paris, although day by day we hear better 'news from this country.'

1566 No. 25, HAY to POLANCO. vii. 2 b. *Paris*, 9 *January* 1565-6.

Nunc quod ad res Scoticas attinet, sunt illae eo ferme statu quem in literis illis descripsi, quas Lugduno, ut intellexi, Magister Guilielmus ad vos misit. Pro certo accepimus Reginam gravidam esse, quae res adversariorum animos vehementer deiecit, Hamiltonii praesertim, qui ad successionem aspirabat, et fratris illius spurii, qui hoc ipsum cogitabat. Miror istic relatum fuisse Hamiltonium captum fuisse. Nos hic audivimus mortuum postquam in Angliam venisset, sed nec illud verum fuit. Dabo operam ne quid ad vos scribatur de rebus Scoticis quod non sit certum. Fertur hic Reginam velle sub ferias paschales omnes Catholicos viros qui vel hic vel in Flandria degunt, in Scotiam revocare; quae res nos bene sperare iubet. Hactenus tamen nihil in religione est mutatum, nisi quod populus iam, nullo prohibente, domi vel in sacello Reginae, quum ipsa adest, Sacrum audit. Et talis videtur status brevi futurus, in quo licebit volentibus bene facere. De nobis nihil dicam, nam eam missionem, si qua futura est, ex tam pura obedientia proficisci cupio, ut ea puritas possit nobis in malis, quae nos illic expectant, magnam consolationem adferre. Quod igitur ad me attinet, etsi hic parum sim utilis, perlubenter hic maneo, sicut et alio, quum sanctae obedientiae fuerit visum, migrabo libenter. In patriam meam, ut verum fatear, minus quam forte deceret sum propensus. Puto quod praesentiat haec caro quales eam illic maneant deliciae.[1] Verum quidquid sit Domini voluntas, fiat, et nomen Ipsius in nobis omni modo glorificetur.

R̃mus Dumblanensis, hic detentus per hanc hyemem nostrum Collegium sua praesentia ornare voluit, et optimo exemplo aedificare,

[1] Cf. Acts xx. 23.

praesertim convictores apud quos vivit. Spero illum in vere creato novo pontifici congratulaturum, eique Regis et Reginae nostrae obedientiam exhibiturum, ad hoc enim videtur hic detentus.

5 id. Januarii 1566.

[Now for Scottish affairs. They remain much in the state in which I described them in those letters which Father William [Crichton], as I understand, sent on to you from Lyons. We hear for certain that the queen is with child, a thing which has much dispirited our adversaries, especially Hamilton, who aspired to the throne, and her bastard brother, who had the same desire. I wonder at your being told that Hamilton was a prisoner. Here we heard that he had died, after his arrival in England, but neither was that true. I will take pains that nothing is written to you about Scottish affairs but what is certain. Here it is said that the queen desires to recall to Scotland at Easter time all the Catholics who are living either here or in Flanders. This excites us to great hopes, but hitherto no change has been made in religion, except that the people now hear Mass in their homes, or in the queen's chapel when she is present, without hindrance. In a short while the state of things will be such, it seems, that those who wish to do well will be allowed to do so. Of myself I shall say nothing. If that mission should ever hereafter be sent out, I should desire to go in it out of obedience so pure, that, in the trials which there await us, that purity may bring us great consolation. Wherefore, as for myself, albeit I am not of much use here, yet I remain here most gladly, just as I shall gladly go elsewhere when it shall seem good to holy obedience. To tell the truth I am perhaps less inclined to my country than may be fitting. I fancy that this body of mine has a foretaste of the delights that there await it.[a] However, may the Lord's will be done, whatever it may be, and may His Name be every way glorified in us!

The reverend Bishop of Dunblane, who is detained here this winter, has given us the honour of his presence at our college, and edified by his excellent example the boarders with whom he is living. I hope that in the spring, when a new Pope shall have been created, he will go to congratulate him and offer him the obedience of our king and queen, for he seems to be kept here for that purpose.]

No. 26, HAY to POLANCO. vii. 4. *Paris*, 12 *February* 1565-6.

[Contemporary extract headed: 'Ex litteris D. Edmundi Scoti, Rectoris collegii nostri Parisiensis, pridie idus Februarii 1566.']

De Scotia nostra nihil nobis renunciatum est post 27 Decembris. Tunc scripsit confessarius reginae[1] fuisse ab ipsa injunctum quibus-

[1] This was the Dominican friar, Roche Mamerot. See the note at the end of this Appendix.

dam Catholicis viris doctis ut publice concionarentur et docerent plebem fidem Catholicam. Sunt quatuor ad hoc delecti. De successu negotii ubi intellexerimus latius scribemus.

[No news has come about my country, Scotland, since the 27th of December. The confessor of the queen[n] then wrote to say that she had ordered certain Catholic men of learning to preach in public and to teach the Catholic faith to the people. Four have been selected to do this. When we shall learn the success of this undertaking we will write more fully.]

No. 27, POLANCO to CRICHTON. iii. 64. *Rome, 4 February* 1565-6.

'I must inform you that the Scotsman akin to Father Edmund Hay, 'who came to Rome from Louvain this autumn, has entered the Society. 'We have kept him in the German college. He seems to be a good 'lad.' (*Li faccio intendere che è entrato nella compagnia quel scocese della famiglia del P^re^ Emundo Hayo, che di Lovanio venne a Roma questo autunno, et lo havemo tenuto nel Collegio Germanico, et pare bon giovane.*)

No. 28, POLANCO to HAY. iii. 68. *Rome,* 18 *February* 1565-6.

Haveremo caro intendere le nuove del Regno di Scotia, che V. R. sapra, facendo conto che si hanno a mostrare à persone di qualità et forse al Papa istesso, il qual disse à chi li referiva la restitutione della messa in Scotia che si rallegrava piu di quella nova che del Papato; non gli la havemo pur data noi, ma non so che altro, che per via di Fiandra l'haveva hauuta. Se il R^mo^ Dublanense verrà à congratularsi con sua Santità, et dargli la obedientia de suoi Principi, tutti ci consolaremo in domino con sua vista, et se tuttavia sta in Pariggi, V. R. li dara nostri humilimi raccomandationi, poichè ha dato Iddio N. S^re^ tanto prospero successo al Re et Regina contra li inimici suoi, desidera mostrino la gratitudine che se conviene, mostrandosi caldi nel negocio de la religione catholica, altrimenti è cosa molto facile che il medesimo Signor, che li ha dato tanti buoni successi, li volti in contrarii, quod absit, etc.

[We should be glad to hear the news of the kingdom of Scotland which your reverence may know. Take into consideration that it will have to be shown to persons of position, perhaps to the Pope himself. He told the messenger that announced the restoration of the Mass in Scotland that he was more pleased with that news than with his election to the Papacy. It was not we who told it him, but some others, who had heard it through Flanders. If the Bishop of Dunblane comes to congratulate his Holiness and offer him the obedience of his sovereigns, we shall all be consoled in the Lord at his visit. If he is still in Paris, your reverence will give him our humble respects and say to him that, as God has given the king and queen so much success against their enemies, so He [must] desire that they should display

fitting gratitude by showing themselves zealous in the affair of the Catholic religion. Otherwise it may easily happen that the same Lord, who has given them such good success, may take an opposite course with them. *Quod absit.*]

[Parts of this letter were sent with a few verbal changes to Father Crichton on the same day.]

No. 29, CRICHTON to BORGIA. vii. 119. *Lyons*, 1 *April* 1566.

[1] Tre giorni sono che arrivo a questa citta il Reverendissimo Vescovo de Dunblane mandato dalla Regina et Re di Scotia a congratulare all'elettione de S. Santita et far la ubedientia solita di questi principi a lei et alla Sedia Apostolica. Resta qui, parte per cagione una, per prepararsi al suo officio costa, parte espettando alcuni della sua gente ch'hanno mancato per il camino, non potendo indurar a currere la posta. Io n'ho dato a S. Sig^{a} R^{ma} una camera nel nostro Collegio doue mangia con grandissimo suo contento. Altrimente bisognava che n'havesse andato alla hosteria ogni giorno a trovarlo, il che non era conveniente, o che S. Sig^{a} havesse venuto a me ogni giorno, il che non era decente. Dice ogni giorno messa nella nostra capella. La Regina ha datali commissione de far l'Ambasciata cosi honorevolmente che poteva et ha scritta al suo Thesaurario in Franza de provederli quanti denari volesse a questo effetto, [2] ma venendo alla corte a trovar il Cardinale de Lorena, superstante del detto Thesaurario, senti nuova miserabile nella corte, cio e ch'il Re di Scotia sia confederato colli heretici, et loro lo coroneranno Re del Regno, et ch'il Signore Jacomo, Bastardo del Re Jacomo, piae memoriae, sia fatto la seconda persona del Regno, mancando gli heredi del detto Re, et perche la santissima Regina non ha voluta consentire a questa impieta, la hanno messa in prigione. Queste nuove non paiano essere vere per molti cagioni. Prima per il luogho, per che vengono della corte d'Inghilterra, donde nascono piu nuove vane che vere, 2a. che il Signore Iacomo sia la seconda persona del Regno, 3a. la indignita della cosa stessa, et ultimo perche il Padre et la Madre del Re sono molto Catholici. [3] Per queste nuove il Cardinale de Lorena è tanto rifredato che non vole che il detto vescovo faccia l'ambasciata publica et solenne, ma che venghi privatamente, et cosi non li vole furnire le spese come desidera la Regina, ma pur il vescovo vedendo la cosa essere a gloria de Dio et honore della Regina e Regno, e risoluto de farla con quanta possia magnificentia, benche habbia de ruinare se stesso, come e de gia per gli negotii publici de quel Regno molto indebitato; et a grande pena ne riesciera a molti anni; per che tanto e il bon zelo suo, che ne espetta, ne vole demandar altra ricompensa delle spese et fatighe suoe, che quella de Dio ognipotente in quella eternita. [4] V. R. faria grandissimo bene et, come penso, cosa grata al Signore, se lo raccomandasse al R^{mo} Reomano, o quello Cardinale ch'ha governo, che sia logiato in S. Pietro, perche la poca liberalita del Cardinale di Lorena, volendo sparegniare la douariere

della Regina in Francia, et la liberalita del detto vescovo oltra le suoi forze, li portera grande pregiuditio, se Iddio non gli provegga, ma tanto lo veggho gittato nel Signore, che per certo credo che non li manchera. Ho dato ordine a un Francese costa, chiamato Domenico, che sta col Sig^e^ la Voippiere Francese sollicitatore, che gli affitti un palazzo et gli furnisca d'ogni cosa, et provedi di cuochi spenditori. V. R. de charita facci adiutar' il detto Domenico col suo consiglio nelle premesse. E col vescovo M^ro^ Stefano, Scoto, chi venne nel mezzo de febraio fuora di Scotia, mandato al vescovo con questa ambasciata. [5] Et alhora il stato della religione era cotale che il Re veniva alla messa quasi ogni giorno, la Regina ordino alcuni predicatori de predichare nella sua capella dove concorsero tutti gli Catholici de sentirli, et anche continnorono, ma uno di loro e stato ferito caminando de notte, et altri hanno poco patientia de sentir et patir le biasteme delli heretici. La Regina vorebbe esser servita de predicatori et a grande pena li trova. Gli vescovi dicono messa ne alcuni loro monasterii senza persecutioni, ma per tutto anche predichono gli heretici, pero la buona volonta della Regina non manchi che non siano scacciati; ma molti sono anchora heretici in authorita, chi intertengono la Regina, et gli Catholici sono de vita licentiosa et pero freddi. Gli sbanditti Hugonotti chi erano in Ingliterra morirono di fame la, et cosi nascostamente sono ritornati in Scotia, et robbonno in quelle bande lontane della corte verso Hybernia. Iddio adiuti la povera Regina et la consoli, come merita bene. Assai di Scotia afflitta . . .

[[1] Three days ago the very reverend Bishop of Dunblane arrived in this city, sent by the Queen and King of Scotland to congratulate his Holiness on his election, and to make the accustomed profession of obedience usual for such princes to him and to the Apostolic See. He remains here, partly to prepare himself to discharge his office there, partly because he awaits some of his people who fell out on the way, as he could not get them to ride post. I have given his lordship a room in our college, where he also has his meals, to his great content. Otherwise I should have had to go to the inn every day to see him, which would not have been fitting, or his lordship would have had to come to me every day, which was not becoming. He says Mass daily in our chapel. The queen has commissioned him to discharge the embassy as honourably as he could, and has written to her treasurer in France to provide him with whatever money he wishes for this purpose. [2] But when he came to court, he found that the Cardinal of Lorraine, who is in authority over the said treasurer, had heard sad news from the [Scottish] court: that is, that the king is leagued with the heretics, who will crown him king of the realm, and that the Lord James, bastard of King James of pious memory, is made the second person of the kingdom, failing the heirs of the said king, that the holy queen would not consent to this impiety,

and that they therefore imprisoned her. This news does not appear to be true for various reasons. First, because of the place [of origin], for it comes from the English court, whence start more false reports than true; secondly, [the idea] that the Lord James should be the second person in the realm; thirdly, the baseness of the thing itself, and lastly, because the father and mother of the king are very good Catholics. [3] The most reverend Cardinal of Lorraine was so chilled by this news that he does not want the said bishop to make the embassy with public solemnity, but to go privately. He therefore will not pay the expenses as the queen desired. Still the bishop, seeing the matter to be for God's glory and the honour of the queen and the kingdom, is resolved to discharge it with all the magnificence he can, even though he have to ruin himself. In fact he is already deeply in debt on account of the negotiations for Scotland he has discharged, and he will hardly pay them all off even in the course of several years. He is so good and zealous that he will neither look nor ask for any other recompense for his expenses and labours than God Almighty in life eternal. [4] Your reverence would do a very good work, and as I think one pleasing to our Lord, if you would recommend him to Cardinal Reomano, or to the cardinal in charge, in order that he might be lodged in St. Peter's. For the scant liberality of the Cardinal of Lorraine, who wants to economise the queen's dowry in France, and the liberality of the said bishop, in excess of his means, will do him great harm, if God does not provide. But I see him so confident in God that I am sure our Lord will not fail him. I have given orders to a Frenchman in Rome called Domenique, who lives with M. la Voippière, the French solicitor, to hire for him a palace and furnish him with everything, and provide him with cooks, stewards, etc. Do you in charity aid with your counsel the said Domenique in arranging the above-mentioned points. With the bishop is Master Stephen [Wilson], a Scotsman who left Scotland in the middle of February, when he was sent to the bishop with this commission. [5] Then the state of religion was such that the king went to Mass almost every day, the queen had ordered certain preachers to preach in her chapel, whither all the Catholics flocked to hear them, and there also they stayed. But one of them was wounded as he was walking at night, and others cannot patiently listen to or endure the blasphemies of the heretics. The queen wants to have preachers, but only finds them with great difficulty. The bishops say Mass in some of their monasteries without suffering for it, but the heretics preach throughout the country, though the queen's praiseworthy wish to remove them continues: still many of those in power are heretics, and they bear the queen in hand. The Catholics lead licentious lives, and are therefore cold. The exiled Huguenots, who were in England, were dying of hunger there, and so they have returned secretly to Scotland, and are plundering a district far

from the court and nearer to Ireland. May God help the poor queen and comfort her as she well deserves. But enough of afflicted Scotland. . . . Lyons, 1 April 1566.]

No. 30, HAY to POLANCO. vii. 22b. *Paris, 29 April* 1566.

He hears that the Jesuit colleges have a good reputation even in England and Scotland.

No. 31, HAY to BORGIA. vii. 67. *Paris,* [? 15] *May* 1566.

Res Scoticae quo statu sint iam puto ex R^mo^ Dumblanénsi intellexistis. Unum iam dicam quod suam Sanctitatem, ut opinor, multum animabit erga regnum Scotiae. Postremum hoc facinus, quod homines illi sicarii designarunt, adeo non fregit animum reginae, multo ut magis quam prius animata sit. Populum vero tam permovit, ut omnes uno ore istud evangelium execrentur, quod tales nobis fructus pariat. Pro certo nobis renunciatum est ab iis qui ipsi viderunt, ultra novem hominum millia publice in sacello reginae (quanquam ipsa non adesset) in hoc festo Paschae communicasse: multo vero plures in aliis regni partibus; ut facile sit inde colligere quam parvo negotio, populus ille totus ad officium retrahi posset et ad gremium ecclesiae, si bona Regina aliquo externo auxilio adiuta, posset paucos tyrannos in ordinem redigere. Parisiis 18 [*sic*] Calendas Junii.

[I think that you will already know, from the Bishop of Dunblane, in what state the affairs of Scotland are. I will now mention one thing which will, as I believe, much increase his Holiness' good-will towards that country. This last crime, which those assassins plotted, so far from breaking the queen's spirit, has had the result of stimulating her more than before, and it has so stirred the people that all unanimously execrate a Gospel which brings us forth fruits like these. We are told for certain by those who have seen them that over nine thousand persons publicly communicated this Easter in the queen's chapel, though she was not present, and many more did so in other parts of the kingdom. Hence one may easily gather with what little trouble this whole people might be recalled to its duty and to the bosom of the Church, if only the good queen, assisted by some external aid, could reduce a few tyrants to order. Paris, [? 15] May 1566.]

No. 32, POLANCO to HAY. iii. 121. *Rome, 27 May* 1566.

Benche N. P^e^ scrive à V. R. hoggi per mano del R^mo^ Vescovo Dublanense, in questa che va per la posta ordinaria li daro auuiso, perchè conviene li metta in ordine per andar in Scotia, insieme col Vescovo del Mondevi, nuncio Apostolico, molto antico et vero amico et devoto della compania nostra. Non mancharo pur di dar aviso à V. R. che quantunque nelle cose publice, o sian quelle che ha di trattare il R^mo^ Nuncio, hor altre, possa V. R. darli li ricordi che li

parerano espedienti, tuttauia [1] debbia procedere con desterità, et quanto si potra copertamente, in questo genere di cose che non sono proprie di nostra compagnia, et più presto, quando si intendesino per quelli della corte potrano essere odiose; in modo che non si lasci di far ogni bon officio per aiuto del Regno, ma queste cose quando a V. R. accorresino, lo potra trattar per mezo del medesimo nunzio, o di che li parera, o, se accadessi parlar all' istessa Regina di cose appartenenti al stato o governo, sia in tal modo che altri non li intendano. Li officii pero che sono proprii di nostra vocatione, et si potranno far publicamente speriamo siano per dar molto bona edificatione. Presto andara con l'aiuto d'Iddio il D. Thomas d'Aruisibo,[2] che adesso sta in Dilinga, in Parigi per accompagnarsi con V. R., et col R^mo^ Nuncio. Dio N. S^re^ si serva molto dell' opera de tutti doi.

[Although our Father General is writing to you to-day by the most reverend Bishop of Dunblane, by this letter, which goes by the ordinary post, I give you notice that it behoves you to prepare to go to Scotland in company with the Bishop of Mondovi, the apostolic nuncio, an old, true, and devoted friend of our Society. I must not, however, omit to instruct your reverence that, albeit in public matters (whether they be those which the nuncio has to treat or others) you may give him such counsels as shall seem to you expedient, nevertheless . . . you must proceed with tact, and as far as possible covertly in matters of this sort which are not proper to our Society, and still more so when you understand from persons at court that they may be taken amiss. But when these things befall you, you can treat them by means of the nuncio himself, or any one you think convenient; or, if you should have to speak to the queen on matters pertaining to state and to government, let it be in such a way that others do not know of it. As for the offices which are proper to our vocation and can be done publicly, we hope that they will give very much edification.

With the help of God, Doctor Thomas d'Arvisibo [Darbishire],[n] who is at present at Dillingen, will soon be in Paris to accompany your reverence and the nuncio. May God our Lord make much use of the labours of both of you.]

No. 33, MANARE to BORGIA. vii. 30. *Paris, 26 June* 1566.

Molto Reverendo in Christo Padre. Pax Christi.

Con l'arrivata di Mons^r^ Dunblanense si sono ricevute lettere di

[1] One word is illegible here.

[2] Dr. Thomas Darbishire, the nephew of Bishop Bonner, was a fellow of Pembroke College, Oxford. He was Dean of St. Paul's in Mary's reign, but after Elizabeth's accession became a Jesuit, and had a long career of usefulness, chiefly in France, dying in 1606 at the age of eighty-six.—Foley, *Records of the English Province S.J.*, iii. 703; vii. 194, etc.

V.R.P. delli 27 del passato, alle quali in parte incontinente diedi risposta per la commodita del corriero, il quale era per partire quando arrivo sua Sig^ia^ Reverendissima. Ci significava lei in quelle che l'ordine era di S. Santita ch'il nostro Rettore co'l Nuntio Apostolico se n'andasse in Scotia. A che fare per gratia di Dio egli et noi tutti siamo inchinatissimi, come e il debito nostro. Impero perche gia in Scotia si sa che Sua Santita e risoluta di mandare agiuto a quella benedetta Regina, come scrissi, si ritrova grandissimo pericolo nell' esseguire, non solamente della vita di quelli che v'anderanno (a quali pure sara molte dolce, non dubito, tanto gloriosamente patire) ma di maggiore conspiratione contra la Regina, si ben giudichano quelli che sono in queste bande. Impero quello che a inspirato a Sua Santita di fare tale provisione, inspirera anchora al Nuntio a pigliare il tempo et mezi opportuni et convenienti. Me parso pure representare a V. R. P. quello che qui se ne giudichava. Egli e ben vero che Monsignore Dunblanense et alcuni altri dapoi che l'hanno inteso sono d'opinione che quel Regno non havera mai pace senza molto sangue sparso, et che il sangue di Catholici debbe far' il camino. Pregaremo Sua Divina Maesta indirizzi ogni cosa secondo la santa intentione di sua Beatitudine et captivaremo l'intelletto nostro sotto il giuditio di S. Santita et di V.R.P. Dico pure un altra parola, cum sim pulvis et cinis, che la Regina di Scotia a gran bisogno di conseglio et per consequentia di persone gravi, prudenti et timorose di Dio appreso di se, del Regno pero piu tosto che forastieri, et massime mandato da quello sieggio che piu odiano che Sathanaso. Impero pare che torneria a gran servitio di Dio che S. Santita ordenasse al Archivescovo Glascoviense, personaggio di grande integrita, prudentia e authorita, il quale sta per Ambasciatore in questa Corte che se ne ritornasse in Scotia, et per tal effetto, et il medessimo all' altri vescovi, eshortasse similmente alcuni principali signori Catholici di quel Regno a portarsi virilmente et con grande fiducia in Dio et alla Religione Catholica et sua Regina. Et con il detto Arcivescovo potria pure andare il nostro Rettore con altri o secolari o della nostra istessa Compagnia, per essergli a consiliis come suoi domestici fin a tanto ch'il Signore Iddio havera aperta maggiore porta. Questo e il parere di questo meschino, il quale tanto vale quanto vorra V. R. P. che vaglia . . .

[With Monsignor the Bishop of Dunblane there arrived letters of your reverence of the 27th of last month. In part I answered them immediately, in order to catch the courier, who was about to start when the bishop arrived. You signified to us in these letters that it was his Holiness' order that our rector should go to Scotland with the apostolic nuncio. To do which thing, by the grace of God, he and we are most ready, as our duty is. Nevertheless, as it is already known in Scotland, as I wrote, that his Holiness is resolved to send help to that good queen (*benedetta Regina*) very great danger will attend

the mission, danger not only to the lives of the envoys (to whom I do not doubt it would be most sweet to suffer so gloriously), but also risk of further conspiracies against the queen, if men of that country judge aright. Doubtless, He who inspired his Holiness to make such a plan, will inspire the nuncio also to choose the moment and the means that shall be found fit and opportune; but still I thought it good to represent to your reverend paternity what men thought here. It is true that the Bishop of Dunblane and others, since they have heard this said, are of opinion that that kingdom will never have any peace without much shedding of blood, and that the blood of Catholics must flow first. We will pray His Divine Majesty to direct everything according to the Pope's intentions, and submit our intellect to the judgment of his Holiness and your reverence. Still I say one word more, *cum sim pulvis et cinis*,—that the Queen of Scotland has great want of advice, and consequently of grave, prudent and God-fearing men about her, men of the country rather than foreigners, especially those sent by that see which they hate more than Lucifer. It therefore seems that it would greatly contribute to the service of God, that his Holiness should command the most reverend Archbishop of Glasgow, a person of great integrity, prudence, and authority, who resides here as ambassador at this court, to return to Scotland for this purpose. He should likewise exhort the other bishops in a similar tone, as also some other principal Catholic lords of that kingdom, to bear themselves manfully and trustfully towards God, the Catholic religion and their queen. With the archbishop our rector and others, either seculars or priests, of our own Society, might go as members of his household to aid him with good counsel until the Lord shall have 'opened a greater door.' So much for the opinion of your humble servant. *Valeat quantum.*]

No. 34, HAY to BORGIA. vii. 33. *Paris, 2 July* 1566.

Decreveram prolixiores ad V. R. P. litteras dare quas postea mittam. Nunc has volui summa licet temporis angustia pressus mittere, ex quibus intelligeret Illustrissimam Scotiae Reginam die 18 Junii sub horam octavam matutinam foeliciter per divinam gratiam enixam esse filium. Sciat praeterea V. R. P. res illic ita jam esse in pace ut tamen timendum sit ne denuo moliantur inimici Christi aliquid aut jam sint moliti interim quod illa decumberet. Eget illa bona regina eorum omnium auxilio, qui orationibus et sanctis sacrificiis aliquid possunt. De Nuncio qui in Scotiam mittatur quod scribam non habeo nisi me vereri ne desperatio nescio qua et imbecillitas eorum, qui deberent in hoc negotio primi esse, efficiat ut tam magnum et tam opportunum subsidium summi Pontificis negotio, cui destinatur, parvam adferat utilitatem. Datur opera ut pecunia veniat in manus nescio quorum, et nuncius vel in his regionibus haereat vel Romam redeat. Nihil adhuc certi est, existimo R̃mum Dublanensem, cum usus feret, de hac re scripturum. Non video mihi timendum, ne citius quam

vellem in Scotiam mihi sit proficiscendum. Deus omnia bene vertat ad gloriam nominis sui, et det bonis perseverantiam et lumen suae sapientiae, quo videant et intelligant rationem tam gravis flagelli, quo tanta severitate judicii divini vapulat hodie populus christianus, et tanto gravius, quanto se minus caedi intelligit.

Venient brevi ad vos tres Scoti, nam Magistro Thomae, de quo jam ante scripsimus, alii duo postea sese socios adjunxerunt nihilo minus quam ille est ad societatem nostram apti. Spes est etiam de aliis. Commendamus nos, etc. Lutetiae Parisiorum. 6 Nonas Julii 1566.

[I have settled to write to your paternity at some length by a later post. Now, I want to send you these despite the great pressure for time, in order that you may hear that her Majesty the Queen of Scotland, on the 18th [19th] of June, at about eight in the morning, happily gave birth to a son. Your reverence must also know that peace now reigns there, though accompanied by the fear lest the enemies of Christ make some new plot, or have already conspired while she was in confinement. That good queen needs the assistance of all who can pray and offer the holy sacrifice.

I have nothing to say about the project for sending a nuncio to Scotland, except that I dread lest a certain desperation and imbecility on the part of those, who ought to be the foremost in this business, should cause this great and opportune subsidy of the Supreme Pontiff to be of little avail for the object intended. Pains are being taken that the money should come into the hands of certain persons, while the nuncio is kept here or returns to Rome. Nothing is yet known for certain. I believe that the reverend Bishop of Dunblane will write on the subject, as usage shall sanction. I do not see that I need fear being sent to Scotland sooner than I should like. May God turn all happily to the glory of His Name, and give to the good perseverance and the light of His wisdom, that they may see and understand the reason for the heavy scourge with which Christian peoples are smitten nowadays with such severity of divine judgment, and all the more severity the less they advert to their chastisement.

Three Scots will come to you soon, for two others have since joined that Master Thomas,[1] about whom I have already written. They are no less well fitted for our Society than he. There is also hope for others. We commend ourselves, etc. Paris, 2 July 1566.]

No. 35, MANARE to BORGIA. vii. 42. *Paris, 3 August* 1566.

Dr. Thomas of England has arrived with Master James of Valentia and 'il fratello Waltero Hayo.' The nuncio ought to pay Doctor

[1] Thomas Seaton entered the Jesuit novitiate at Rome, 22 September 1566. But neither his name nor the names of his companions appear in any subsequent list of Jesuits that I have seen. See *infra*, Nos. 39 and 54.

Thomas's journey money, and we ought not to be burdened with Fratel Walter's, as he has come here for his health's sake.

No. 36, MANARE to BORGIA. vii. 45. *Paris*, 11 *September* 1566.

(A description of the Fathers who were to make their religious professions.)

Forse sara molto buona cagione di insieme fare professi il D. Edmondo Hayo et il D. Thomaso Inglese perche loro debbono andar in paese molto difficile et piu che l'India et sono gia molto ben prouati et conosciuti per persone literate et molto perfette. Il D. Edmondo come io ne sono certissimo, da che sta qui, ha rifiutato piu volte un vescovato in suo paese, oltre l' altre belle pruove, c' ha fatte, et vanno come al martyrio.

[Perhaps this would be a very good occasion to make Doctor Edmund Hay and Doctor Thomas, the Englishman, professed. They have to go into a very difficult country, more so than the Indies, and they are already very well tried and known as literary persons and men of great perfection. Doctor Edmund, as I know absolutely for certain, since he has been stationed here has refused a bishopric in his own country several times, besides other excellent proofs [of virtue], which he has given. Moreover they go as it were to martyrdom.]

No. 37, MANARE to BORGIA. vii. 55. *Paris*, 12 *October* 1566.

. . . Se Mons^r. Dumblanen. si partira questo mese come si spera per Scotia, potra cavarsene la voglia,[1] pigliando sue camere fra li convittori, perche per ogni modo penso che pocho ui restera, per l'occupatione che egli ha, et facilmente muta proposito, secondo l'occasione et bisogno. Parla anche d'andar a Roma la prima vera prossima per divotione et basciare li piedi al nostro santo pontifice, ma mi dubito, che lui et tutti noi non habbiamo de cantare le lamentatione di Hyeremia per quello che si vede pian piano tramarsi.

[If Monsignor of Dunblane leaves this month for Scotland, as is expected, we could get what we want[n] by taking his rooms [and distributing them] among the 'convictors.' For I am altogether of opinion that his stay there will be short, both because of the occupation in which he is engaged, and because he easily changes his mind with the occasion and the need. He also talks of going to Rome in the early spring of next year for devotion's sake and to kiss the feet of the Holy Father, but I am in fear that he and all of us may have to sing the lamentations of Jeremiah over that which we see being gradually contrived [*lit.* woven]].

No. 38, HAY to BORGIA. vii. 56. *Paris*, 21 *October* 1566.

In his expectation of departure he has noted nothing to write about.

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[1] I did not notice any statement of this want in those parts of the correspondence which I have inspected.

The success of the rebels in Flanders seems to have taken all heart out of the Catholic leaders. He does not understand the cipher Father Polanco sent him in the summer.

No. 39, MANARE to BORGIA. vii. 59 b. *Paris, 4 November* 1566.

There has been a consultation between the Cardinal of Lorraine and Bishops of Mondovi, Glasgow, and Dunblane. Father Hay is to start with the Bishop of Dunblane in two or three days to prepare the way for the nuncio. 'I would gladly have kept him back till the 'nuncio's departure, but seeing that the decision had been arrived at 'by so many estimable and distinguished persons, and had been 'already communicated to the Pope, I let myself be ruled by the 'providence of God after having shown such few reasons as I had to 'make them doubt a little about that mission.' (*L'havrei molto volontieri ritenuto fin à l'andata del Nuncio, ma vedendo la risoluxione esserci fatta fra tanti Signori da bene et essersene già scritto à S. Beat. mi son lasciato governare dalla providenza d'Iddio, dapoi d'havere mostrato quelle poche raggione c'haveva, per farli alquanto dubitare di questa missione.*)

'We are very glad to hear of the arrival of Master Thomas the Scot, 'and we wish him true health. We have heard what became of his 'companions by the letters of Master William Crichton. I hope that 'Master Thomas will have good health, for we wish every perfection 'to him as well as to our other French [subjects there].' (*Ci rallegriamo molto in Dno. dell' arrivata del m^o Thomaso Scoto et gli desideriamo la vera sanita. De suoi compagni habbiamo inteso la riuscita per le lettere de M^re Guillielmo Creyton. Lo spero che valerà M^re Thomaso perche a lui come alli nostri altri Francesi desideriamo ogni perfettione.*)

From Paris on the 4th of November 1566.

P.S.—'Doctor Edmund Hay will start to-morrow with the help of 'God our Lord.'

No. 40, HAY to BORGIA. *Paris, 6 November* 1566.

He requests prayers for the happy issue of his mission. 'It is proper that I should here mention the results of that severe attack of illness which the Queen of Scotland experienced last month, in order that the charity of well-disposed people may be induced to pray to God for her. The papal nuncio is compelled to linger in France, for the queen cannot devise any way of receiving him with the respect that is due to himself, to the Papal See, and to her own dignity, without occasioning very great tumults. This is supposed to have been the cause which threw her Majesty into that state of mind which produced the dangerous illness that attacked her about the eighteenth of October, when she was in a town on the borders called Jedburgh. So severely was she handled by it that every one thought she would die. The pain in her side was very sharp, and was accompanied by frequent vomiting of blood. She several times lost consciousness, so that she did not speak for three or four hours.

'There is one matter, however, on which I cannot be silent, nor indeed ought I. It leads us to praise that grace of God which wrought thus effectually in the soul of this young queen, who (notwithstanding her youth and the many dangers by which she has been not only surrounded but almost overwhelmed) ceased not to exhibit an heroic constancy in her adherence to the Catholic faith and religion. I cannot but think that it will afford your reverence very great pleasure.

'When she had recovered her senses after one of these dangerous attacks of unconsciousness and had become herself again, as soon as she could speak she summoned all her nobles (many, or rather most, of whom were heretics) together with Monsieur du Croc, the ambassador of the King of France, and requested that they would come to her in her bedchamber. When she saw that they were there present, she in the first place addressed the French ambassador and made him promise upon his oath that he would faithfully repeat to his master, the king, and as soon as he possibly could, everything that she was now about to say to him. Then she protested that it was her wish to die in the faith and religion in which she had been born and baptized, and which her predecessors the Kings of Scotland had practised with such great devotion for such a length of time, namely for thirteen hundred and sixty-four years. She assured them that she frankly admitted that she had been neglectful not only in the government of the realm, but also and chiefly in promoting the Catholic religion, and therefore she asked God that of His mercy He would pardon her offences in this respect, and would show her some way in which Catholic interests could be put into better order for the future.

'Having said this she turned her eyes upon the Earl of Murray who happened to be present at the time along with the others, and spoke to him with grave earnestness, chiding him because he, driven onwards by the blindness of error and the evil advice of some knaves, not only had invested superstition with the name of religion, but had gone beyond all the chiefs of that faction in cruelly persecuting the Catholic faith. He alone was almost the only cause why it could scarce find a resting place within that kingdom. Let him take care, therefore, no longer to kick against the pricks, for it might perhaps happen that God would avenge the cause of His own Church. Next she exhorted all the nobles of her realm to forget their former treachery, their mutual quarrels and wrongs, and for the future to cultivate true religion, and kindliness and justice towards each other.

'Having spoken to this effect, the queen, who thought herself at the point of death, now addressed herself in prayer to God. This she did with such great devotion, and in words which so well expressed her piety that they who stood near her were filled with admiration.

'Probably your reverence will inquire where the king was all this

time. I am not wiser than he who frankly owned that he did not understand the way of a young man in his youth. All that I know is that he was absent and was busy, at that time, in another part of the kingdom with matters of no great consequence.

'On the Feast of All Saints [1 November] the messenger who had been sent by the French ambassador arrived to announce the queen's illness, and the news which he brought deeply pained the hearts of all the good. Yesterday a second messenger reached us who brought tidings of a very different character, which filled us with joy. He says that the queen has passed the danger, and has now recovered. May God grant that she may lay to heart this fatherly correction, and that it may lead her to carry out with greater diligence the work which hitherto she has only begun, which all men hope and earnestly desire. Should any further intelligence reach me, I will take care that your reverence shall hear of it without delay.'

[The original of this letter was not in its proper place in *Epistolae Galliae* when I examined that series. I have copied the translation in Stevenson, *Claude Nau's Memoirs of Mary Queen of Scots*, 1883, p. cxlii.]

No. 41, MANARE to BORGIA. vii. 73. *Paris*, 29 *November* 1566.
Has heard from Father Hay twice, but not yet of their embarkation. They meant to take ship at Dieppe on the 21st. The ship they had settled to go in went off without them, which was lucky, as the captain and crew were cruel heretics.

No. 42, MANARE to BORGIA. vii. 74 b. *Paris*, 6 *December* 1566.
No news from Father Hay and the Bishop of Dunblane since they left Rouen, but they ought to be in Scotland by this, as the wind has been favourable for the last fortnight.

No. 43, MANARE to BORGIA. vii. 76. *Paris*, 11 *December* 1566.
News that Father Hay embarked on the 3rd at 4 P.M. As the weather has been favourable, they should have reached Scotland in five days.

No. 44, MANARE to BORGIA. vii. 84. *Paris*, 28 *December* 1566.
Disquieting reports of Scotiand.

1567 No. 45, POLANCO to CRICHTON. iii. b. 13. *Rome*, 10 *April* 1567.
Send us some certain news about Father Hay and Scotland. The death of the king is here held as certain, but details are variously reported.

No. 46, POLANCO to HAY. iii. b. 15 b. *Rome*, 28 *April* 1567.
Si è ricevuta quella di V. R. di 26, del passato et ci rallegramo in Domino sia tornato con sanita, benche si rincresce assai che non

siano le cose di quel Regno in quel stato che tutti desideriamo per il servicio divino et ben di quelli, et non mancharemo di preghar la divina bonta metta sua mano, et provedda alli bisogni di quelle anime Catholiche che li tiene, et reduca anche altri che stanno fora, al gremio di Sua Santa Chiesa, et volontieri vederemo il ragualio delle cose che a V. R. sono accadute, per poter etiam mostrar parte di quelle, si accadera, a S. Santita, massime se non credessi che glie habbia scritto il R^mo^ Vescovo di Mondevi, al quale dara V. R. le humili raccommandazioni de parte de N. Padre et gli altri conosciuti, et il simile, quando verra a proposito, al R^mo^ Vescovo di Ceneda. Di Roma 22 di Aprile 1567.

[Your reverence's letter of the 26th of the past month has been received, and we rejoice *in Domino* that you should have returned in good health, although we are grieved indeed that the affairs of the kingdom are not in that state which we all desire for God's service and its own good. We will not fail to pray God in His goodness to put out His hand and provide for the needs of those poor Catholics, whom He still preserves there, and also to bring back to the bosom of His holy Church others who are outside it. We shall have great pleasure in reading the account of the things that happened to your reverence, and also to be able to show parts of them, if necessary, to his Holiness, especially if I thought the reverend Bishop of Mondovi had not written to Rome. Your reverence will give him the humble respects both of our Father General and of his other acquaintances here, and the like when opportunity offers to the reverend Bishop of Ceneda.]

No. 47, POLANCO to CRICHTON. iii. b. 117. *Rome*, 12 *May* 1567.

Perhaps the good news of Flanders may help the affairs of Scotland and England. 'We should be glad if there were any verification of 'the news received a few days ago, of the concession of the Mass and 'Catholic services, and of freedom of conscience for all except the 'Calvinists.'

No. 48, POLANCO to CRICHTON. iii. b. 27. *Rome*, 2 *June* 1567.

Il maestro Iacomo [Tyrie] shall be my living letter to congratulate you on the good news from England. May it prosper Scotland too, especially as Lord James has gone away.

No. 49, POLANCO to CRICHTON. iii. b. 33. *Rome*, 9 *June* 1567.

The old Scot you recommended has come. He seems a good man, but to have fixed ideas. Master James [Tyrie] will be with you soon. He is to be a professor in Paris.

No. 50, POLANCO to MANARE. iii. b. 29. *Rome*, 9 *June* 1567.

Father Hay promised a fuller relation, but we have heard nothing of him from Paris since his of 26 March.

No. 51, POLANCO to ROBERT ABERCROMBY. iii. b. 41 b.

Rome, 14 *July* 1567.

(Brunsperga. P. Roberto Scoto, Ministro.)

Perlatae sunt Romam R. V. literae, quas pro ratione officii sui et consultoris scribebat, nec responsum illae exigunt in hac parte, sed occasionem ego accepi salutandi R. V. et dicendi quod non sumus immemores Scotiae, nec orationibus et sacrificiis nostris nec in aliis officiis si quae fieri utiliter apud Summum Pontificem a nobis possunt. Forte iam intellexit R. V. quod nuncius a Summo Pontifice ad Reginam missus, Parisios pervenit, et quia res erant in Scotia perturbatae, premisit P. Edmondum Hayum, a Summo Pontifice eidem adiunctum comitem, qui cum in Scotiam navigasset et cum Regina et aliis egisset, et statum rerum dispexisset, rediit Parisios, et cum de omnibus Summus Pontifex esset admonitus, legatio fuit revocata, quamvis prudentia et fidelitas P. Edmondi valde probaretur. Non defuisset etiam subsidium pecuniarum (quod iam coeptum erat Reginae dari) sed defuit talis rerum facies ut legatio et auxilia pontificia bene collocari nunc posse viderentur. Alia quae postea successerunt non dubito nota fore R. V. Eget sane provincia illa fidelium suffragio in sacrificiis et orationibus. Nos interim commendamus plurimum R. V. non solum Scotiam sed et nos omnes. Quibus gratiam suam et dona spiritualia conservet et augeat divina bonitas. Romae, 14 Julii 1567.

[(To Father Robert, the Scot, the Father Minister at Braunsberg.)

The letters have reached Rome, which your reverence wrote in your capacities of Father Minister and Consultor, and in that respect need no answer. But I take the opportunity of greeting you and saying that we have not forgotten Scotland, either in our prayers or sacrifices, nor in such other offices as we can profitably perform with the Pope. You will perhaps have heard that a nuncio was sent to the queen from the Pontiff, that he reached Paris, and as the affairs of Scotland were in a state of confusion, that he sent on in advance Father Edmund Hay, who by the Pope's orders was to be his companion. When Father Hay had reached Scotland, treated with the queen and others, and studied the state of affairs, he returned to Paris, and when the Pope had been informed of all, the mission was recalled, though Father Edmund's prudence and trustworthiness were approved by all. An aid of money was also forthcoming, and the first payment to the queen had been made, but there seemed to be no prospect of the Pope's mission or his aids leading to a good result at present. What happened afterwards is doubtless known to you. Truly that country needs the suffrages of the faithful, etc. Rome, 14 July 1567.]

No. 52, Extract from the ANNUAL LETTERS of PARIS for the year 1567. Defective, signed JOHANNES BOTERIUS. vii. 207.

Paris, 1 *May* 1568. 1568

(After describing the academical successes of the students.)

. . . R. P. Edmundus eorum moderator, superiore anno cum Episcopo Dumblanensi in Scotiam contendit, in qua magna modestiae exempla reliquit. . . [honores] ab amicis affinibusque ultro delatos, constantissime repudiavit; Catholicam religionem [iis l]ocis liberrime praedicavit; multa pro eadem adversus improborum calumnias prudenter . . . it. Ubique quis et unde esset, prae se tulit. Inter alios eius disciplinae Doctorem [exs]anguem reddidit, alterum nobilem sane virum Ecclesiae restituit, alium Catholicum quidem, sed cognata quadam muliere abutentem, ita prudenter monuit, ut mulierem ille domo statim excluserit. Dum rediret Londini, quae est Angliae Metropolis, multos viros matronasque adhortatus est et [conso]latus. Idem officium eius urbis Episcopo literis scribendis praestitit, nam in carcere ille detinetur.

[The reverend Father Edmund their rector travelled to Scotland last year with the Bishop of Dunblane. While there he gave an example of modesty, and refused with constancy the honours which his friends and kinsfolk offered him unasked. He preached the Catholic faith freely in that country, and [made] many wise [answers] to the calumnies of the wicked. He everywhere made known who he was and whence he came. Amongst those [whom he influenced], one was a doctor of that sect, whom he reduced [to powerlessness?]; another, a man of noble birth, whom he restored to the Church; another, who was indeed a Catholic, but who lived with a woman who was a relative, he admonished so prudently that he immediately shut her out of the house. At London, the capital of England, on his journey back, he animated and consoled many, both men and women. He did the same good office in writing letters for the bishop of that city [Bonner], who is detained in prison.]

No. 53, HAY to BORGIA. vii. b 2. *Paris*, 21 *January* 1568-9. 1569

Scriberem ad V. R. P. de rebus afflictissimi regni Scotiae, et de statu Reginae illius nisi Reverendissimus Dumblanensis, partim meis litteris, partim litteris aliorum tam bene sit instructus, ut V. R. P. multo melius de singulis edocere possit, quam nos epistolis nostris. Quapropter tantum V. R. P. orabo, ut pro solita sua in eam Reginam charitate, curet illius habendam memoriam in sacrificiis et orationibus Societatis: fieri etenim potest, ut illi peccatrici omnia in bonum aliquando cooperentur, et fiat postea magnorum operum effectrix, quae olim noluit sanis consiliis acquiescere.

[I should write to your paternity about the affairs of sore afflicted Scotland, and about the estate of its queen, were not the reverend Bishop of Dunblane so well informed by my letters and those of

others, that he is able to instruct you much better about all things than I can by letter. Wherefore I will only beg you, of your wonted charity towards that queen, to be sure that she is remembered in the sacrifices and prayers of the Society. It may be that some day all things may combine for the good of that sinner, and that she may hereafter become the doer of great deeds who formerly would not consent to sound counsel.]

B. MISCELLANEOUS.

No. 54

FATHERS PASCHASE BROET AND ALONSO SALMERON TO CARDINAL MARCELLO CERVINI (CALLED CARDINAL SANTA CROCE).

Vatican Library, cod 6210. fol. 84; autograph on paper with the watermark, a hand and star. As there are no letters in the Jesuit Archives relating to this, their first and only mission to Scotland before the time of de Gouda, this, the only original account of what they then did there, has been printed from the Vatican codex. Only those parts are here given which relate to Scotland. For a full account of the mission, see Father Edmund Hogan, *Ibernia Ignatiana* (Dublin, 1880), pp. 1-10. He will, I hope, edit ere long the body of this document, which relates to Ireland.

[*Edinburgh, 9 April* 1542]

ILL^ME ET R^ME DOMINE,—Quia putamus peregrinationem nostram usque in Scotiam jam notam et compertam fore D. V. R^mae per plures literas quas scripsimus ad patrem Ignatium Superiorem nostrum, ideo in hijs non multis agemus: ne eadem saepius repetita fastidium pariant. Hae ergo presentes continebunt brevem quandam et compendiariam rationem totius nostrae profectionis ac ministerij nobis crediti. In primis re mature pensata, relicta Diepa, conscendimus navim in Flandriae portu. Inde legimus Scotiam, ad quam pervenimus ultimo die anni iam elapsi, non sine gravibus laboribus et maris fastidijs, quia navigavimus in decembri, nec citra periculum personarum nostrarum; quia bis, ventis et fortuna cogentibus, opportuit descendere in portus Angliae, et morari ibidem ad decem vel duodecim dies. Et quanquam habitus et vestitus noster et ignorantia linguae Anglicanae aliquid suspectionis apud Anglos generaret, Christo tamen id praestante, evasimus et illorum oculos et manus. Lugduni convenimus R^um D. Cardinalem Scotiae unaque ei reddidimus breve, quod a Sanctissimo D^no nostro ad ipsum attulerimus. Consuluit nobis ne ulla ratione prosequeremur propositum iter ac negocium . . .

. . . Et quia multi probi et honesti viri Hibernici ita nos melius consulturos et vitae nostrae et honori Sedis Apostolicae consuluerunt et quia ita dictabant nobis conscientiae nostrae, quod citra spem fructus non objceremus nos probabili periculo mortis,

deliberavimus iterum caute et diligenter redire in Scotiam. Qui sane reditus non fuit citra admirationem et stuporem nonnullorum, qui nos prius deterruerant ab ingressu in Hiberniam; qui non crediderunt se amplius visuros nos usque in diem resurrectionis. Reversi ergo sumus brevi (Christo duce) incolumes, manemusque hic in Edinburgo civitate regia Scotiae. Post aliquot dies putamus visitare serenissimum Regem et Reginam, tam ut illis reddamus rationem de reditu nostro, tam etiam ut exploremus an aperiatur nobis hic ostium aliquod ad fructificandum. Quod si non succedat, navigabimus in Galliam et hic si maneamus vel Parisijs si non maneamus expectabimus preceptum R^mae V. D., ut intelligamus quidnam opporteat nos facere et quo pergere, et an redire Romam. Et si D. V. R^ma dignabitur aliquod responsum nobis reddere verbo vel in scriptis curabit dari vel referri patri Ignatio superiori nostro, qui dabit operam ut fideliter et diligenter ad manus nostras perveniat, ubicumque contigerit nos morari. Nichil praeterea occurrit quod scribamus, cum haec satis sint. Gloriosus et semper benedictus Deus Ill^mae et R^mae Dom^i Vestrae ubicunque hominum conservet et provehat ad Christi sui gloriam ampliandam, et in ecclesiae suae, quae tot insultibus et tempestatibus agitatur, stabilem inconcussamque columnam. Amen.

Ex Hedemburgo Scotiae oppido die resurrectionis domini.

E. D. V. Ill^mae et Rev^mae servi indigni

PASCHASIUS BROET.
ALPHONSUS SALMERON.

[*Addressed*] Ill^mo et R^mo domino Cardinali Santae Crucis, patrono nostro observandissimo. ROMAE.

[*Endorsed*] 1542. Scotia.

Circa li due preti mandati in Hibernia 9 d'aprile.

[MOST ILLUSTRIOUS AND REVEREND LORD,—As we believe that our pilgrimage, until our arrival in Scotland, is already well known to your reverend lordship through the many letters which we have written to Father Ignatius our Superior, therefore in these we shall not use many words lest the frequent repetition of the same thing engender fatigue. These presents will therefore contain a short and compendious account of the whole of our journey and of the mission entrusted to us. In the first place, after much consideration we left Dieppe, and embarked in a port of Flanders, whence we sailed to Scotland, which we reached on the last day of the past year, not without severe fatigues and a troublesome sea voyage, as we travelled in December. Nor without some danger to our persons, for wind and fortune twice constrained us to disembark in English harbours, and to remain there for ten or twelve days, and although our habit and clothing and our ignorance of the English tongue raised some suspicions in the English, yet Christ granted that we should

escape both their eyes and their hands. At Lyons we met the reverend Lord Cardinal of Scotland, and together we handed him the brief which we carried for him from his Holiness. His advice was that we should in no wise continue our proposed journey and undertaking . . .

[*They then relate their journey to Ireland and experiences there*] . . . And as many good honest Irishmen assured us, that we should best consult for our lives and the honour of the See Apostolic by returning, and as our consciences commanded us not to expose ourselves to the probable danger of death without hope of fruit, we resolved to go back again to Scotland with caution and despatch. Our return indeed caused wonder and astonishment to some, who had previously deterred us from entering Ireland, and who thought they would not see us again till the day of the resurrection.

With Christ as our leader then, we were soon back in safety, and we are now in Edinburgh, the royal city of Scotland. After a few days we intend to visit their Majesties the king and queen, both to explain to them the reason of our return, and also to see if there be any opening for us to work fruitfully here. If this does not succeed, we shall sail for France. If we remain, we shall await your command here: if we do not remain, we shall do so at Paris, in order that we may understand what we ought to do and where we should go, and whether we should return to Rome. If your reverend lordship will be so good as to return us some answer by word or by writing, be sure to give it or to tell it to Father Ignatius our Superior, who will take pains that it comes surely and expeditiously to our hands, wherever we may happen to be staying. Nothing further occurs to us to write, as this is sufficient. May the glorious and ever blessed God preserve your reverend lordship everywhere, etc., etc. . . . From Edinburgh, a town of Scotland, on the day of the Lord's Resurrection. Your eminence's unworthy servants, etc.,

PASCHASE BROUET.
ALONSO SALMERON.]

No. 55

THE 'RESPONSA' OF WILLIAM SETON. Chambery, *n.d.* [1562 to 1567].

Father Jerome Nadal was occupied at different times during the years 1562 to 1567 in making visitations of various Jesuit provinces. He used to propose a set of *Interrogationes* to the various persons whom he interviewed, and their *Responsa* are now among the *Carte Gesuitiche* of the *Archivio di Stato* at Rome. William Seton appears to have been the only Scot whose *responsa* are preserved (ii. 568). I do not meet his name again in any Jesuit list, so that it is probable that he died early or did not remain in their body. He may have been one of the companions of the Thomas Seaton mentioned in this Appendix, Nos. 34 and 39.

RESPONSA.

1. Vocor guilielmus Seton.

2. Novem decem annos natus, et in Scotia, in provincia Laudoniae.

3. Patrem, ut opinor, superstitem esse. Sororem unam uterinam, alteram ex patre meo tantum prognatam.

4. Fratres duos germanos, unum ex patre tantum meo genitum.

5. Annus fere postquam sum societatem ingressus, cuius partem unam Lugduni consumpseram, posteriorem vero Camberiaci, sed dimidium anni in provincia Saubodiae, tum examinatus.

6. Consuetam feci promissionem [distributionis bonorum] voluntate tantum.

7. Ad nullum ordinem sum promotus.

8. In Collegio Lugdunensi et Camberiaci [fui].

9. Nullas feci probationes praeter exercitia spiritualia et munera domestica.

10. Curam habui refectorii, aliquando Culinae, aliquando Sacristiae.

11. [An vota habeat?] Nondum adhuc ullis in rebus pertinentibus ad Societatem sive non.

12. Examinatus ter generaliter confessus, rationemque conscientiae reddidi.

13. In nulla facultate promotus.

14. Semper fere literis a quinto aetatis anno, grammaticae, logicae et retoricae, nonnihil etiam graecis literis in Scotia et Parisiis.

15. Nec in Societate nec extra Societatem publice docui.

[*Endorsed*] Chamberiaci.

[1. My name is William Seton.

2. I am nineteen years of age, and was born in Scotland in the county of Lothian.

3. My father is alive, I believe. I have one sister born of the same mother, one of the same father only.

4. I have two brothers german, only one of them born of my father.

5. It is about a year since I entered into the Society, part of which I passed at Lyons, and the latter part at Chambery, but I was half a year in the province of Savoy. I was then examined.

6. The accustomed promise [of distributing my goods] I have made in desire only.

7. I have not been promoted to any orders.

8. I have lived in the colleges of Lyons and Chambery.

9. I have gone through no trials except spiritual exercises and household services.

10. I have had charge at one time of the refectory, at another of the kitchen, at another of the sacristy.

11. [As to vows, I am bound] as yet by none, either in matters pertaining to the Society or in others.

12. I have been examined thrice. I have made a general confession and given an account of conscience.

13. I have not been promoted [to a degree] in any faculty.

14. I have always been occupied with study from my fifth year, that is with grammar, logic and rhetoric, and a little with Greek in Scotland and Paris.

15. Neither in the Society nor out of it, did I ever teach in public.

[*Endorsed*] Chambery.]

No. 56

PROCESSUS ECCLESIAE BRECHINENSIS.

Rome, 2 and 3 September 1565.

Vat. Arch., *Castel S. Angelo*, Arm. xi. caps. 4. No. 181. Original deed on Roman *carta palomba*.

The following depositions were made upon articles, which are no longer forthcoming, but it is easy to reconstruct them, at least in outline, and in order to facilitate the study of the document it may be useful to do so, *e.g.* :—

1. The deponent knew [? Patrick] Hepburn, late Bishop of Brechin, and knows John Sinclair, Dean of Restalrig.
2. He further deposes that Sinclair has been nominated to the see of Brechin.
3. That Sinclair is a suitable nominee.
4. That Brechin is a suffragan see to St. Andrews, and that the fruits of the see are in the hands of heretics.
5. That these fruits are not recoverable at present.

BRECHINEN. EPISCOPATUS.

Die 2da Septembris 1565.

EXTITIT[1] Romae in domo sue solite residentie regionis pontis de mandato Rmi Cardinalis Reomani Vice-protectoris Regni Scotie, R. Pater Dominus Guillelmus Cesolm episcopus Dumblanensis aetatis suae annorum 34 in circa, qui mediante[2] juramento tacto pectore,[3] etc., deposuit ut infra, videlicet.

Super primo articulo dixit articulum verum. In causa[4] scientiae, quia testis cognovit bone memorie Patritium[5] articulatum et scit esse mortuum ex publica voce et fama sunt anni septem uel octo,

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[1] In MS. *Ext.*

[2] I have read the abbreviation as *medj^{te}*, but I am not certain that the scribe did not mean to write simply *medio*.

[3] The approved custom among Roman canonists of modern days is for a bishop to touch his cross during his oath, a priest his breast, a non-priest the Holy Gospels. In cases of greater solemnity all touch the Gospels.—Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione*, under GIURAMENTO, p. 191.

[4] In MS. *ca*.

[5] It will be noticed that all four deponents give the deceased Bishop of Brechin the wrong name, calling him Patrick instead of John Hepburn. This makes it probable that the error originated in the articles, on which the depositions were taken. The slip is presumably to be accounted for by a confusion with the Bishop of Moray, whose name was Patrick Hepburn. He was then living in retirement and did not die till 1573, whereas John of Brechin died in August 1558.—Maziere Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, i. 137, 138; Keith, *Catalogue*, pp. 150, 165.

similiter cognovit et cognoscit articulatum Johannem Sinclar,[1] presbiterum S^ti^ Andreae diocesis a viginti annis tanquam amicus et familiaris, qui retinet decanatum articulatum. In causa scientiae quia vidit illum residere et facere officium decani et pro tali se gerere et ab omnibus in dicta ecclesia reputari.

Super 2^do^ dixit articulum esse verum, quia testis tulit literas Reginae Scotiae ad Sanctissimum et illas vidit, et ipsamet Regina expeditionem huiusmodi commendavit dicto testi, qui venit ad Urbem ad huiusmodi effectum et pro obtinenda dispensatione pro eadem serenissima regina.

Super 3^io^, testis dixit articulum esse verissimum visu, longo usu et certa experientia ac ex publica voce et fama, et ab Annis xviij citra in circa idem D. Johannes est presbiter et celebrare missas solitus ac concionari solitus est, et ex cognitione parentum illius idem testis scit illum esse nobilem ex utroque parentum. Vir [est] moribus et doctrina egregius et inter alios quasi inreprehensibilis, expugnator acerrimus heresium, de legitimo thoro natus.

Super 4^to^, dixit testis articulum verum, in causa scientiae, quia articulata per tempus articulatum vidit tanquam compatriota et de articulatis est in illis partibus publica vox et fama.

Super 5^to^, testis dixit artículata esse vera, quia venit ad Urbem inter cetera pro articulata expeditione, et scit fructus fuisse occupatos, ut supra, et credit deinceps non posse percipi,[2] quia huiusmodi fructus sunt occupati per Comitem Archadiae; ad quam summam ante fructus dicti episcopatus sint taxati in libris Cancellarie dixit nescire; bene scit episcopatum huiusmodi modicos habere fructus nempe Δ 600 vel 700 in circa,[3] etc.

Eadem die.

Exstitit Romae ubi supra, D. Andreas Graham clericus Sancti Andreae diocesis, aetatis suae annorum 30 in circa, qui mediante iuramento tacto etc. deposuit ut infra.

Super primo, Testis scit de visu ac publica voce et fama quod articulata ecclesia Brechinensis vacat jam sunt septem anni et cognovit bo^ae^ mem^ae^ Patritium Hempron ultimum dicte ecclesie episcopum; similiter cognoscit articulatum D. Johannem pres-

[1] John Sinclair was fourth son of Sir Oliver Sinclair of Roslin (Laing-Knox, i. 265 *n.*). Knox (*ibid.* i. 99, 235, 265; ii. 131, 141, 385) always treats him as a strong opponent and powerful speaker. His sojourn in France, alluded to below, began in July 1563, when he accompanied his brother Henry to Paris (*Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 77; Keith, ii. 344 *n.*) and ended about September 1564 (Labanoff, i. 227). From Knox's allusion to him in the summer of 1563 (ii. 385) he seems to have been in Scotland up till that time.

[2] In MS., *percipere.*

[3] For estimates of the value of the see of Brechin, see Maziere Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, i. 137; Keith, *History*, iii. 370.

biterum sancti Andreae doctorem et concionatorem et scit esse nobilem quia cognoscit illius parentes.

Super 2^do^, dixit articulum verum ex publica voce et fama in partibus Scotie et hic Romae specialiter de auditu a R. Domino Episcopo Dinublanensi [*sic*].

Super 3^tio^, iudicio testis idem D. Johannes est aetatis 46 annorum, parum plus vel minus, et pro doctore in utroque jure testis illum tenuit et ab alijs passim teneri vidit, et pro legitime nato ac concionatore egregio et presbitero solito celebrare a multis annis, viro nobili ac bonis vita et moribus imbuto et qui (ut publice fertur) fuit depauperatus ab hereticis.

Super 4^to^, dixit articulum verum de visu, auditu ac publica voce et fama a sex vel 7 Annis citra.

Super 5^to^, credit testis articulum verum subdens credere et pro certo tenere quod nisi Serenissima Regina interposuerit partes suas, idem Dominus Johannes non exiget fructus dicte ecclesie occupatos a magnatibus Regni specialiter a Comite Arcadie et prout testis audivit fructus dicte ecclesie non excedere septingentos ducatos Silen.[1]

Eadem die.

Extitit Ubi supra D. Thomas Levinstone magister in artibus, aetatis 25 Annorum clericus diocesis S^ti^ Andree, qui mediante juramento tacto etc. deposuit ut infra.

Super primo dixit scire ex publica voce et fama Ecclesiam Brechinen vacare jam septem annis elapsis per obitum bo^ae^ mem^ae^ patritij Hempron, similiter cognoscit articulatum Johannem Sinclar nominatum per serenissimam Reginam Scotie in episcopum dicte ecclesie Brechinensis, qui Johannes est decanus Ecclesie de Restalire prout testis vidit per plures annos, et scit dictum Johannem esse commendatum a dicta regina apud Sanctissimum per suas literas, et hoc testis audivit tam in Scotia quam hic Rome.

Super 2^do^, ut ad proximum.

Super 3^tio^, dixit d. Johannem articulatum esse aetatis annorum 46 vel circa et esse Juris Utriusque doctorem et verbi divini bonus concionator, in ordine presbiteratus iam a multis annis constitutus et nobilis ex nobili familia et legitime natus, moribus et doctrina clarus et propter hereses et sectarios semel coactus fuit aufugere in Galliam, sed postea Regina Scotie illum revocavit, et haec omnia testis scit partim de visu, partim de auditu ac publica voce et fama.

Super 4^to^, dixit scire a teneris annis ecclesiam Brechinen. esse

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[1] *Silen*, *siln*. This abbreviation recurs at the end of the last three sessions. I have not found any authoritative solution of it. Perhaps it stands for *silentium*, and signifies that silence was imposed on the deponent, *i.e.* silence until the nomination of the bishop was confirmed or rejected.

suffraganeam ecclesie sancti Andreae et a septem annis vel circa fructus dicte ecclesie Brechinensis fuerunt occupati a comite Archadie et hoc esse publicum et notorium in illis partibus.

Super 5^to^, testis existimat D. Johannem articulatum nunquam esse percepturum fructus articulatos, et si perceperit non hoc erit, nisi cum maxima difficultate, qui fructus, prout testis semper audivit, vix adscendunt ad ducatos septingentos Siln.

Die 3^a^ Septembris 1565.

Extitit Rome in officio mei notarii P. Guillelmus Cortoun[1] sacerdos in societate Hiesu, Dulredensis diocesis aetatis suae annorum 30 in circa qui mediante juramento tacto pectore deposuit ut infra.

Super primo, testis cognovit familiariter quondam Patritium Hempron et similiter cognoscit d. Johannem Sinclar decanum collegiate ecclesie de Restalire diocesis S^ti^ Andreae et hoc per multos annos.

Super 2^do^, dixit vidisse copias literarum articulatarum continentium prout articulatum, et idem testis habuit literas ab eadem Regina Scotie pro expeditione huiusmodi episcopatus in favorem predicti domini Johannis.

Super tertio, dixit judicio suo dictum D. Johannem esse aetatis judicio suo annorum 50 parum minus, et illum tenuit et ab aliis teneri vidit publice pro doctore Utriusque Juris, et qui concionabatur publice in ecclesia sua et pro doctore sive valde erudito in theologia reputatur ab omnibus, et pro presbitero passim tenetur ante multos annos, ex utroque parentum nobilis et de legitimo matrimonio natus, et doctrina ac moribus idoneus qui preficiatur ecclesie brechinensi, et quia protegit partes ecclesie catholice passus fuit multa et hodie patitur; et hoc scit testis de visu ac publica voce et fama.

Super 4^to^, dixit habere veram notitiam de ecclesia Brechinensi que est in Scotia suffraganea ecclesie S^ti^ Andreae, que vacat a septem annis et ultra, et hoc scit de visu ac publica voce et fama scit similiter fructus dicte ecclesie fuisse occupatos ab hereticis, sed an de presenti sint occupati nescit salvo quod credit esse occupatos.

Super 5^to^, credit testis dictum Johannem non recuperaturum fructus a sectariis occupatos, et hoc iudicio suo, quia a magnatibus occupati sunt et, si bene meminit, fructus dicti episcopatus Brechinensis non excedunt summam ducatorum 800 vel circa Silen.

[Autograph at foot of paper.]

Videtur expedienda Jo. Card. Reomanus vice-protector.

[Top of next page.]

Ego Jo. Michael Cardinalis Saracenus vidi et legi suprascriptos

[1] Guillelmus Cortoun must be a clerical slip for Jacobus Gordon, Dulredensis for Abredensis or Aberdonensis, and Restalire for Restalric.

testes et ex dictis et depositionibus eorum existimo ac Judico prenominatum Joannem Sinclar promovendum esse idoneum ad regendam ecclesiam brechinensem supra expressam, sed [cum] deest professio fidei, poterit S^tas^ sua ne amplius vacet dicta Ecclesia, prout per tot annos vacavit, et tot damna passa fuit, promovendo facere gratiam, prout aliis fecit, quod antequam adipiscatur possessionem episcopatus faciat professionem fidei in forma debita in Manibus sui Metropolitani seu alterius Episcopi Catholici vicinioris et illam transmittat postea ad Curiam.

Et ad fidem mea propria manu subscripsi.

[Autograph.]

Videtur expedienda[1] Jo. Cardinalis S^ti^ Vitalis.

[*Endorsed*] Scotiae, Processus Ecclesiae Brechinensis 1565.

No. 57

THE BISHOP OF DUNBLANE'S PETITION FOR FACULTIES. [*Probably* September 1565.]

There is one copy of this petition at Florence, Bibliotheca Marucelliana, C. 73, fol. 54 (a volume of Cardinal Moroni's papers), another at Rome, Barberini mss., xvi. 102, fol. 179. Both are originals, given, as we may presume, to different officials. The latter has been printed by A. Bellesheim, *History of the Catholic Church in Scotland* (1887), iii. 91. I have translated from the former.

There is nothing in the document to decide whether it belongs to the bishop's first mission in 1565, or to the second in 1566. Sinclair's death (9 April 1566) had indeed already occurred at the latter date, but would not have been known in Rome before Chisholm had left again. Nevertheless, the probabilities are in favour of the earlier date. Faculties, such as the following, would have been asked for as soon as possible, and from Pius's language on 25 September 1565 (see p. 225 [4], *ante*) we gather that he was then about to make a grant similar to that petitioned for in the first section below.

FACULTIES FOR THE KINGDOM OF SCOTLAND.

✠

THE faculties for the Reverend Father and Lord, William, Bishop of Dunblane, and John, Bishop of Brechin, are much needed in the Kingdom of Scotland, and should be obtained from our Lord the Pope for the relief of the whole of that kingdom and the salvation of infinite souls who are there perishing.

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[1] The nomination was expedited in the Consistory of the seventh of September following (Maziere Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, i. 138). John Sinclair, however, enjoyed his dignity but a short time, dying on the 9th of April 1566 (*Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 98). On the 21st of July following Mary and Darnley wrote to the Pope nominating Alexander Campbell to succeed him—*Privy Council Register*, xiv. 256.

[1] To absolve from homicide, heresy, simony, apostasy, sacrilege, irregularity, and other crimes of every nature, even those reserved to the Apostolic See.

[2] To dispense certain religious and mendicants of the orders of St. Francis, St. Dominic, St. Bernard, St. Augustine, and of other orders, that they may be applied to ecclesiastical benefices, to which care of souls is attached, with a dispensation for secular dress. Other Catholic ministers cannot be found.

[3] To grant indulgence to these and other religious persons to wear their habit under their other clothes until religion is restored, and to absolve such as threw off their habits in the time of the late persecution.

[4] To dispense in marriages contracted in the third and fourth prohibited degrees, when this was done in ignorance.

[5] To alienate the immoveable goods of ecclesiastical benefices by perpetual lease, under pension, tax, or yearly rent, not to exceed five ducats only. Also to confirm alienations already made.

[6] To delegate a prelate, or some other fit person constituted in ecclesiastical dignity, to make use of these faculties when they may be absent.

[7] These faculties are asked for a time only, until some legate of the Apostolic See be sent for a general reform of the whole Scottish Church, which is now all but extinct.

NOTE ON ROCHE MAMEROT, QUEEN MARY'S CONFESSOR

THE Dominican friar, Father Roche Mamerot, was Mary's confessor and preacher at the time of her downfall. A very important account of that event, derived from him, is extant, and, although it has been published more than once, the document is so nearly allied to others in this volume that the collection would hardly be complete without it. A translation of it has therefore been added, and a few notes about the man have been prefixed. It is not impossible that some further testimony of his concerning Mary may be extant, and that advertence to the events of his life may lead to its recognition.

I may here add that, when in Rome, I made inquiries at the head-quarters of the order to which Mamerot had belonged, whether there were any collections in the possession of the order in which further information about him might be found. The father archivist kindly undertook the search, and eventually showed me the manuscript memoirs of Father M. Texte, to which I shall refer again below. As to contemporary correspondence and documents, he told me that the order had none in its possession, and he doubted whether any such papers were extant. Even this need not, I think, make us despair. There are numerous codices in France, Italy, and elsewhere, which the various revolutions of the last century have transferred from the libraries

of the order to those of the State. A further study of these sources is still to be desired.

The chief authority for the life of Mamerot is the *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum. Inchoavit Jac. Quetif. absolvit Jac. Echard*, Paris, 1771, which supersedes the earlier and less precise works of Altamura (*Bibliotheca Dominicana*, 1677) and Possevino (*Apparatus Sacer*, 1608). Fr. Texte's *Recueil de diverses pièces, la plus part manuscrite, pour servir à l'histoire des confesseurs des Rois . . . et des Reynes de France*, is a manuscript collection (493 pp.) made at the close of the last century. The account of Mamerot is based upon Echard, whom he expands with additions from other printed books, but not from original manuscript sources. The close of Mamerot's life is more fully described in *Les Dominicains d'Auxerre*, by Father Marie Dominique Chapotin, Paris, 1892.

From the above sources it appears that Roche Mamerot was born at Auxerre in or about 1520, that he entered the Dominican convent there and was there professed. Coming to Paris for his studies, he took his doctor's degree (*la Sorbonique*) 14 February 1556-57. The authors above mentioned describe him as having become Mary's confessor during her reign in France, and as having gone to Scotland with her in June [*sic*] 1561, and having remained with her till her fall in 1567. But these assertions cannot be maintained against the contemporary statements of de Gouda and Guzman de Silva. The former affirms that her confessor left her in August 1562, and, as we have already seen, this confessor was Benoist not Mamerot (p. 125 *ante*, and note *ibid.*). De Silva mentions (see extract below) that Mamerot was at the Council of Trent, which was in session in 1562 and 1563.

It therefore seems more probable that he did not go to Scotland till the latter year, when, as we may suppose (see p. 160 *ante*), the Cardinal of Lorraine was desirous of sending to Mary such a man as this learned and zealous preacher. Texte alleges that he had as his companion in Scotland Frère Honoratus Michel Ferré, a father of the same order, about whom no particulars are preserved, save that he was professed at Chartres, and there died, 29 January 1604, aged seventy-three years. (Texte's authority is a note in the martyrology of that convent.)

In the pension list for Mary's household, dated 13 February 1566-67 (Teulet, *Relations*, ii. 271), the ecclesiastics of Mary's household are thus enumerated :—

Confesseur. A messire Roche Mamerot, docteur en théologie, v^{c}t.[1]
Chappelain. A messire Pierre Curry, ... vi^{xx}t.
Clerc de chappelle. A messire Robert Anthtelz, . . lxt.

In the pension list of 1561 (*ante*, p. 116, *n.* 4) the names of the ecclesiastics are omitted. Then, as in 1566, they were three in number. One of them is called 'clerk,' one 'chaplain,' while the third is described as 'aulmosnier' instead of 'confesseur.' Probably the two titles were

[1] v^{c}t = 500 livres (= £50); vi^{xx}t = 6 score livres (= £12).

treated as interchangeable, in later lists of Mary's household this is certainly the case (but see pp. 116 [6], 125 [21]). If so Mamerot was the 'Master Almosar' referred to on p. 328. He describes himself (*infra*) as '*Confessarius et Ecclesiastes*' of the queen. A letter from 'the queen's confessor,' dated 27 December 1565, is noticed by Father Hay (Appendix iii. 6, and perhaps another in Appendix iii. 31).

After vainly protesting against the Bothwell match, he left Mary's court *before* her downfall. Guzman de Silva states this distinctly, and his word must outweigh Echard's contrary statement. On his way home, presumably in London about the 21st of July, he was arrested at the desire of the Earl of Lennox, and examined to see if he was carrying letters to France. When it became clear that he had no such commission he was released. On the 25th he visited Guzman de Silva, and gave him his version of the proceedings in Scotland. De Silva next day sent to King Philip an account of the interview, which will be quoted below.

On his return to France Mamerot acquired some repute as a preacher, and was made prior of the convent at Verdun. In 1573 he published *Viginti conciones in Jonam Profetam, . . . et quinque in Dominicis Adventus* (pp. 250, 8vo). The dedication is addressed to Nicholas Pseaume, Bishop of Verdum. In the title Mamerot says that he has been confessor *Mariae Stuartae, uxoris castissimae ac prudentissimae Francisci Regis.*—Echard, p. 280.

About the same time he became Prior of Auxerre, and in 1579 restored the 'jubé' [rood-loft] of the convent church. The funds for this purpose were supplied by Queen Mary, as the following inscription in the church attests:

> FRATER ROCHUS MAMEROT, DOCTOR THEOLOGUS PARISIENSIS, CONFESSARIUS ET ECCLESIASTES ILL^MAE AC PIENT^AE D^NAE MARIAE SCOTORUM REGINAE, QUONDAM FRANCISCI REGIS, HUJ NOM^IS SECUNDI, UXORIS PRUDENTISSIMAE, HOC OPUS SUMPTIBUS DICTAE ILL^MAE REGINAE FIERI FECIT. A.D. M.DLXXIX.
>
> —Chapotin, *ut supra*, p. 215.

Eight years later he died in the same town of Auxerre, and the inscription on his grave states that his death took place on the 24th of February 1587, *aetatis suae* 67. Echard mentions a little book of his published in this same year, *Discours du P. Roche Mamerot . . . sur la Sainte confession* 1587, 8vo.

The Spanish text of Guzman de Silva's account of his report on Queen Mary's fall is printed in Fuensanta del Valle, etc., *Coleccion de documentos inéditos para la Historia de España*, tomo lxxxix. p. 518, from which I have translated, keeping before me Major Hume's version in the *Spanish Calendar*, p. 662.

From a deciphered letter of Guzman de Silva to his Majesty Philip II., dated in London, 26 July 1567. (Simancas, *Sec. de Estado*, leg. 819, fol. 28).

. . . It is four days since there arrived here the preacher and confessor of the Queen of Scotland. He is a French friar of the order of St. Dominic, called Roche Mameret [Mamerot], who was at the Council of Trent. He went to the lodging of a good Scottish Catholic, and the Earl of Lennox having been informed thereof procured his arrest. They did so, and examined him to see if he was carrying letters to France. But they let him go immediately, for they could not find out that he had any purpose except to return to France. He was with me yesterday. He seems a worthy person and a man of letters. He much lamented the occurrents in Scotland, the imprisonment of that queen, and still more the match which she had made with Baduel [Bothwell], seeing that he has a wife already,

The queen had indeed consulted two or three Catholic bishops on the matter before she married, and they gave it as their opinion that she could do so, because Bothwell's wife was related to him in the fourth degree. He, however, had told her that she could not and should not attempt it. He had also treated the matter with the said bishops.

He assured me that in what touched the faith the queen was not only Catholic, but very devout. He would affirm, upon his solemn oath, that until the overtures for the marriage with Bothwell began, he had never seen a woman of greater virtue, courage, and honesty. When, in his dissatisfaction with the match she had made, he asked the queen, before she was taken prisoner, for leave of absence in order to return to France, she assured him on her solemn oath that she had contracted it in order thereby to provide for religion in that kingdom and to set that affair in order.

He told me to hold it for certain that those who had banded against the queen were moved neither by zeal to avenge the king's death (for they were not his friends but on the contrary his enemies), nor by [abhorrence of] the match; for they had all been of opinion that she should marry him; and they had subscribed that opinion with their names, not excepting one of the leading nobles, whether ecclesiastic or lay, save the Earl of Murray. No, it was all about religion. They thought the queen was a Catholic, and might be able to establish religion there. Their animus had clearly appeared, for when they had the queen in their power, they had immediately destroyed and broken to pieces the altar-piece of the church where she heard Mass, and also that in her oratory. Some, however, had been moved by jealousy of Bothwell.

For this reason he feared much for the queen's life. If she died, the remnant of the Catholics there would, without fail, come to an end. Nearly all the nobles were heretics, and as for the common people, though the greater part was Catholic, they would be lost little by little. That would be a great misfortune, for in the church of Edinburgh only,

where the queen attends her services, the communicants last Lent, from the Purification to Quasimodo[1] Sunday, had numbered twelve thousand six hundred and six persons. He had had them all registered.) . . .

In Guzman de Silva's next printed despatch (2 August 1567) he relates that in order to induce the Earl of Murray to befriend Mary, he told him that [as regarded] 'the death of her husband, her confessor, who 'had passed by here, had said to me that she had not known it, nor 'understood thereof in any way.' Murray, in reply, told de Silva some news about the Casket Letters. The date of this interview must have been between 26 July and 31 July.—*Documentos Inéditos*, p. 524; *Spanish Calendar*, p. 665.

[1] The Introit for Low Sunday begins *Quasimodo geniti infantes* (1 Pet. ii. 2). In 1566 the communicants had been estimated by an eyewitness at over nine thousand.—Appendix iii. No. 31.

APPENDIX IV.

PETITIONS FOR THE VISITATION AND TAXATION OF THE SCOTTISH CLERGY, 1555, 1556.

[The following documents are printed from transcripts left by Father Joseph Stevenson, S.J. They escaped my notice until the previous documents had been printed off, through being mixed up with the voluminous correspondence of Cardinal Pole, which belonged to a period anterior to that covered by this volume. They are, however, intimately related with the briefs of October, 1557, which are numbered 1 and 2 in this collection. It will be noticed that several of the phrases in those briefs are taken directly from the petitions.]

No. 1

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS TO POPE PAUL IV.

Vatican Archives, *Litterae diversorum ad Paulum pp. iv.*, Arm. viii. Ord. ii., A. 33, fol. 174. An original, sealed with the royal arms of Scotland, written broadside. In the same volume, fol. 173, there is a second letter from Mary, of the same date as this, and written for the same purpose, that is as a 'credence' for the Cardinal of Lorraine. It is therefore omitted in this place, especially as the Barberini document, which here follows, appears to have been drawn up from the same minute, and reproduces textually the whole letter, to which, however, it adds an important clause. See note 2.

[*Villers-Cotterets, 2 October,* 1555]

TRESSAINCT PERE.—[1] Nous avons par cydeuant suplye et requis les sainctetez de feu bonnes memoyres Papes Julles second et Marcel, que leur bon plaisyr fut a nostre supplicacion priere et requeste nous accorder permission de leuer par forme d'octroy et don gratuit sur nostre clerge deux decimes, telles que les leuoyt feu de bon memoyre nostre tres cher et tres honore pere le Roy descosse, de quoy pour la mort intervenue a ceulx deux, ilz ne mont peu gratiffier ny octroyer ma requeste. [2] Et daultant que allant maintenant de present par dela monseigneur le Cardinal de Lorraine nostre oncle pour les affaires du Roy, nous l'auons bien voullu pryer par mesme moyen en faire encores de nostre part itere due[1] et tres humble requeste a vostre dicte sainctete, et vous dire la dessus les causes et raisons qui a ce nous contraignent, vous suppliant tres humblement, tressainct Pere, nous faire ce bien d'escouter la dessus nostre dicte oncle et surce

[1] In MS., *iteratifue.*

le voulloyr ouyr et croyre de tout ce quil vous en remonstrera de nostre dicte part, comme vous feriez nous mesmes. A tant prions Dieu, tressainct Pere, voulloyr icelle vostre dicte Sainctete longuement maintenyr, preservyr et garder au bon regime et gouvernement de sa Saincte Eglise.

Escript a Villers costeretz, le ij[e] d'Octobre, 1555.

Vostre devote fille la Royne descosse.

[*Signed*] MARIE.

[*Countersigned*] Degrantrye.

[*Addressed*] A nostre tressainct Pere le Pappe.

[MOST HOLY FATHER,—[1] We formerly supplicated and requested their late Holinesses of good memory, Popes Julius II. and Marcellus, that it should be their good pleasure at our supplication, prayer and request to grant us permission to raise upon our clergy, by form of grant and free gift, two tenths, such as were raised by the late King of Scotland, of happy memory, our very dear and honoured father. But the death of both has intervened, and my request cannot be gratified and granted. [2] And inasmuch as our uncle, Monseigneur the Cardinal of Lorraine, is now going to you on the business of the King [of France], we have heartily begged him to make anew on the same occasion [? repeated, due] and humble request to your Holiness on our behalf, and to inform you hereupon of the causes and reasons which constrain us to make it. Humbly praying you, most Holy Father, to do us the favour to hear our uncle, and to deign to listen to him as you would to ourselves, and to believe all he shall show to you on our behalf, we pray God, long to maintain, preserve and guard your Holiness, for the good rule and government of His holy Church.

Written at Villers-Cotterets, the 2nd of October, 1555.

Your devout daughter the Queen of Scotland.

[*Signed*] MARIE.

[*Countersigned*] Degrantrye.]

No. 2

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS TO POPE PAUL IV.

Barberini Library, xliii. 162, fol. 1. Original, sealed with royal arms of Scotland, and written broadside.

[*Blois, 27 December*, 1555]

TRESSAINCT PERE.—[1] Vostre Sainctete aura peu entendre combien, depuis quil a pleu a Dieu appeller a sa part nostre trescher et treshonore seigneur et pere le roy descosse dernier mort, que Dieu absolve, nostre royaume a esté travaillé, molesté, et affligé des guerres, au moin de quoy et de la negligente aministration de ceulx qui ont eu charge pendant nostre minorité de nostredict royaume, il se trouve grandement apouury et en necessité de beaucoup de choses requises a la seureté dun tel estat, et restab-

lessement dicelluy nous estante tres mal aisé y remedier et fournir aux grands frais tant des fortiffications, restablissement de plusieurs des villes de nostredict royaume bruslées par noz ennemys, sans laide de noz bons et loyaulx subiectz. mesmes de ceulx de nostre clergé, ou consiste et qui tiennent la plus grande et saine partie des richesses de nostre royaume, par tel et semblable indult et octroy que voz predecesseurs de heureuse memoire, papes Clement et Paul tiers, ont faict a nostredict Seigneur et pere, qui est [de trente mil livres par chaqun an sa vye durant].[1] [2] Ce que avons avise, Tressainct pere, vous faire tres humblement remonstrer en supplyant vostredicte Sainctete tant et si devotement que faire pouvons, que le bon plaisir dicelle soit vouloir de tant nous gratiffier (considerant tout ce que dessus) que de nous accorder ledict octroy sur iceluy nostredict clerge nostre vie durant pour estre emploié a mesmes effects, comme il sera, et non ailleurs, et sur ce vouloir ouyr et croyre nostre cousin le Cardinal de Sermonnete, protecteur de nos affaires aupres de vostre Sainctete ensemble de plusieurs autres memoires et chifres[2] concernant le reglement et reformation de nostredict clerge, tout ainsi que vous feriez nous mesmes, et receurons ceste vostre grace et faveur a tres grand et singulier plaisir, et ce pendant prions Dieu, Tressainct pere, quil vueille icelle vostredicte S^tete longuement maintenir, preserver et garder, au bon regime et gouvernement de sa Saincte Eglise.

Escript a Bloys, le xxvij jour de Decembre, 1555.

Vostre devote fille la royne Descosse.

[*Signed*] MARIE.

[*Countersigned*] Degrantrye.

[*Addressed*] A nostre tressainct pere le pappe.

[MOST HOLY FATHER,—[1] Your Holiness may have heard how, since it pleased God to call to Himself our dear and very honoured lord and father, the late demised King of Scotland (may God absolve him !) our kingdom has been harassed, molested and afflicted by wars. By these and by the negligent administration of those who have had charge of our kingdom during our minority, it has become greatly impoverished, and in need of many things requisite for the safety of such a state, and for its restoration. To remedy this, and to provide the heavy charges for fortifications, and the restoration of several of the towns of our aforesaid kingdom which have been burnt by our enemies, is very difficult for us

[1] Blank in MS. The words are supplied from the identical passage in the second Vatican letter of October the second, mentioned above.

[2] The transcript reads 'chefz.' We may presume that the grave charges against the clergy, which are set forth in the ensuing paper, would have been put into cipher before they were exposed to all the risks of a journey to Rome. This phrase does not occur in the abovementioned Vatican letter of October the second.

without the aid of our good and loyal subjects, including that of our churchmen, in whose possession lies, and who hold, the greatest and least injured part of the riches of our kingdom. [This aid must be levied] by such a grant and a tax similar to that which your predecessors of happy memory, Popes Clement and Paul III., allowed to our aforesaid lord and father, that is [of 30,000 livres by the year during his life].[n]

[2] We have [therefore] decided, most Holy Father, to set this before you in all submission. We pray your Holiness as much and as earnestly as we can, that you may be pleased thus much to gratify us (considering all we have said above), and to grant us the said tax on our clergy, during our lifetime, to be employed for the said purposes, as it will be, and not otherwise. We also pray your Holiness, that in this matter you would deign to hear, as you would listen to ourselves, and to believe, our cousin the Cardinal Sermoneta, the protector of our suits with your Holiness, [and that you would also consider] several other reports and [? ciphers] [n] concerning the management and reformation of our said clergy. We shall receive this your grace and favour with great and singular pleasure, and in the meantime we pray God, Holy Father, long to preserve, sustain and guard your Holiness for the good rule and government of His holy Church.

Written at Bloys, the 27th day of December, 1555.

Your devout daughter the Queen of Scotland,

[*Signed*] MARIE.

[*Countersigned*] Degrantrye.]

No. 3

CARDINAL SERMONETA TO POPE PAUL IV.

Vatican Archives, same codex, fol. 175. Original, autograph signature.

[*Rome, n.d.* 1556]

BEATISSIME PATER,—[1] Ea quæ reverendissimi Cardinales Sabinensis, Arminiacus, orator christianissimi regis, et ego[1] nudius tertius pro parte serenissimæ reginæ Scotorum a Sanctitate vestra contendimus, hic sequuntur. [2] Post obitum beatæ memoriæ Jacobi quinti, Scotorum regis, de [*sic*] mense Decembri 1542, regnum Scoticum tum externis tum civilibus prœliis adeo misere per annos decem continuos exhaustum fuit, ut vix absque auxilio in potestate prædictæ Serenissimæ Dominæ Reginæ unquam esse possit castra domos et loca diruta, et sine quibus regnum conservari non potest, in pristinum statum reponere. Timens

[1] The full titles of these cardinals were as follows: François de Tournon, Archbishop of Lyons, and Cardinal Bishop of Sabina; George d'Armagnac, afterwards Archbishop of Toulouse; and Nicholas Gaetano, called the Cardinal di Sermoneta, or Cardinal Sermonetta.

autem serenissima Regina inimicorum incursiones, et ne pacis cum Anglis inita fœdera frangantur, ea propter decrevit una cum proceribus suis uti regnum propugnaculis et novis presidiis muniatur, quodque dirutum est restauretur; [3] verum eadem serenissima considerans dimidios fere totius regni Scotiæ redditus penes ecclesias, regios vero proventus bellorum injuria valde diminutos esse, præsidia vero ob ærarii regii tenuitatem construi repararive vix posse, honestum fore sperans ut clerus satis dives manus in tanta inopia porrigat adjutrices, idcirco præfata serenissima Regina sanctitatem vestram exorandam cupit quatenus concedatur diploma pontificium quo sibi permittatur, ut totius sui regni clerum, necnon beneficia eorumque fructus et annuos redditus suffragio caritativo, æquipolente duabus decimis, per tempus et tempora suæ Sanctitati bene visa gravare possit; deputando prælatos aliquos in partibus illius regni qui dictum subsidium auctoritate Apostolica exigant, et prælatos etiam et quascumque personas ecclesiasticas, etiam exemptos, sub censuris et pœnis, appellatione postposita, ad solutionem hujusmodi arceant et compellant.

[4] Insuper pro parte ejusdem serenissimæ Reginæ expositum fuerat qualiter omnia monasteria monialium cujusvis, et potissimum Cisterciensis ordinis, eorumque abbatissæ, priorissæ et moniales, eo impudentiæ devenerint, ut pudicitiæ claustris omnino profligatis, non modo extra monasteriorum septa et secularium domos procaciter divagentur, verum etiam quoslibet ignominiosos et sceleratos intra cœnobia admittant, sese cum illis incestuose immisceant, sacraria puerperis contaminent, prolem apud se alant, in publicum filiorum grege stipatæ prodeant, et fœminas amplissimis ecclesiæ proventibus [dotatas] nuptui tradant. Nec huic malo nisi a Sanctitate vestra ullum speratur adhiberi posse remedium, cum ipsæ pretextu exemptionum suarum nullam ordinariorum monitionem, visitationemve recipiant. [5] Supplicatum igitur fuit quatenus Sanctitas vestra committeret illarum visitationem, correctionem, punitionem et reformationem, aliquibus prælatis qui etiam, attento quod nimius monachorum proventus hanc effrenatam licentiam causare videtur, descriptis eorundem reditibus, et congrua portione illis relicta, residuum in ecclesiarum aliorumque ædificiorum collabentium reparationem et monasteriorum hujusmodi clausuram insumant Illa denique omnia faciant quæ in præmissis videantur necessaria. Prælatis etiam injungatur uti sub maximis pœnis acceptent hoc istud munus. [6] Præterea expositum fuit qualiter a quadraginta annis citra diversi prælati aliæque personæ ecclesiasticæ quam plurima immobilia bona notabilis valoris [pertinentia] ad ecclesias monasteria et alia beneficia ecclesiastica per eos obtenta quæ fundationis regiæ existunt, nulla utilitatis detrimentive ecclesiarum habita ratione, neque servato juris ordine, et ut plurimum ad potentiorum manus,

alienarint, in gravissimum ecclesiarum, et ipsius pro tempore existentis regis et fundatorum, præjudicium. [7] Quare supplicatum fuit [a] sanctitate vestra omnes alienationes quæ a dicto tempore contra juris communis dispositionem factæ fuerunt, juxta constitutionem ejusdem sanctitatis vestræ nuper editam, revocari et annullari. Inhiberi etiam quibusvis personis ne deinceps alienationes bonorum ecclesiasticorum regiæ seu cujusvis alterius fundationis facere præsumant absque expressa ipsius reginæ regisque pro tempore existentis licentia. Et dirigatur commissio aliquibus prælatis illius regni, qui sub maximarum pœnarum incursu, efficiant ut hæc ista executioni mandentur.

[8] Ad hæc expositum fuerat qualiter in dicto regno quamplurimæ ecclesiæ et monasteria, sumptuosis ædificiis antiquitus constructa, a decem annis citra partim hostium incursionibus diruta sint, partim præsulum avaritia et incuria collabantur, redditibus nichilominus integris, imo alicubi majoribus quam fundationis tempore fuerint, remanentibus; nec sit qui vices desolatarum ecclesiarum misereatur, medicasve manus illis adhibere curet. [9] Eapropter serenissima Regina a Sanctitate Vestra contendebat quatenus deputarentur prælati in partibus qui eosdem præsules, abbates et ecclesiarum rectores, ad loca reparatione indigentia compellerent, sub censuris et pœnis, ut quartam partem omnium et singulorum fructuum eorumdem beneficiorum per eos obtentorum in restauratione et recuperatione ecclesiarum et monasteriorum et beneficiorum hujusmodi insumerent. [10] Quodque etiam dicti deputati alios fideles et probos viros in eorum locum sufficere possent qui hujusmodi pecunias exigerent et in usus prædictos converterent, prælatis etiam sub gravissimis pœnis injungeretur ut hoc istud munus acceptarent.

[11] Postremo licet per sacros canones sanctorumque Patrum decreta satis sit clericis inhibitum ne se rebus et negociationibus secularibus immisceant, clerusque ipsius regni Scotiæ laicos opibus aliisque commodis longe antecedat, ita quod illis ad honeste vivendum nulla secularis negociatio necessaria existat, nichilominus multi etiam prælati etiam aliis ecclesiasticis dignitatibus constituti reperiuntur, qui, magnum auri pondus domi otiosum esse non sinentes, villarum et possessionum conductiones ambire non vereantur, magnum etiam commercium veluti pecudum, piscium, coriorum aliorumque id genus facientes in ecclesiastici ordinis dedecus et sæcularium ipsorum indignationem atque scandalum. [12] Quare supplicat ipsa regina Sanctitati suæ ut committatur honestis et probis prælatis in partibus quatenus dicto clero, singulisque ecclesiasticis personis, hujusmodi commercia apostolica auctoritate etiam sub censuris, (viz. si beneficiati sub beneficiorum suorum privatione, si vero simplices presbyteri fuerint, sub bonorum suorum quorumcumque mulcta, ipso facto, post quam inhibitiones intra missarum sollemnia vel alias legitime publicatæ

fuerint intercurrenda) prohibeant, etiam sub invocatione auxilii brachii sæcularis. Injungatur etiam eisdem commissariis sub gravissimis pœnis quatenus præmissa pro viribus exequantur et exequi mandent.

[13] Prælati vero qui potissimum ad præmissa exequenda sint idonei, et eædem [*sic*] serenissimæ Dominæ Reginæ longe gratissimi, sunt hii viz. Jacobus Archiep. Glasg., Patricius Morav., Andreas Can. Casæ, Wills. Dunblan., et Rob. Orchaden. Ecclesiarum episcopi.

E. S. V. humillimus et devotissimus servus,

N. CARDINALIS DE SERMONETA.

[*Endorsed*] Scotia. Paulo Papæ Quarto.

[MOST HOLY FATHER,—[1] The petitions, which the most reverend Cardinal of Sabina, the Cardinal d'Armagnac, the ambassador of the Most Christian King, and I myself[a] urgently demanded two days ago from your Holiness on behalf of the most serene Queen of Scots are the following.

[2] After the death of James the Fifth King of Scots, of happy memory, [to wit] from the month of December 1542, the realm of Scotland, by wars, both foreign and civil, was so disastrously weakened for ten years together, that it may perhaps never be in the power of the said sovereign lady to restore without assistance the fortresses, castles and places, which have been laid in ruins, and without which the kingdom cannot be defended. Moreover her Majesty, fearing the inroads of enemies, and that the treaties of peace, which have been formed with the English, may be broken, after council with her chief men has decreed to fortify her kingdom with fresh bulwarks and defences and to rebuild what has been laid in ruins. [3] But, while on the one hand almost one half of the revenue of the whole kingdom of Scotland comes in to the Church, and on the other the royal revenues are very much lessened by the losses of war, so that by reason of the poverty of the royal exchequer the strongholds can with difficulty be built or kept in repair, her Highness deems it but fitting that the clergy out of their riches should in her sore need extend to her a helping hand. The aforesaid most serene lady therefore desires your Holiness to grant a pontifical decree, whereby she may be empowered, for such time and periods as may seem good to your Holiness, to impose a benevolence, equal in value to two-tenths, upon the clergy throughout her realm, as also on all benefices, together with their fruits and annual revenues. Also that certain prelates within that kingdom be appointed, who by apostolic authority may exact the said subsidy, and may force and compel to payment under censures and penalties, with privilege of appeal denied, even prelates and ecclesiastical persons of whatever degree, and even those who are exempt. [4] Moreover on behalf of the said queen it had been declared how all nunneries of every kind of religious women, and especially those of the Cistercian Order, abbesses, prioresses and sisters included, have come to such a

pass of boldness, that they utterly contemn the safeguards of chastity. [For] not only do they wander outside the monastic enclosures in shameless fashion through the houses of seculars, but they even admit all sorts of worthless and wicked men within their convents and hold with them unchaste intercourse. [Thus] they defile the sacred precincts with the birth of children, and bring up their progeny about them, go forth abroad surrounded by their numerous sons, and give their daughters in marriage dowered with the ample revenues of the Church. For this scandal there is no possible hope of a remedy except it be applied by your Holiness, as they allege their exemptions and will consent to no admonition or visitation of the ordinaries. [5] Your Holiness is therefore prayed to appoint certain prelates for their visitation, correction, punishment and reform. Moreover, seeing that the over-great revenues of the monks seem to be the cause of this unbridled licence, an account of their incomes should be taken, and, when a portion suitable for them has been set aside, the surplus should be applied to the restoration of churches and other buildings, which are falling to decay, as also to the enclosure of such religious houses. In a word, let them do everything which may seem to be necessary in the aforesaid circumstances, and let prelates also be enjoined under the severest penalties to accept the said commission.

[6] Moreover it was declared, how for about forty years various prelates and other ecclesiastical persons have alienated (usually in favour of the more powerful nobles) a great quantity of immoveable goods of notable value belonging to churches, monasteries and ecclesiastical benefices, of royal foundation though held by them; [and all this they have done] without any reckoning of the loss or gain to the said churches, without observing the forms of law, to the most grievous detriment of those churches, and to the prejudice of the reigning sovereign and of the founders. [7] Wherefore supplication was made to your Holiness that all alienations (which from the time aforesaid had been made contrary to the dispositions of the common law) should be revoked and annulled, in accordance with the constitution which your Holiness lately published. Also that all persons whatsoever should be forbidden to attempt in future to alienate Church goods belonging to royal and other foundations without explicit leave from the queen or king for the time being. And that certain prelates of that kingdom be ordered to execute these measures under pain of incurring the greatest censures.

[8] Moreover it was declared how in the said kingdom very many churches and monasteries had been established of old in stately buildings, but within the last ten years or thereabouts had been reduced to ruins by hostile inroads, or through the avarice and neglect of those placed in charge were crumbling to decay; and this with their revenues undiminished, nay in some cases even greater than at the time of their foundation, with no one to pity these widowed churches, or to take their healing in hand.

[9] Wherefore her most serene Majesty made earnest suit to your Holiness to appoint prelates of those regions, who by sanction of censure and penalty might compel the aforesaid rulers, abbots and heads of churches to restore such places as are in need, and to spend a fourth part of all and sundry fruits coming from such benefices as are held by them on the restoration and repair of the said churches, monasteries and benefices.

[10] Also that the said commissioners should have power to sub-delegate other trusty and upright men to exact such moneys, and to apply them to the aforesaid uses. Here too the prelates should be enjoined, under the severest penalties, to accept this office.

[11] Lastly the sacred canons and the decrees of holy Fathers have sufficiently warned clerics not to mix themselves up with secular affairs and trade, and the clergy of this same kingdom of Scotland far surpass the laity in the wealth and abundance of their resources, so that no secular trade is necessary to obtain them an honest livelihood. Nevertheless many—even prelates and even those confirmed in church dignities—are found, who not suffering their great mass of gold to lie at home in idleness are not ashamed to busy themselves hiring farms and estates, and are much occupied in trafficking with cattle, fish, hides and the like, to the dishonour of the clerical order, and even to the indignation and scandal of seculars.

[12] The queen therefore begs of his Holiness that powers be granted to honest and upright prelates of those regions, to the end that they may (with power even to call in the aid of the secular arm) interdict to the said clergy and even to individual churchmen all such commerce, by apostolic authority and even under censure: to wit if they be beneficed under pain of being deprived of their benefices, and if but simple priests of being mulcted of whatsoever goods they may possess: the said penalties to be incurred *ipso facto* after the prohibitions shall have been published during the solemnities of Mass or otherwise as prescribed by law. Let the said commissaries also be enjoined under the severest penalties to carry out to the best of their power, and cause to be carried out, the above-mentioned measures.

[13] The prelates who are most capable of executing the above reforms, and who are by far the most acceptable to the same most serene sovereign lady, are the following, James [Beaton] Archbishop of Glasgow, Patrick [Hepburn] Bishop of Moray, Andrew [Durie] Bishop of Galloway, William [Chisholm I.] Bishop of Dunblane, and Robert [Reid] Bishop of Orkney.

Your Holiness' most humble and devout servant,

NICHOLAS CARDINAL SERMONETA.

ADDITIONAL NOTE

On the Original Manuscript of the Letter from Queen Mary to the Duke of Guise

Printed above on page 435.

After a copy of this letter from the Egerton Manuscripts had been put into type, I happened to show the proof to Mr. John Scott of Halkshill, who recognised it as identical with an autograph letter of the queen, which had been for many years in his possession. With a kindness, for which I cannot sufficiently thank him, he afterwards brought the manuscript to London and deposited it with me, until I had completed the collation of my text with the original. At present, therefore, the text printed above —while retaining the conventionalities of transcription (*i.e.* the capitals, punctuation, apostrophes, accents, etc.), used by the Egerton Manuscript scribe, which are all good of their kind—also represents the original text *verbatim et litteratim.*

I here subjoin a detailed account of the manuscript itself, which is of unusual interest as an example of her handwriting, just as the contents of the letter are of unusual interest because of the new lights they throw on Mary's character and relations with Elizabeth, Moray, Lethington, and others, at a time of which we otherwise know but little about her.

Sir Nicholas Throckmorton said of Mary's letters written under the influence of her first enthusiasm for Darnley, that they 'wanted neither eloquence, despite, anger, love nor passion' (*Foreign Calendar*, 1565, No. 1159). The same qualities are strikingly displayed in the letter before us. They appear both in the treatment of the subject, and in the literary style, and they are hardly less evident in the actual penmanship, the feverish activity of the hand proving a true index to the passionate loyalty, which was venting itself in writing.

In the first place we notice that long as the letter is, it has evidently been written off without a break. The forms of the letters are a little stiff at first, as if they had been made with a fresh quill, but soon the curves become round and full, and the words flow from the pen with the greatest facility. In the first half of the letter, indeed for nine folio pages, the writing betrays no signs of fatigue. Then indications of weariness begin to show themselves. They abound on the last page, which she finished so tired or sleepy that she has forgotten to sign her name.

The simplest test for the influence of fatigue on the writer is to count the number of lines per page. The numbers arrange themselves as follows:

Number of page— 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14.
Lines per page—23, 23, 23, 21, 22, 23, 22, 21, 22, 20, 18, 19, 20, 17.

The diminution in the number of lines per page is partly accounted for by an increase in the size of the letters. Her letters, instead of becoming small, shapeless, or scrawly as she gets tired, grow taller and more decided. The graceful curves, indeed, give way to sharp angular turns, but the definite characteristics of each sign are firmly maintained. But the most noticeable alteration in the handwriting, and that which has most to do with the falling off in the numbers of lines per page, is the ever increasing down-slope of the writing direction. This sign of weakness may be noticed in most of Mary's autographs, and it is interesting to watch its manifestations here.

While fresh she keeps the first two or three lines of the page quite horizontal, her eye being probably aided by the guidance of the top paper-edge. After the third line that edge was no longer clearly in the field of vision, and the writing direction at once begins to slope downwards. The angle of decline tends to increase until she gets to within two or three lines from the foot of the page. Then the bottom paper-edge (as I presume) caught her eye, and the last lines at once become parallel to it.

When tired, however, the fall commences in the second, on the last page even on the first line. The angle of decline becomes twice the size of what it was at first (the increase is from about five to about ten degrees), and as a result only seventeen lines go into the page, which at first held twenty-three.

Another indication of increasing fatigue towards the end is the increase in minute faults, *e.g.* in erasures, bad grammar, careless repetitions of words, and the like. These cannot be tabulated as clearly as the numbers of lines. Nor, indeed, do they vary with fatigue only. Whenever 'le despit me surmonte' (§ 10), these lapses from precision are pretty sure to follow. The actual corrections—generally only the first letter or two of a word which is then discarded—may be counted.

Number of page,	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14.
Number of corrections,[1]	1, 0, 0, 1, 1, 1, 0, 1, 1, 0, 0, 2, 3, 1.

Thus the number of corrections on the last three pages are as large as that on all the others put together.

A word, probably 'heure,' was omitted while turning from page 9 to 10. A still more remarkable omission is made while turning to the last page. She not only omits one word (probably 'prie,' see § 16), but

[1] Besides these there is an emendation on p. 2. See *supra* p. 436, § 3.

forgetting also the verso of p. 13, she went straight from 13, a recto page, to the next recto, *i.e.* p. 15, and there continued her sentence, writing 'lui montrer.' Then noticing her mistake, she goes back to p. 14 without, however, having deleted the words on p. 15. But she is now evidently tired. The sentences will admit of no analysis: 'My letter is so long that I leave the rest to the bearer.' Then after saying 'good-bye,' but before signing her name, she bethinks herself of another message, adds it and ends, forgetting meanwhile that she has never signed.[1] That she was sitting up at night may be inferred from the remark, made when she was three-quarters through, that she has still to indite 'tres lettres de creance' . . . 'mesmes encores a seste [heure].'

If the reader will turn to the facsimile of Mary's writing in the *National MSS. of Scotland* (vol. iii. No. lxv.), he will see that when she wrote with greater care, she inserts a certain number of stops, accents, and dots. The total absence[2] of these luxuries in the manuscript before us must therefore be accounted as a fresh indication that this is a work in which zest for writing quite supplanted anxiety about calligraphy.

Several peculiarities of the spelling may be noted.

I. PECULIARITIES UNIVERSALLY OBSERVED—

(*a*) *votre, notre*—not *vostre, nostre.*
(*b*) *aueques*—not *auecques.*
(*c*) *poine*—not *peine.*
(*d*) *-ois, -oit, -oient*—not *-ais, -ait, -aient,* for imperfects of verbs.
(*e*) *i*—not *j* or *J.*
(*f*) *tieuls, seuls, deus, mieuls*—not *telles, seulx* (=*ceux*), *deux mieulx* (=*mieux*).
(*g*) *z*, never used, nor *ç.*
(*h*) *&*—not *et.*
(*i*) *u* and *v.* When initial always *v*, when not initial always *u.*
(*j*) *sch*—not *ch.*
(*k*) *se, sette,* etc.—not *ce, cette,* etc.
(There are, however, a few exceptions to the last two rules.)

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[1] This seems to me the natural explanation of the absence of the signature, an omission for which there is, I believe, no other precedent among all the hundreds of extant letters which are certainly hers.

[2] The rule is here only proved by the exceptions, for it may be said that there is only one stop, one accent, and one dot. That is, the *i* in 'Paris' is dotted on the two occasions in which that word is used, as also in two similar words *pais* and *puis.* The *é* in *fidellité* is once accented, and there is one full stop. But I am not sure whether in the last two cases the ink spot may not after all be accidental only.

II. PECULIARITIES COMMONLY BUT NOT UNIVERSALLY OBSERVED—

(*a*) *am*, and *an*, for *em*, and *en*:—
thus, *tampe*, *randre*, *samble*, *pretandre*, *mantir*, *vraisamblable*, *an*, *fidelemant*, *anemi*, *reprandre*,
but *en* is also frequent:—
thus, *attendre*, *entendre*, *repentir*, *commandement*.

(*b*) Double letters reduced to single letters:—*ss* and *rr* are generally reduced to *s* and *r*; but *ll* generally remains:—
thus, *asurance*, *angletere*, *ambasadeur*, *puisance*, *persone*, *ell*, *ofice*;
but also, *lettres*, *vallent*, *issi*, *alliance*, etc.

(*c*) Though soft *c* is generally changed to *s*, yet after *n* the contrary takes place, and *s* goes into *c*:—
thus, *pancer*, *responce*, *creance*;
but also, *commense*.

(*d*) *u* after *n* becomes *eu*, as *conneu*.

(*e*) A characteristic weakness may be noted in the use of *gn*: a second *n* is often placed before it:—
thus, *Allemangne*, *moingne*, *congneu*.

(*f*) Capitals are used to commence pages four times. They are *almost always* used for those who were in Mary's eyes kings and queens *par excellence*,—*i.e.* for the *Roy* and *Royne* of France. The *Queen* of England is *generally* honoured by a capital. The *Noblesse* are thus distinguished once. Otherwise the capitals are *never* used.

These details may prove to be of some importance for determining the authenticity of other documents, such as the Casket Letters, the attribution of which to Mary is still *sub judice*. In the first place, our letter, being perhaps unique as an example of a genuine love-letter, is invaluable as a model of the style which we might expect to find in other letters of a similar nature. It will also serve as a test of her orthography. Students of the Casket Letters agree that certain old French copies of Letters III., IV., V., VI., and IX. (the Sonnets) may be called 'the original French' of those letters. But any one who applies to these documents the spelling-tests given above will at once acknowledge that they are not in the spelling used in this autograph letter.

Before any conclusion could be safely drawn from such premises, it would be necessary to broaden the field of observation. The orthographical peculiarities of all Mary's autographs, which are not, after all, so very numerous, would have to be studied.[1] It would also have to be

[1] It would, I fear, be necessary to study them almost all again from the original manuscripts. Editors have reproduced them in so many different ways, and often with so little care about *minutiæ*, that very little certainty can be deduced from their work on minute points, such as those now under discussion.

remembered that when spelling is in a quasi-fluid state it is liable to derangement by the spellings used in the books and letters which have last influenced the writer.

But if, when all this has been done, it shall still appear that characteristic spellings of Mary were not found even in a text bearing minute corrections, such as that of No. VI. at Hatfield, which should have shown scores of those characteristics, that will raise a presumption against the authenticity of the document. The presumption would become an argument if the difference of spelling could in no wise be attributed to the intermediation of the transcriber. For instance, in Mary's autograph letter she always wrote *poine*, not *peine* or *paine*, and this also determines her pronunciation of that word. But in the sonnets the word is spelt 'pain,' and made to rhyme with 'uncertain.' A clear case of different pronunciation as well as different spelling. If divergencies of this sort were proved to be frequent that would form a powerful argument against the authenticity of this document.

This, however, is not the place to pursue the interesting line of investigation here opened to us. We must return to Mr. Scott's manuscript, to the description of which we add that it consists of four double sheets (*i.e.* eight folios or sixteen pages), the last two pages being left blank. The paper mark is two letters (perhaps Gothic E's), placed back to back, under a crown surmounted by a quatre-foil, a French mark, I believe. The letter has not only not been signed, but also never addressed, nor pierced in order to be fastened together by the corner of the cover. There is no trace of a seal. Its custody and delivery were presumably entrusted entirely to the bearer Montaignac's fidelity.

Mr. Scott obtained the manuscript by purchase some five-and-twenty years ago, but is not acquainted with its previous history. That it was in Mr. Dawson Turner's possession about the year 1842 would seem to follow from his having had a transcript of it made on paper bearing that date in the watermark (see *supra*, p. 435). It is now in the library at Halkshill, but this year is to be exhibited in Glasgow. It is beautifully bound in red morocco, and lettered at the back, 'Mary Queen of Scots, Autograph Letter.'

INDEX

ABERCROMBY, FATHER ROBERT, lxxi; a student at Louvain, 146, 148; on the way to the college at Vienna, 480; in Prussia, 485; letter to, from Polanco, 506.
Adda, monsignor d', nuncio to James II., 263 *n*.
Adriani, father Adrian, 116 *n*, 144 *n*; letter from, to Salmeron, 105.
Aerschot, duchess of, queen Mary writes to, 449, 450.
Alava, don Frances de, Spanish ambassador in France, letters from, to Philip II., 463, 464, 466-469, 472-478; minute of letter from Philip II. to, 464; letters to, from Barchingo, 464, 466, 467.
Alençon, duke of, 295, 301.
Alessandria, cardinal of, letters from, to Laureo, 265, 266, 284, 285, 287, 304, 329, 330, 337-340, 342, 343, 345, 347, 348, 372, 373, 396, 397, 402, 403.
letters to, from Laureo, 266, 274, 278, 282, 288, 290, 292, 299, 305, 308-310, 313, 318-320, 322, 331-336, 340, 341, 346, 347, 349, 352, 354, 355, 358-361, 364, 366, 369, 373, 376, 378, 380, 382, 383, 385, 386, 390, 392, 393, 397, 398, 401.
Altemps, cardinal, 216.
Alva, duke of, 44, 45, 177; on a Spanish intervention, 456, 458; on a union between England and Scotland, 460; on the state of Scotland, xxxv, 458, 460; on the proposed marriage with the archduke, 461, 462; letter from, to Alava, 463; writes to Philip II., 468.
Amiens, bishop of. *See* Pellevé, Nicholas de.
Amulio, cardinal de, 91 *n*, 102, 108, 110, 113, 130, 149, 150.
Angelo, M., bearer of despatches from queen Mary to the duchess of Aerschot, 449, 450.
Angoulême, bishop of. *See* La Bourdaiserie, Filibert de.
Angus, earl of, 256.
Anjou, duke of, 295, 301; plot against, 436, 440-442, 444 *n*.
Anthtelz, Robert, 518.
Anville, maréchal d', 296, 302.
Aragonia, Fr., 35, 39.
Arco, Prospero d', imperial ambassador at Rome, letter from, to the emperor Ferdinand, 52.
Argyle, bishopric of, 55 *n*.
—— countess of, to represent queen Elizabeth at the baptism of prince James, 341, 342.
—— earl of, 255, 256, 417; pardoned, 271 and *n*, 278.
Armagnac, George d', archbishop of Toulouse, 525 *n*, 528.
Arran, earl of, 97 *n*, 256, 415; flight of, 26; withdraws from the Scottish court, 66, 70; imprisoned on a charge of treason, 97 and *n*, 99.
Arundel, earl of, a suitor for the hand of queen Mary, 193 *n*.
Atholl, John, earl of, 227, 253, 254, 298 *n*; in arms against the queen, 366-369; letter to, from Pius IV., 184.
Aubespine, Sebastien de l', bishop of Limoges, French ambassador to Spain, xxxiv *n*; his hatred of the cardinal of Lorraine, 476.
Aumale, duc d', 298, 303; illness of, 289, 291.
Avandale, lord, 255, 257.
Aventinus, father Andreas, to succeed Hay as professor of scripture, 480.
Avignon, 296, 302.
Ayton of Kinaldy, 124 *n*.

BACHAUD, FRANÇOIS DE, bishop of Geneva, 266, 274.
Bacon, Nicholas, tyranny of, 176.
Balfour, sir James Lawson, clerk register, 273 *n*.
—— James, 417.
Balknawis, Hendrie, 273 *n*.
Baptism, observation of, 123 and *n*, 135; baptism of the prince. *See* James.

Barchingo, Gio. Gaspar, letters from, to Alava, 464, 466, 467.
Barengus, M., 35 and *n*, 39.
Bayonne conference, xlii, lxxii, 195 *n*, 196, 199.
Beath, raid of, 212 and *n*.
Beaton, Andrew, 230 *n*.
—— David, lord cardinal of Scotland, 415; at Lyons, 510.
—— James, archbishop of Glasgow, and Scottish ambassador in France, 9 *n*, 268, 270, 274 *n*, 276, 277, 286, 287, 305, 308-312, 314, 321, 323, 326, 329, 330, 334, 350, 352, 354, 378, 380, 389, 391, 394, 395, 415-419, 463, 464, 502, 528, 530; receives instalment of the pope's subsidy for queen Mary, 279, 282; papal bulls sent to, 280, 283; intention of sending his brother to Philip II. frustrated by Alava, 463; sends his brother to the queen, 468; seeks the aid of Spain, 469; receives money from France for the queen, 475 and *n*; recommended by Manare as adviser of the queen, 498, 499; on Mary's complicity in the murder of Darnley, cxxx; letter to, from Pius IV., 183; possible author of the *Discourse of a Scottish . . . Ambassador*, 240.
—— John, at the English court, 289, 291; bearer of the papal subsidy to queen Mary, 279, 282, 311, 313, 324, 404; sent on a mission to Scotland, 468.
Beauly priory, 28 and *n*, 30.
Bedford, earl of, 289, 291; letter of, 123 *n*; letter from, to Cecil, 233 *n*; at the baptism of prince James, 334, 341, 342.
Bellay, cardinal, 2, 4, 6, 9.
Bellenden, sir John, justice clerk, 272, 273 *n*, 278.
Bellost, father Simon, Polanco writes to, 489 and *n*.
Beltramini, Francesco, bishop of Terracina, 25, 230, 231.
Benefices bestowed on children and unworthy persons, 127, 138.
Benoist, René, doctor of the Sorbonne, 125 *n*; confessor of queen Mary, 518; leaves the queen, lvi.
Béthencourt, M. de, his mission to Scotland, xxvii, xxxi, xxxiii; his instructions, xxxv and *n*; returns to Paris, xxviii.
Beza, Theodore, his disputation with the cardinal of Lorraine, 62.
Bishoprics in the Netherlands, 24.
Bishops summoned to the council of Trent, lv, 55, 56, 74, 75, 118, 132, 144, 147, 170; restored to their sees, 94 and *n*, 98; unable to discharge their duties, 127, 138; retire to Edinburgh castle, xliii.
Boece, Hector, his *Description of Scotland*, 416 and *n*.
Bog, Sanderis, bearer of despatch of Du Croc, 305 *n*.
—— William, M.D., recommended as physician to queen Mary, xx, 413, 414.
Bohemia, king of, 461, 462.
Bonelli, Michele. *See* Alessandria, cardinal of.
Bonner, bishop Edmund, in prison, 507.
Border raids, 95, 96 and *n*, 424, 425, 428, 429.
Borgia, St. Francis, 106, 479; succeeds father Salmeron as vicar-general, 108 *n*; letter from, to father Mercurian, 108, 109; letter from, to Manare, 488; letter to, from Crichton, 493, 494; letters to, from Hay, 487, 488, 496, 499, 500-502; letters to, from Manare, 497, 498, 501, 502, 504.
Borromeo, cardinal St. Charles, lxxxv, 40 and *n*, 42, 216, 264 *n*; meets the bishop of Dunblane at Rome, 221; his correspondence with cardinal d'Este, 82-84.
letters from, to queen Mary, lxxxv; cardinal of Lorraine, 156, 157; Santa Croce, 181; archbishop of St. Andrews, 190.
letters to, from the French nuncio, 72; cardinal legates, 170; Commendone, 63, 69, 84, 91, 92; Delfino, 179, 180; Parpaglia, 110; Santa Croce, 449; Sermoneta, 168.
Borthwick, earl of, 255, 257.
Boterius, Johannes, letter from, 507.
Bothwell, Adam, bishop of Orkney, officiates at the marriage of queen Mary and Bothwell, xxxvii, 56 *n*, 257.
—— James Hepburn, earl of, 254 *n*, 401, 402, 467; imprisoned for treason, 97 and *n*, 99; appointed to the queen's body-guard, 271, 278; aids the escape of queen Mary, 298 *n*; accompanies the queen in a visit to Darnley, 356, 358; accused of Darnley's murder, 361 and *n*, 364; in arms against the rebel lords, 366, 369; governor of Edinburgh castle, 378, 380; likely to marry the queen,

387, 389-391; Mary's affection for, 392, 393; his marriage, cxxvii, cxxviii, 394, 396, 477, 520; opinions on the marriage, cxxix.
Bottoni, Taddeo, letter from, to the duke of Ferrara, cxxix, cxxx.
Bourbon, cardinal of, 375, 377; his interview with Laureo, 295, 301.
Bourdaiserie. *See* La Bourdaiserie.
Boyd, lord, 255, 256.
Braunsberg, foundation of college at, 480.
Brechin, bishopric of, lxxxv, 28 and *n*, 30, 55 and *n*, 56, 122, 135, 512; church of, 221, 223.
Brezé, Simon de Maille de, bishop of Tours, death of, 415.
Brienne, count of, to attend the baptism of prince James, 279, 282, 289, 291; at the baptism, 334; returns to France, 340, 341.
Broet, father Paschase, letter from, to Santa Croce, on the mission to Scotland, 508, 509.
Broughty castle, battle at, 415.
Buathier, M., vicar of the archdiocese of Lyons, 382, 383.
Buchanan, George, his *de Comitiis Romanorum Nic. Gruchii*, 416 and *n*; quoted, lx, lxxxi, cxiv *n*.
Budua, bishop of, 169.
Bulls, papal, sent to Scotland, 280 and *n*, 283.

CAITHNESS, bishopric of, 55 and *n*, 56.
—— earl of, 227, 253, 254.
Calais, capture of, xxiv.
Caligari, Giovanni Andrea, extract of letter from, to cardinal Commendone, 238.
Calini, monsignor, letter from, to cardinal Cornaro, 168.
Calvinists denied freedom of conscience, 505.
Cambuskenneth abbey, 28 and *n*, 30, 40, 42, 123 *n*.
Campbell, Alexander, bishop of Brechin, 28, 30, 262 *n*, 516 *n*.
—— John, bishop of the Isles, 28 *n*, 257.
Canisius, father, Polanco writes to, 433, 486.
Carafa, Alfonso, cardinal, 21-24; letters to, from cardinal Trivulzio, 9, 25, 26; letter to, from the bishop of Fermo, 10-12.
—— Carlo, cardinal, papal legate to France, 420 and *n*, 421; character of, xxi.
Carafa, Gian Pietro. *See* Paul IV.
Cardano, Hieronymo, an Italian doctor, on the way to Scotland, 415, 416.
Carlos, don, negotiations for his marriage with queen Mary, lxv, 97, 99, 177-180.
Carnavallet, M., 437, 442.
Carswell, John, bishop of the Isles, 28 *n*.
Cassillis, earl of, 9 *n*, 194 *n*, 227, 253, 254, 256.
Cateau Cambresis, treaty of, xxiv, xxvi, 46 *n*, 417.
Cathcart, lord, 257.
Catherine de Medicis, sends an ambassador to Scotland, 66, 68, 70, 71; message from the emperor to, 178; desires to assist queen Mary, 294, 300; opposed to the queen's marrying don Carlos, lxvii, 465; her interview with Laureo, 374, 376; two daughters born to, 420, 421; her hatred of the cardinal of Lorraine, 449, 476; her exclusion from the government discussed, 463; letters to, from d'Oysel, 452-454.
Catholicism, unhappy condition of the priests, 126, 137; the cause of their misfortune, 127, 138; their scandalous lives, 127, 138; the possibility of a catholic rising in England, 111, 112; increase of the catholic faith in Scotland, 94, 95 *n*, 97-99, 496; how catholicism might be revived, 127, 138; miserable state of, in Scotland, 146, 148, 149, 151; threatened destruction of, 241, 248; doors of catholics 'calket' in Edinburgh, 98 *n*; the catholic faith freely preached in Scotland, 492, 494, 495, 505, 507; list of catholic nobility of Scotland, 254, 255; Irish catholics, 64, 69.
Cecil, sir William, on queen Mary's claim to the throne of England, xxvi *n*; tyranny of, 176.
letters from, to Lethington, 438, 443.
letters to, from lord Bedford, 233 *n*; lord Paget, 195 *n*; Randolph, 140, 202, 233 *n*; Smith, 194 *n*, 195 *n*; Throckmorton, xxxiii *n*, xxxiv *n*.
Ceneda, bishop of. *See* La Torre, Michael de.
Cervini, Marcello. *See* Santa Croce, cardinal.
Cessford, laird of, 273 *n*.
Chantonay, M., instructions to, from Philip II., 469.
Charles, archduke, a suitor for the

hand of queen Mary, l, lxv, lxxvi, 52, 53, 85, 87, 97, 99, 111, 112, 166, 176, 177, 461, 462; extracts relating to the proposed match, 179, 180.
Charles de Bourbon. *See* Roche-sur-Yon.
Charles IX. of France, rumoured marriage of, 166; at conference of Bayonne, 195 *n*, 199; proposed marriage with queen Elizabeth, 194, 199, 464; sends an envoy to Scotland, 230, 231; willing to assist queen Mary, 294, 300; assures the pope of his steadfastness in the catholic faith, 295, 301; approves of the Darnley match, lxxvi; letter to, from queen Mary, 450, 451; letter to, from the French ambassador at Rome, 451, 453.
Chase-about raid, 212 *n*.
Chastity, vow of, forbidden, 124 and *n*, 136.
Chatelherault, duke of, 432, 478; assists Mary of Guise in taking Edinburgh and Leith, 26; leaves the court, 66, 70; declared next heir to the throne, 97 *n*.
Chatellar affair, the, 164 and *n*, 165, 167.
Châtillon, cardinal of, *See* Coligny, Odet de.
Chisholm, William, (I), bishop of Dunblane, refuses to see de Gouda, 121 and *n*, 134.
—— —— (II) bishop of Dunblane, 96 *n*, 268, 276, 289, 291, 312, 314, 321, 323, 327, 329, 330, 360, 361, 389, 391, 393, 394, 489, 507, 512, 528, 530; bishop coadjutor of Dunblane, 40 *n*, 121 *n*, 126, 134, 137; sent to Rome for the purpose of obtaining a dispensation for the marriage of queen Mary with Darnley, lxxviii, 196 and *n*, 199, 201; speech of, to Pius IV., lxxxiii, 203, 204, 207; interview with the pope, 210-213, 487; obtains the dispensation, 216; success of his mission, 488; meets Borromeo, lxxviii, 221; at Rome, 224-226, 452, 453; leaves Rome, 197, 200, 222, 223; in Paris, 227, 281, 283, 491; probable author of the letter to father Everard, 257; his account of the queen's escape, 298 *n*; his second mission to Rome, xcviii, cii, 229 *n*, 232-234, 292, 299; probable author of the *Discourse of a Scottish Ambassador*, 240, and *List of the Scottish Nobility*, 254; returns to Paris, 239, 497, 498; to be sent on a mission to Scotland with Edmund Hay, 297, 298 and *n*, 303, 501; his instructions, 395-399 *n*; Manare on the mission of, cxv *n*, 501; sets out for Scotland, 311-314, 318, 319, 407, 504; delayed at Dieppe, 320, 322; at the baptism of prince James, 341, 342; his interview with queen Mary, cxviii; is hopeful of the queen's good intentions, cxviii, 350, 351; on the marriage of the queen with Bothwell, cxxxi, 477; Crichton's account of the mission to Scotland, 146, 148; sent on an embassy to the pope, 493-495; letter to, 309 and *n*, 310; letter from, to Moroni, 315, 317; letter to, from the father-general, 481, 482; petition of, 516; death of, 404.
Chryson, Mic, 415.
Church property, alienation of, 526, 529; tax on, xxv, 2, 3 and *n*, 16, 19, 22, 39, 42; state of, in Scotland, 86, 88.
Classification of the Scottish nobility, cvi, 254.
Clement VII., calls Mary the defender of the church, 169; imposes a tax on the clergy, 524, 525.
Clergy, the, restored to their benefices, 94 and *n*, 98; petitions for their taxation, xix, 522, 530; engaging in commerce, xxv, 527, 530; their wealth, 526, 527, 529, 530.
Clerneau, M. de, 394, 395; at Edinburgh, ci, 233 *n*; his report on Darnley's murder, cxx, cxxx, 352 *n*, 355 and *n*, 356 *n*, 358.
Cockburn, captain, of the Scots Guard in France, 423 and *n*, 426, 427, 430; on amount of money sent to Scotland, 279 *n*.
Coinage of Italy, 264 *n*.
Coligny, M. de, his interview with the cardinal of Lorraine, 463; consultation with the earl of Murray, 477.
—— Odet de, cardinal of Châtillon, 463.
Colville, Robert, of Cleish, 95 *n*.
—— William, abbot of Culross, 94 *n*.
Commendone, Gian Francesco, cardinal, xlviii, 102, 107; hears of de Gouda's mission to Scotland, lii, 92; his correspondence with cardinal Borromeo, 63, 64 *n*, 69, 84, 87, 91, 92; letter to, from Caligari, 238.
Como, cardinal of. *See* Galli, Tolomeo.
Condé, the prince of, 468; conspires against queen Mary, 97, 99; his

consultation with Coligny and the earl of Murray, 477; forced to join the rebels, 444, 448.
Convents, necessity for reform of, xx; destruction of, xxix.
Cornaro, cardinal, letter to, from Calini, 168.
Correr, Giovanni, Venetian ambassador in Paris, 349 *n*.
Corrichie, battle of, lviii, 154 and *n*, 156, 163.
Council of Trent. *See* Trent.
Covillonio, father, 150, 152.
Craigmillar, conferences at, 195 *n*.
Crawford, earl of, 254, 256.
—— [Craffert], Archibald, 185 *n*.
Creichton, lord, 257.
Crichton, Margaret, 106 *n*.
—— Robert, bishop of Dunkeld, 417; his interviews with de Gouda, lvi, 122 and *n*, 135, 145, 148; at the baptism of prince James, 341, 342.
—— father William, lxx and *n*, 163, 191, 197, 490, 491, 502; accompanies de Gouda to Scotland, 106; assists de Gouda to escape from Scotland, 128, 129, 139; his memoir on the missions of de Gouda and father Hay, lvi, 144, 147; on the way to Rome, 146, 148, 152, 154, 479; his conversion of the marquis of Hamilton, lxx; to be rector of the college of Rodez, 487; rector of the jesuit college at Lyons, 389, 391; letter from, to Borgia, 493, 494; Polanco writes to, 489, 492, 504, 505.
—— of Ruthven, 106 *n*.
Criminal chamber, establishment of, in Scotland, 13, 15, 17, 19.
Crossraguel, abbot of. *See* Kennedy, Quentin.
Culross, abbey of, 123 *n*.
—— abbot of, heresy of, 94 and *n*, 98. *See also* Colville, William.
Curry, Pierre, chaplain in the queen's household, 518.
Cursol or Crusolles, madame de, her conspiracy against queen Mary, 164 and *n*-167 and *n*.

Dalbret, Jeanne, queen of Navarre, 24, 436, 441, 444, 448.
Damville, M., on queen Mary's fidelity to the catholic faith, 72.
Dannet, Thomas, to succeed Throckmorton, 66 *n*.
Darbishire, Dr. Thomas, to accompany Hay and the nuncio to Scotland, 497 and *n*; in Paris, 500, 501.
Darnley, Henry Stuart, lord, a prisoner in sir R. Sackville's house, 111 *n*; sent to queen Mary by queen Elizabeth, lxxiii, 464; created earl of Ross and duke of Albany, lxxv, 192 and *n*, 198, 217; advices to and from Rome regarding his marriage with queen Mary, lxxii, 191-231; marriage of, 467; quarrels with the queen, 271 and *n*, 277, 306 and *n*, 308, 315, 317; his indifference during the queen's illness, 303, 304; the reconciliation, 318, 319; absent from the baptism of the prince, 346, 347; his intercourse with the rebels, 271 and *n*, 277-278, 451, 452, 493, 494; his companions, 272 and *n*; visited by the queen at Glasgow, 346, 347; reported to have murdered Mary and seized the kingdom, civ, 473; receives the support of England, 473, 474; his murder, cxix, 349-371, 407, 476; description of the locality of the murder, 355 *n*. *See also* Mary, queen of Scots.
De Antiquitate Christianæ Religionis apud Scotos, authorship of, 404.
Deer, abbot of, death of, 415.
Del Bene, Thomas, makes payment of subsidy for the queen, 279, 282.
Delfino, Zaccharia, nuncio at Vienna, extracts from his letters to Borromeo, 179, 180.
Dempster, Thomas, 407.
Denely, M., secretary to the French ambassador at Rome, 453.
Discourse of a Scottish to a Spanish Ambassador, 240.
Dispensationes Matrimoniales, notes on, 218 *n*; the dispensation for Darnley, lxxii; date of the dispensation, lxxix-lxxxvii.
Dreux, defeat of Huguenots at, 157, 158.
Drummond, lord, 256.
Du Bellay, cardinal, death of, 41, 42; elegy by, on president Minard, 417.
Du Croc (*styled* Sieur du Croc, *signs* Le Croc), Philibert, French ambassador in Scotland, cxxx, 81 *n*, 96 and *n*, 363, 365, 386 and *n*, 387 *n*, 390, 392, 393, 436, 439, 440, 443, 444, 503; on queen Mary's illness, 305 and *n*, 308; at the baptism of prince James, 341, 342; arrives in Paris with the news of Darnley's murder, 349 and *n*, 351, 352, 354; refused a sight of Darnley's body, 356 *n*; returns to Scotland, 363, 365.

Dudley, lord Robert, possible husband for queen Elizabeth, 60, 61, 111, 112; to represent Elizabeth at the baptism of the prince, 289, 291; an enemy of lord Hertford, 467.
Dumbarton castle, restoration of, 67 *n*, 71.
Dunbar, Alexander, and the vacant deanery of Moray, 28, 30.
Dunblane, bishop of. *See* Chisholm, William.
—— coadjutor of, 40 and *n*, 42.
Dunfermline, visit of queen Mary to, 115 *n*.
—— abbot of. *See* Dury, George.
Dunkeld, bishop of. *See* Crichton, Robert.
Du Pont, father Paul, letter to, from Polanco, 483.
Dury, Andrew, bishop of Galloway, 28 *n*, 528, 530.
—— George, abbot of Dunfermline, 327; brief to, from Pius IV., 184.

ECCLESIASTICAL REFORMS, necessity for, xviii, xxv, 4, 7, 13, 17, 18, 20, 27-31, 36, 525. *See also* Clergy.
Edinburgh, the castle taken by Mary of Guise, 26; proclamation at, 67 *n*; heretics preaching in, 67, 68, 71; submission of the town council to queen Mary, 72 and *n*; 'calking' the doors of catholics in, 98 *n*; unrest among protestants in, 115, 116 and *n*; treaty of, xlvi; Knox's preaching in, 131; preachers exhort their hearers to slay de Gouda, lvii, 144, 147; lord Erskine governor of the castle, 272 and *n*, 278; Bothwell made governor, 378, 380; revival of catholicism in, 417; papists ordered to leave the city, 418, 419; catholic communicants in, 520.
Eglinton, David, earl of, 227, 254.
Elbœuf, marquis d', in Scotland, 85, 87.
Elizabeth, queen, accession of, 10, 11; at war with Scotland, 43, 44; attempt at her conversion, 46, 47; a hopeless heretic, 58 and *n*, 60; declares Mary to be her heir, 62; her intention to marry Dudley, 60, 61, 63, 68; fortifies her northern frontier, 65, 69, 70; marriage proposals, xlix *n*, 81, 111, 112, 194, 199, 464, 468, 469, 473; reported marriage with Leicester, 469; her friendly feelings towards Mary, 86, 88, 438, 443, 445, 447; invited to the council of Trent, xlviii, lxi; the council of Trent and the question of her excommunication, xxvi and *n*, lxii, 173-176; opposed to the match with Darnley, 192, 193 and *n*, 197, 198, 200, 210, 212; asks explanations from Mary, 471; prepares for war, 209; reconciled to the Darnley marriage, 467; her jealousy of prince James, 270, 277, 367, 370; agrees to act as godmother, 474; orders troops to Scotland, 458, 460; her suspicions of Spain, 458, 460; not a party to Mary's imprisonment, 478; subsidises Lethington and lord James, 466; to aid Scottish rebels, 487, 488; opposed to a protestant league, xxxix and *n*-xli; letter to, from Pius IV., 93; letter to, from Mary, 201.
Emps, Gabriel ab, 48.
Erroll, William, earl of, 227, 253, 254, 298 *n*.
Erskine, lord. *See* Mar, earl of.
—— Alexander, of Gogar, 423 *n*.
—— Arthur, 272 *n*.
—— Artus, of Blackgrange, 423 *n*.
Este, Anne d', wife of the duke of Guise, 267 *n*, 274.
—— Hippolito d', cardinal of Ferrara, 93, 418; in favour of Mary's marrying a son of Ferdinand, 52, 53; the alliance declined, 53; legate to France, xlviii, 56, 57; his instructions, 58 and *n*, 60; his correspondence relating to Scotland, 81-84.
Evoli, prince of, opposed to a Spanish-French alliance against England, 456, 458.
Excommunication of heretics, lxiv.
Expense of journey from Paris to Scotland, 388, 391.

FACULTIES in Scotland, petition for, 516.
Ferdinand, emperor, his son a suitor for the hand of queen Mary, 1, 52, 53, 85, 87, 178-180; opposed to the proposed excommunication of queen Elizabeth, lxiv, 174; proposes his brother as a husband for queen Elizabeth, 194, 199, 469; subsidised by the pope, 210, 212, 292, 299; his caution regarding papal leagues, xl and *n*, 174; letter to, from count Arco, 52.
Fermo, bishop of, nuncio at Paris, xxvii; letters from, to cardinal Carafa, xxvii *n*, 10-12, 25, 26.

Ferrara, cardinal. *See* Este, Hippolito d'.
—— duke of, marriage proposal for, xlix *n*, 81; letter to, from Bottoni, cxxix.
Ferré, Honoratus Michel, 518.
Ferreri, Giovanni, letter-book of, on Scottish affairs, xx, 413, 414.
Figueroa, Juan de, governor of Milan, 23 and *n*.
Flanders, Huguenot success in, 502.
Fleming, lady, 414.
—— lord, 9 *n*, 253, 255, 256.
Florence, duke of, his son made cardinal, 40, 42.
Florida, slaughter of the French in, 240, 242 and *n*, 249.
Foix, Paul de, French ambassador to Scotland, 68, 71, 81 *n*, 115 *n*; in Edinburgh, 418, 419; his interviews with queen Mary, 97 *n*, 436, 439, 441-443.
Foligno, bishop of, made cardinal, 40 and *n*, 42.
Forbes, lord, 257.
Forman, Adam, prior, sues for his rents, 96 *n*, 120 and *n*, 134.
Francis II. of France, 43, 45, 457 and *n*, 459; accession of, xxvii; dispensation for marriage of, to queen Mary, xxiv; death of, xlvii, 49, 50 *n*; letter to, from the bishop of Angoulême, 46, 47.
Franconian league, 68, 71.
Frederick II. of Denmark, a suitor for the hand of queen Mary, 63, 66, 68, 70, 85, 87.
French archives, cxxxvii; French policy towards Scotland, xxx-xxxiv and *n*.
Fungarth, canonry of, 41, 42.

GAETANO, NICHOLAS. *See* Sermonetta, cardinal.
Galli, Tolomeo, cardinal of Como, 50 *n*, 217; letters from, to Santa Croce, lxxxvi, 200, 201, 215, 216.
Galloway, bishop of. *See* Gordon, Alexander.
—— bishopric of, 28 and *n*, 30, 40, 42, 55 *n*, 122, 135.
Gascony soldiers, lawlessness of, 424, 428.
General assembly of the kirk of Scotland in Edinburgh in 1562, 116 *n*.
Geneva, claims on, by duke Filibert, 46 and *n*.
—— bishop of. *See* Bachaud, François de.
Genevan doctrine increasing in Scotland, 14, 18.
Germany, disorders in, 64, 68, 69.
Gesner, Conrad, professor of medicine, 415, 416.
Gherio, Filippo, bishop of Ischia, nuncio extraordinary to Spain, 461, 462; instructions for, 50 and *n*, 51.
Ghislieri, Michael, bishop of Mondovi. *See* Pius V.
Glajon, M., his mission to England, 457 *n*, 458 and *n*, 459.
Glammes, lord, 257.
Glencairn, earl of, 255; his son's pension, 28, 30.
Glenluce abbey, 28 and *n*, 30.
Gobbo, a courier, 10, 11.
Golden rose sent by Pius IV. to queen Mary, 49.
Gordon, Alexander, bishop of Galloway, 28 *n*, 185 *n*, 415.
—— father James, 487, 488, 515.
—— sir John, trial and execution of, 154 and *n*, 156.
—— William, 515 and *n*.
—— —— bishop of Aberdeen, 153, 155, 413, 415; brief to, from Pius IV., 184.
Gouda, Nicholas de, papal envoy to queen Mary, li, liv, 74, 75, 89, 91, 92, 160, 161, 481, 482, 489, 518; arrangements for his journey, 79, 80; to proceed immediately on his mission, 100, 102; sails for Scotland, 106, 107, 114, 130; lands at Leith, 114, 130, 144, 147, in Edinburgh, 117 and *n*, 131; in concealment at Megginch, liv, 116 and *n*, 131, 140, 141; visits the bishop of Dunkeld, lvi, 122 and *n*, 135, 145, 148; his interview with the queen, liv, 117, 131, 142, 163; fails to obtain a meeting with the bishops of Ross and Dunblane, 120, 121, 134; in danger of his life, lvii, 146, 148; leaves Scotland in disguise, 128-129, 139; report to Laynez, on the mission to Scotland, 113-139; Randolph's letters on the mission, 140-143; memoir on the mission of, 144, 147; death of, lxxi; letters from, to Laynez, 149, 150, 152, 154; letter from, to Salmeron, 103, 104; letters to, from Polanco, 158, 160, 479.
Graham, Andrew, deposition of, 513.
Granvelle, cardinal, 64 *n*, 65, 69, 79, 80, 162, 163, 168, 174, 196, 199; supports the match between queen Mary and the archduke, lxviii, lxxvi.

Grey, lady Catherine, a prisoner in the Tower, 64, 69.
—— lord, 12 and *n*, 255.
Grouchy, Nicholas, his *de Comitiis Romanorum*, 416.
Gualtieri, Sebastian, bishop of Viterbo, nuncio in France, his instructions, 45, 46, 48; summary of letters from, 61, 62.
Guise, cardinal of, obtains the appointment of Pellevé as legate to Scotland, 27, 30, 39, 41.
—— duke of, xxiii, 464; takes Thionville, 242 *n*, 249; letter to, from queen Mary, 435, 440; note on MS. of queen Mary's letter to, 531.
—— Renata, abbess of the monastery of St. Peter at Rheims, 374, 376.
Guzman, Diego de, Spanish ambassador in England, 178, 214, 461, 462, 467.

HADDINGTON, abbey of, 123 *n*.
Haliburton, James, 273 *n*.
Hamilton, duke of, leaves France for England, 478; rumour of his being a prisoner, 489, 490; his designs on the crown, 490, 491.
—— James, bishop of Argyle, 55 *n*, 257.
—— John, commendator of Arbroath, afterwards first marquis of Hamilton, 190 and *n*, 487 and *n*, 488; conversion of, by father Crichton, lxx *n*.
—— —— archbishop of St. Andrews, 122, 135, 266, 322, 323, 337; papal bulls sent to, 280 and *n*, 283; his power to grant dispensations, xciii-xciv; at the baptism of prince James, 341, 342; letter to, from Borromeo (?) 190; letters to, from Pius IV., 181, 225.
Hay, father Edmund, lxix, 46 *n*; to accompany de Gouda to Scotland, liii, 103-106 and *n*, 114, 130; becomes a member of the Society of Jesus, 144 and *n*, 147; his journey to Scotland, 114, 130, 144, 147; arranges for de Gouda's interview with queen Mary, 115, 131; conveys de Gouda to Megginch, 116 and *n*, 131; acts as interpreter at the interview between de Gouda and the queen, 117, 132; assists de Gouda in his escape from Scotland, 128, 139; returns to Flanders with a number of catholic students, lvi, 129, 139, 146, 148; proceeds to Rome, 146, 148, 150-155; his letters on the state of Scotland, 158-161; sent by Polanco to Paris, 480; rector of Clermont college, 483, 486; recommended by Laureo as envoy to queen Mary, 388 and *n*, 390-393; sent by Laureo on a mission to Scotland, 144-148, 312-314, 318, 319, 331, 332, 407, 488, 490, 496, 497; well qualified for the task, 501; to leave with Chisholm, 502; sails for Scotland, 504; arrives in Edinburgh, 341, 342; Laureo awaits his return, 321, 323, 337, 338, 346, 347; writes to Manare, 350, 351; to return with Moretta, 354; intends to leave an account of his journey with Laureo, 379, 381; reports progress, 397, 398, 402, 403; sends news of the queen's imprisonment, 401, 402; arrives in Paris, 366, 369, 405, 505, 506; advises Laureo against going to Scotland, 368, 370; on the marriage with Bothwell, cxxix; success of his preaching in Scotland, 507; calls Mary 'that sinner,' 507, 508; writes to Laynez, 479.
letters from, to Borgia, 487, 488, 496, 499-502, 507; Laureo, 394, 395; Polanco, 191, 197, 486, 491, 492.
letters to, from Polanco, 480, 484-486, 492, 496.
Hay, George, cxxxix *n*.
—— father John (?George), a student at Louvain, 146, 148.
—— Peter, of Megginch, 106 *n*; de Gouda concealed in the house of, 116 and *n*, 131, 140, 141; prosecuted for harbouring de Gouda, 128, 139.
—— Thomas, bishop of Glenluce, 28 *n*.
—— Walter, in Vienna, 484, 485, 487; enters the Society of Jesus, 492; in Paris, 500, 501.
Henry II. of France, his attitude towards protestantism, xxix-xxxii, 13, 18, 417; resolves to send a force against the Scottish rebels, xxx, xxxii; his policy of expediency, xxxiv *n*; legate appointed to, 4, 7; at Fontainebleau, 420, 421; death of, xxvii, xxxi, 21, 417 and *n*; letter from, to Paul IV., 13, 17.
Henry IV., conversion of, 126 *n*.
Henryson, Edward, 416.
Hepburn, James. *See* Bothwell, earl of.
—— John, bishop of Brechin, 28 *n*, 512 and *n*, 513, 514.
—— Patrick, bishop of Moray, 56 *n*, 528, 530; brief to, from Pius V., 184.

Heresy, increase of, in Scotland, 67, 71; treatment of heretics, 33, 37, 38; heretics in power, 122, 135, 145, 147, 494, 495; conspiracy by heretics against catholic nobility, 167; anathema against heretics, by the council of Trent, 174; penitent heretics to receive absolution, 224, 225; heretical disturbances in Scotland, 228; threatens the total destruction of the catholic religion, 241, 248; heretical disturbances at Lyons, cxxvi, 382-385.
Hertford, earl of, 467; a prisoner in the Tower, 64, 69.
Hosius, cardinal, 170, 174; letter to, from Laynez, 480.
Huguenots defeated at Dreux, 157, 158; conspiracy of, 167; return of, to Scotland, 494, 495.
Hume, lord, 253, 255, 256; brief to, from Pius IV., 227.
Huntly, George, 4th earl of, 415; one of the queen's councillors, 96 *n*; warns Mary of the dangerous increase of heresy, 67 and *n*, 71; apostolic brief sent to, 122 and *n*, 135; appointed chancellor, 273 *n*; defeated and slain at Corrichie, lviii, 154 and *n*, 156, 163.
—— —— 5th earl of, in list of Scottish nobility, 254, 256; devises means of escape for queen Mary from Holyrood, 298 and *n*, 303.

INCHKEITH, 307 and *n*, 309.
Innsbruck college, 484, 485.
Invermeath, lord, 255, 256.
Ischia, bishop of. *See* Gherio, Filippo.
Isles, bishop of the, 257. *See also* Campbell, John.
—— bishopric of the, 28 and *n*, 30, 55 and *n*, 56.
Italian archives, cxxxvii.

JAMES, prince, birth of, 475, 499, 500; baptism of, cxvii, 279-283, 293, 297, 300, 303, 324, 327, 333-336, 339, 340, 342, 344, 346, 347, 455, 474; declared to be illegitimate, xcvi.
Jedburgh, raid of, in 1561, 96 *n*.
Jesuits' college in Rome, 77, 78, 79, 81; good reputation of jesuit colleges, 496.
John, don, of Austria, proposed by Philip II. as husband for queen Elizabeth, 194, 199.
Joinville, prince de, illness of, 422, 423.
Julius II., 522, 523.
—— III., death of, xix.

KELSO abbey, 28 and *n*, 30, 40, 42.
Kennedy, Quentin, abbot of Crossraguel, brief to, from Pius IV., 184; the *Fourscoirthre Questions* ascribed to, 97 *n*.
Kinloss, abbot of, 415.
Kirk o' Field, murder of Darnley at, cxx, 355 and *n*, 358.
Knights of St. John, 236, 237.
Knox, John, returns to Scotland, xxvii; challenged to a disputation, 97 and *n*, 99; endeavours to prevent the queen's meeting with de Gouda, 115, 131.

LA BOURDAISERIE, FILIBERT DE, bishop of Angoulême, French ambassador at Rome, xxxvi, 17, 20, 29 *n*, 39, 42; letter from, to the cardinal of Lorraine, 20-25 and *n*; letter from, to Francis II., 46, 47.
La Brosse, M., sent with troops to Scotland, 26.
Lambert, father, rector of the college of Mayence, 153, 155.
Langlois, Gul., 413.
La Quadra. *See* Quadra.
La Torre, Michael de, bishop of Ceneda, 262, 267, 275, 280, 282, 288, 290, 307, 309, 451, 452, 505.
Laureo, Vincenzo, bishop of Mondovi, papal nuncio to queen Mary, cvii, 41 *n*, 146-148, 239, 263-264 and *n*, 292, 299; his instructions, cviii, 406; to be accompanied by father Hay, 497, 498; conferences with the cardinal of Lorraine, 267, 275, 296, 302, 311, 314, 374, 376, 379, 381; at the court of France, 294-295, 300-301, 374, 376; his instructions as to the papal subsidy for queen Mary, 284, 285, 289, 290; invited to the baptism of prince James, 305, 308, 310, 313; suggests that the queen execute rebel lords, cx-cxiv, cxix, 312, 314, 360, 361, 363, 365; reasons for the delay in sending for him, 269, 276, 327, 328, 499, 500; her urgent request for the money, cxvi, 269, 276; delays his journey, cxvi, 323, 454, 502; resolves to await Hay's return, 313, 315, 320, 322; receives news of Darnley's murder, cxxi, 349, 351, 353, 354; advised against going to Scotland, 368, 371; instructed to return to Mondovi, cxiv, cxxii, 286, 287, 347, 348, 372, 373, 506; Mary to send lord Seton to bring the nuncio to

Edinburgh, 367, 370; sends an Agnus Dei to Mary, 364, 366; takes leave of the cardinal of Lorraine and of Catherine de Medicis, cxxvi, 374-377; suggests the arrest of the earl of Murray, 389, 391; his expenses in Paris, 384, 385; accounts of his mission by contemporaries, 403; counteracts heretical preacher at Lyons, cxxvi, 382-385; visits the duke of Savoy at Turin, 384, 385; returns to Mondovi, 363-365, 369, 371, 386, 390, 407; analysis of his mission, 407; life of, by Tritonio, cvii.
letters from, to the cardinal of Alessandria, 266, 274, 278, 282, 288, 290, 292, 299, 305, 308, 309, 310, 313, 318, 319, 320, 322, 331, 332, 333, 336, 340, 341, 346, 347, 349, 351, 352, 354, 355, 358, 359, 361, 364, 366, 369, 373, 376, 378, 380, 382, 383, 385, 386, 390, 392, 393, 397, 398, 401.
letters to, from the cardinal of Alessandria, 265, 266, 284, 285, 287, 304, 329, 330, 337-340, 342, 343, 345, 347, 348, 372, 373, 396, 397, 400, 402, 403; letter to, from father Hay, 394, 395; letters to, from queen Mary, 328, 386 *n*.
La Vega, Garcia de, 44, 45; negotiates between England and France, 44, 45.
Lavellinus, Antonius Florebellus, 54, 93, 94, 107, 108.
La Voippière, M., French solicitor in Rome, 494, 495.
Laynez, James, father-general, 79, 80, 106, 108 *n*; at the council of Trent, li; de Gouda reports to, on his mission to Scotland, 113-129, 129-139; letter from, to cardinal Hosius, 480; letters to, from de Gouda, 149, 150, 152, 154.
Leicester, earl of, report of his marriage with queen Elizabeth, 469; proposed by Elizabeth as husband for queen Mary, 193 and *n*, 198.
Leith, taken by the queen regent, 25, 26; de Gouda lands at, 144, 147.
Lennox, earl of, 111, 112, 254, 306, 308; reported murder of, 349, 351, 353, 354, 357 *n*; origin of the rumour, 357, 358; his accusations against the queen, 362 *n*; in arms against the queen, 366, 369; actuated by selfish motives, 367, 370; causes the arrest of Mamerot, 519, 520; letter to, from Pius IV., 226.
Lennox, lady Margaret, in prison, 470.
Leslie, John, bishop of Ross, 305 and *n*, 308, 309 *n*, 310, 332 and *n*, 333; at the baptism of prince James, 341, 342; his account of Laureo's mission, 403; on the Bothwell marriage, cxxxi.
L'Hospital, M. de, 449.
Lignerolles, M., to be hanged, 438, 442.
Limoges, bishop of. *See* Aubespine, Sebastien de l'.
Lindsay, earl of, 253, 255, 256.
Lippomani, Aloysio, 413, 415.
Lismore identified with the Isles, 55, 56 *n*.
Livingston, lord, 255, 256.
—— Thomas, 514.
—— William, of Kilsyth, conducts de Gouda to Edinburgh, 116 *n*, 142.
Lorraine, Charles, cardinal of, 9-11, 28 *n*, 29, 48, 50, 51, 91, 92, 96, 99, 221, 222, 286, 287, 337, 374, 376, 439, 444, 446, 448, 463, 478, 502, 518; disputation with Beza, 62 and *n*; his negotiations for a suitable match for queen Mary, lxiv, 84, 85, 86 *n*, 87; colleges founded by, 119 and *n*, 133; approves of de Gouda's proposed remedies for Scotland, 158, 160; in fear of assassination, 167; to visit Paul IV., 522, 523; presents letter from queen Mary to the council of Trent, 168-170; the synod's reply, 171; opposed to the Spanish match, 177; writes to the king of Rome, 181; to inform Mary of the decrees of the council of Trent, 188, 189; expected at Rome, 196, 199; sends agents to Scotland to oppose the queen's marriage, 200; applies for the dispensation, lxxvii, 195 *n*, 196, 199, 201; his responsibility for confiscation of rebels' property, 270, 277; his conferences with Laureo, 264 *n*, 266, 267, 274, 275, 281, 283, 289, 290, 296 and *n*, 297, 302, 311, 314, 379, 381; queen Mary rejects his advice regarding remedies for Scotland, 321, 323, 350, 352, 367, 370, 373, 376; hated by Catherine de Medicis, etc., 449, 468, 476; receives bad news from Scotland, 493-495; his economy, 494-495; Mary writes to, 166; letters from, to Mary of Guise, 419, 421, 422, 423; letter to, from Mary of Guise, 423, 427; letter to, from the French ambassador in Rome, 20;

letter to, from Borromeo, 156, 157; brief to, from Pius IV., 223, 225, 228.
Lossels, John, secretary, 273 *n*.
Louvain, rector of, 486; letter to, from Polanco, 481, 489.
Lovat, lord, 255, 257.
Lyons, disorders in, caused by Huguenots, cxxvi, 382-385.

MacGill, James, of Rankellour Nethir, 'a contriver of all evil,' 272, 273 *n*, 278.
Madrucci, Cristoforo, cardinal of Trent, 52, 53.
Magistrates of Edinburgh, their injustice towards catholics, 124, 136.
Maitland, William, of Lethington, 164 *n*, 168, 194 *n*, 407; his interviews with de Gouda, 119 and *n*, 120, 133; on de Gouda's object in coming to Scotland, 142, 143; opposed to the archduke match, lxv, 177; suggests a divorce between Mary and Darnley, 195 *n*; banished from the court, 272 and *n*, 273 *n*, 278; well-affected towards the queen, 439, 444; gains her confidence, lvii, 402; to visit queen Elizabeth, 466; Laureo's estimate of, 389, 391, 401, 402; letters to, from Cecil, 436, 438, 440, 443.
Makgill, Thomas, declaratory sentence against, 41 and *n*, 42.
Malta, relief of, 240, 241, 242 *n*, 248.
—— knights of, 238-240; assisted by Pius V., 292, 299.
Mamerot, father Roche, confessor to queen Mary, 491 and *n*, 492; opposes the marriage with Bothwell, cxxix, 519, 520; note on, 517-519.
Manare, father Oliver, jesuit provincial in France, cviii, 480, 487; his opinion of Chisholm, cxv, 501; Hay writes to, 350, 351; letters from, to Borgia, 497, 498, 501, 502, 504; letter to, from Borgia, 488; Polanco writes to, 486, 490, 505.
Manriques, Juan, writes, to Philip II., 468.
Mar, John, earl of, 141, 194 *n*, 227, 255, 256; governor of Edinburgh castle, 267, 272 and *n*, 278, 370; created earl of Mar, 272 and *n*, 278; deprived of his governorship, 378, 380.
Marcellus II., accession of, xix, 416; petitioned to levy a tax on the clergy, 522, 523. *See also* Santa Croce, cardinal.
Marguerite, princess, proposed marriage of, with don Carlos, 461, 462.
Marischal, earl of, 255, 256.
Marriage dispensation of Mary and Darnley, 159, 161, 191-231.
Martinengo, Girolamo, ordered to England, 50 *n*.
Mary, queen of England, death of, xxvi, 10, 11, 456, 458; an example for the queen of Scots, 73, 75.
Mary of Guise, rebellion against, xxviii; in possession of Leith and Edinburgh, xxxvii, 25, 26; her policy of conciliation and temporising, xxxiii, xxxiv and *n*, 430; her French sympathies, xxiv; her right of nomination to monasteries in Scotland, 33, 37; brings back monks to Edinburgh, 417; death of, xcix, 47, 48.
letter from, to the cardinal of Lorraine, 423, 427.
letters to, from the cardinal of Lorraine, 419, 421, 422, 423; letter to, from queen Mary, 434, 435; letters to, from Thornton, 27, 29, 39, 41.
Mary queen of Scots, illness of, xx, xxi and *n*, 413, 414; petitions the pope for the taxation of the clergy, xix, 2, 3, 522, 530; receives the golden rose, 49; her gibe at Catherine de Medicis, 449; dispensation for her marriage to Francis II., xxiv; sails for Scotland, 61, 62; her interviews with de Foix, 97 *n*, 436, 439, 441-443; conspiracy against, by the duke of Condé, 97 and *n*, 99; her household, 116 *n*; hears mass, 65, 70, 72 and *n*; her resolve to adhere to the catholic faith, l, lv, xcvii, 72, 74, 84-87, 162, 163, 170-172, 261, 262 and *n*, 325, 328, 363, 365, 386 and *n*, 390, 503; to be represented at the council of Trent, 81, 83; unable to send to the council, lxii, 171, 172; arranges for the reception of de Gouda, 115 and *n*, 131; her interviews with de Gouda, liv, 117, 131, 142, 144, 147, 163; alone among heretics, 125 and *n*, 136; her power merely nominal, 480; defeats the earl of Huntly, lviii, 154 and *n*, 156, 163; the Chatellar incident, 164 and *n*-167 and *n*; memorial on her claim to the English throne, 175, 176; proposed recognition of her claim to the throne of England, xxvi, 173; marriage rumours, xlix *n*, lxxiii, 97, 99, 111, 112; proposals of marriage, lxv, 52, 53, 59, 60, 63, 66, 68, 70,

166, 176-180, 461, 462; public feeling on a union with a catholic, l, lxxiii, 127, 138; instructions to Visconti relating to marriage with the archduke, 176; quarrels with the earl of Murray, 192 and *n*, 198; applies for papal assistance, 205, 208; orders the public preaching of the catholic religion, 492, 494, 495; required to suppress the mass, 228 and *n*, 229-231; league against, by Catherine de Medicis and queen Elizabeth, 466; in St. Andrews, 94 *n*, 95 *n*; Elizabeth sends Darnley to Mary, lxxiii, 464; creates Darnley earl of Ross, lxxv, 192 and *n*, 198; her marriage with Darnley, lxxix, 196 and *n*, 199, 467; popularity of the match, lxxvi-lxxviii, 468; rumoured to have joined a papal league, xlii and *n*; advices to and from Rome regarding the marriage, lxxii, 191-197; her ambassador at Rome, 197, 200; dispensation for her marriage with Darnley, 191-231; date of the dispensation, lxxx-lxxxvii; her instructions to Yaxley, 471; desirous of recalling catholics to Scotland, 490, 491; a prisoner, 298 and *n*, 303; her flight to Dunbar, xxviii; refuses to abandon the mass, 230, 231; delares Murray a rebel, 470; requests assistance from the pope and Philip II., 212-214; gains a victory over the rebels, 230, 231, 450 *n*; papal subsidy for, xcviii, 146, 148, 224 and *n*, 225, 267, 269, 270, 275-277, 279 and *n*, 282, 284-292, 299, 384, 385, 473-475, 506; conditions attached to the payment of the subsidy, 284, 285, 289, 290, 297, 302; amount received from the pope, 380, 381, 384, 385, 407; birth of prince James, 270, 277, 475, 499, 500; the baptism, cxvii, 269, 276, 278, 282, 293, 300, 333-335, 336, 341, 342; anxious for Laureo to come to Scotland, cxvi, 320, 322, 327, 367, 370; refuses Laureo's advice to execute the rebel lords, cx-cxiv, cxix, 312, 314; rejects the advice of the cardinal of Lorraine, 321, 323, 350. 352, 367, 370, 373, 376; illness of, xx, xxi, 305 and *n*, 308-310, 329, 335, 420, 421, 429, 475, 476, 502; her recovery, 424, 427; sends Stephen Wilson to Rome, 320, 322, 326; her interview with Chisholm, xviii; quarrels with Darnley, 270, 277, 306 and *n*, 308, 315, 317, 473, 474, 477; report of her being murdered by Darnley, civ, 473; their reconciliation, 318, 319; visits Darnley at Glasgow, 346, 347; visits Darnley at Kirk o' Field, 356, 358; suspected of being concerned in the murder of Darnley, cxxx, 353 *n*, 362; repudiates the charge, 359 *n*; her endeavours to discover the murderers, 361, 364; bestows the governorship of Edinburgh castle upon Bothwell, 378, 380; her affection for Bothwell, 392, 393; marries Bothwell, xxxvii, 387 and *n*, 389-391, 394, 396, 477, 520; opinions of Mamerot, Tritonio, Hay, etc., on the marriage, cxxix; defence of her conduct, 398-399; further communications with her declined by the pope, cxxviii, 396, 397; a prisoner in Lochleven castle, 401, 402, 477, 478; restores the convent church of Auxerre, 519; the pope re-opens correspondence, cxxiv *n*.

letters from, to the duchess of Aerschot, 449; Charles IX., 450, 451; council of Trent, with answers, 167-171; queen Elizabeth, 201; Laureo, 386 *n*; Mary of Guise, 434, 435; the duke of Guise, 435, 440; note on the MS. of her letter to the duke of Guise, 531; cardinal of Lorraine, 162, 163; cardinal Moroni, 324, 325; lord James Murray, 432; Paul IV., 522-524; Philip II., 475; Pius IV., 162; Pius V., 261; the duke of Savoy, 431.

letters to, from lord James Murray, 433; Paul IV., 1, 3; Pellevé, 445, 447; Pius IV., 48, 53, 54, 56, 57, 72, 74, 88, 93, 185, 187, 188, 189, 220, 222; Pius V., 232, 236, 343; the duke of Savoy, 454, 455; bibliography of, 258 *n*.

Mass celebrated in the palace, 83, 123, 135, 145, 147; demand made for its suppression, 228 and *n*, 229-231; restoration of, in Scotland, 490-492, 494, 495, 505. *See also* Mary, queen of Scots.

Massarelli's account of proceedings at the council of Trent, 169.

Mauvissière, M. de, French envoy to England and Scotland, 195 *n*, 230, 231, 269, 276, 453; returns to Paris, 279, 282.

Maximilian, emperor, subsidised by Pius V., 237; the subsidy to be dis-

continued, 238; remonstrates against papal subsidy being sent to queen Mary, cv; on the fiction of a papal league, xl *n*.
Maxwell, lord, 257.
Medici, Giovanni de, created cardinal, 40 and *n*, 42.
—— Juliano, bearer of congratulatory letter on the accession of Pius IV., 48.
Melendez de Avilès, Pedro, exterminates the French colony in Florida, lxxii, 242 *n*.
Melrose abbey, 28 *n*.
Melville, sir James, mission of, xxxi-xxxiii and *n*; on the Spanish subsidy lost with Yaxley, ciii, 224 *n*.
—— sir John, of Raith, execution of, xxxiii *n*.
Mendoza, Pedro Gonzalez de, bishop of Salamanca, 167.
Menteith, earl of, 256.
Mercurian, Everard, provincial of the jesuits of Lower Germany, 76, 78, 91, 92, 113, 130; recommends that father Mercurian should go with de Gouda to Scotland, lii; makes arrangements for de Gouda's mission, liii, 103,105.
letters to, from Salmeron, 78, 80, 101, 102; Pius IV., 106, 108; Francis Borgia, 108, 109, [bishop Chisholm] 257.
Messina, bishop of, at the council of Trent, 169.
Methven, lord, 257.
Meudon, belonging to the cardinal of Lorraine, 298, 303.
Mina, abbate, on the proposed marriage for queen Mary, 464, 465.
Minard, president, elegy on, 417.
Ministers of Edinburgh exhort their hearers to slay de Gouda, 144, 147.
Monasteries and churches, desolation of, 123 and *n*, 135, 527, 529, 530.
Mondovi, bishop of. *See* Laureo, Vincenzo.
—— church of, 382 and *n*, 383.
Monluc, Jean de, bishop of Valence, 434, 435.
Monreale, bishop of. *See* Mondovi.
Montaignac, M. de, bearer of despatches from queen Mary to the duke of Guise, 435, 440.
Montgomery, lord, 253.
Montmorency, Anne de, constable of France, hates the cardinal of Lorraine, 476.
Montpensier, duc de, governor of Dauphiné, 296, 302.
Montrose, William, earl of, 227, 253, 254.
Moray, bishopric of, 55, 56; deanery of, 28, 30, 40, 42.
—— earl of. *See* Murray.
Moretta or Morette (also Muretta, Moret, etc.), Bertino Solaro, signor di, ambassador of the duke of Savoy, xlix *n*, 68, 71, 81 and *n*, 82, 341, 342, 359 *n*; to represent the duke at the baptism of James VI., 334, 336, 455; on the nuncio's going to Scotland, cxxiii-cxxiv, 368, 371; arrives in Scotland, 440, 444; in Edinburgh, 418, 419; delayed in Edinburgh on account of Darnley's murder, 353, 354; is refused a sight of the body, 356 *n*; expected in Paris, 357, 359; in London, 360, 361; in Paris, 366, 369; reports unfavourably of queen Mary, cxxix, cxxx, 353 *n*; on the critical state of Scotland, 477.
Moroni, cardinal, letter to, from the bishop of Dunblane, 315, 317; letter to, from queen Mary, 324, 325.
Morton, earl of, 417; in list of heretic nobility, 253-255; in England, 272 *n*; his treason, 272 and *n*, 278; in arms against the queen, 366, 369.
Murdoch, father William, a student at Louvain, 146, 148.
Murray, James Stuart, earl of, 67, 71, 118, 132, 140, 143, 255, 520, 521; commendator of St. Andrews, 9 *n*; all-powerful in Scotland, 145 and *n*, 147, 480, 493, 494; his influence over the queen, 144, 148, 439, 444; defeats the earl of Huntly at Corrichie, 154 and *n*, 156; reported to be favouring the catholic faith, 95 and *n*, 98; his quarrels with the queen, 192 and *n*, 198; subsidised by queen Elizabeth, 466; is declared a rebel, 470, 487, 488; pardoned, 271 and *n*, 278; warned by queen Mary against persecuting the catholic faith, 503; implicated in the murder of Darnley, 361 and *n*, 362 and *n*, 364, 365; leaves Scotland, 378, 380, 505; on the way to Geneva, 389, 391, 477; returns to Scotland, 477, 478; his designs on the throne, 366, 369, 401, 402, 478; death of, 254; letter from, to queen Mary, 433; letter to, from queen Mary, 432.
—— James, bearer of despatches from queen Mary to the cardinal of Lorraine, 200.

Murray, sir William, of Tullibardine, 'comptrollar' to queen Mary, 205 *n*.
Musotti, M., secretary to the cardinal of Lorraine, 196, 197, 199, 200, 224, 225; bearer of the marriage dispensation, lxxx.

NADAL, FATHER JEROME, 129, 139; his commendation of de Gouda, 152, 155; visitations of, 510; letter to, from Polanco, 235, 239.
Naples, cardinal of. *See* Carafa Alfonso.
Naturalisation letters granted to Scotsmen, 484 *n*.
Navarre, queen of. *See* Dalbret, Jeanne.
Navigero, cardinal legate, 170.
Nelson, Thomas, servant of Darnley at Kirk o' Field, 356 *n*.
Nemours, M. de, 81 *n*; suspected of a plot to abduct the duke of Anjou, 436, 440, 441, 442, 444 *n*; proposed marriage with queen Elizabeth, xlix *n*.
Newbattle abbey, 96 *n*.
Nichetto, abbate, agent of cardinal d'Este, 82, 156, 158.
Nobility of Scotland, classification of, 253-257.
Norfolk, duke of, proposed by queen Elizabeth as husband for queen Mary, 193 and *n*, 198.
Northumberland, earl of, refuses to restore the Spanish subsidy, ciii.
—— duke of, the cause of Somerset's death, 467.
Nuncios, provision made for, 264 and *n*.
Nunneries, disorders in, xxv, 526, 528.

OCHILTRIE (Uchiltre), lord, 255, 256.
Ogilbe, lord, 256,
Oliphant, lord, 255.
Orkney, bishopric of, 55 and *n*, 56.
Orleans, bishop of, his hatred of the cardinal of Lorraine, 476.
Oysel, Henri Cleutin d', French ambassador at Rome, 195 *n*, 426, 430; letters from, to Charles IX., 451, 453; letter from, to Catherine de Medicis, 452, 453, 454; death of, 454 *n*.

PACHECO, PEDRO, cardinal, on the obstinacy of Paul IV., 23-24; death of, 41 and *n*, 43.
—— Francis, cardinal, 41 *n*; letter of, to Philip II., 211, 212; letter to, from Philip, in answer, 213.
Paget, lord, letter from, to Cecil, on the date of the marriage dispensation, lxxx, 195 *n*.
Panter, David, bishop of Ross, 9 *n*, 28 *n*; ambassador in France, 415.
Papal leagues, xxxviii-xl *n*, ciii.
Paris, extract from annual letters of the jesuit college in, 507.
Parma, duchess of, 64 *n*.
Parpaglia, Vincenzo, abbate di San Saluto, 462-463; his mission to England, 46, 47; letter from, to cardinal Borromeo, 110, 112.
Paul III. calls queen Mary defender of the church, 169; his taxation of the Scottish clergy, 524, 525.
Paul IV., accession of, xix; petitioned to impose a tax on the clergy, xix, 522; grants dispensation to queen Mary and Francis, xxiv; his inaction and obstinacy, xxix, xxxvi, 23-24; apathy of, regarding Scottish affairs, xlvi-xlvii; his refusal to recognise Elizabeth as queen of England, xxvi *n*; death of, xxxvii, 417.
letters from, to queen Mary, 1, 3; Trivulzio, 4, 6; and Henry II., 4, 7.
letters to, from Henry II., 13, 17; queen Mary, 522-524; and cardinal Sermonetta, 525, 528.
Pays d'obéissance, 24 and *n*.
Pellevé, Nicholas de, bishop of Amiens, legate to Scotland, xxx, xxxvii-xliii, 15, 17, 19, 20, 27, 30, 31, 36, 39, 41; his orthodoxy called in question, xxxvi, 21, 22, 24; proclaims freedom of conscience, xliv; failure of his mission, xliv-xlv; neglected, xxxvii; letter from, to queen Mary, 445, 447; letter to, from Pius IV. on his appointment as legate, 31, 35.
Pensions for expelled monks and nuns, 96 and *n*, 99.
Perth charter-house, 96 *n*, 123 *n*; destruction of, xxix.
Petitions for taxation of the Scottish clergy, xix, 522-524.
Philip II. of Spain, 23 and *n*, 24, 25, 43, 45; his negotiations for the marriage of don Carlos with queen Mary, 97, 99, 177, 178, 179 and *n*, 180; favours a marriage between the archduke Charles and queen Mary, lxvi, 461, 462; displeased at the proposed excommunication of queen Elizabeth, 174; proposes don John of Austria as husband for queen Elizabeth, 194, 199; willing to assist queen Mary, xcix, 213-214, 434-435;

his duty as to the restoration of the catholic faith, 242-244, 248-250; under papal influence, 311, 314; opposed to a papal league, xli, 236; forced to grant the exercise of the new religion in Flanders, 295, 301; approves of the Darnley match, lxxvi, 468; his friendship coveted by queen Mary, 471; favourably disposed towards France, 444, 448; his instructions to Chantonay, 469; letters from, to Pachecho, 213; letter from, to Alava, 467; Alava's despatches to, 463, 464, 466-469, 472-478; letters to, from queen Mary, 475; cardinal Pachecho, 211, 212; de Silva, 469-471, 520.
Pinguillion, M., 125 and *n*, 136.
Pio, Rodolpho, cardinal, 415.
Pius IV., election of, xliii, 27, 29, 417; his speech in consistory, 47, 48; his briefs to Mary as queen of France, 48; sends her the golden rose, 49; invites Scottish bishops to the council of Trent, 53-56; suggests the archduke Charles for the hand of queen Mary, 1, 59; his solicitude for queen Mary, 156-158; approves of the proposed excommunication of queen Elizabeth, 174; despatches Visconti to Madrid, 178; the bishop of Dunblane's speech to, 203, 204, 207; speech in consistory, lxxxiv, 210; applied to, by queen Mary, for assistance, 205, 208, 212, 213; his willingness to grant her request, 221, 222, 223; thinks the time inopportune to send money, 224 and *n*, 225; subsidises the emperor, 210, 212; grants dispensation for the marriage of Mary and Darnley, lxxxiv, xcv, 194 and *n*, 197, 199, 200, 216, 219, 223, 225; briefs accompanying the dispensation, 220, 222; speech in consistory, 227, 229; to defend the catholics with counsel, help, and money, 229 and *n*; death of, c, 232.
letters from, to queen Elizabeth, 93; archbishop Hamilton, 225; lord Hume, etc., 227; earl of Lennox, etc., 226; the cardinal of Lorraine, 223, 225, 228; queen Mary, 53, 54, 56, 57, 72, 88, 93; Mercurian, 106, 108; Pellevé, 31, 35; the archbishop of St. Andrews, the archbishop of Glasgow, etc., 181-184.
letter to, from queen Mary, 162.
Pius V., election of, 232, 472; resolves to send money and a nuncio to Scotland, 237-239, 473-475, 497-499; sends the bishop of Mondovi as nuncio, 292, 299; allots to queen Mary the subsidy destined for the emperor, 238; reduces his expenditure in order to aid against heretics, 267, 275; gratified at the restoration of the mass in Scotland, 492; publication of his jubilee *contra Turcas*, 265, 266; sends a subsidy to queen Mary, 146, 148, 267, 275, 269, 276, 499, 500, 506; urges France and Spain to aid the queen, civ, 236-239; instructions to Laureo as to the subsidy, 284, 285; the money to be used solely in the cause of the catholic religion, 146, 148, 289, 290, 296, 302, 311, 313, 318, 319; amount of the subsidy, 289-291, 380, 381, 384, 385; his influence over Philip II., 311, 314; sends Mary an Agnus Dei, 331, 333; his inability to send further help, 235, 452, 453; on account of the Bothwell marriage, declines further communications with Mary, cxxviii, 396, 397; passionately grieved at the bad news from Scotland, 402, 403; re-opens correspondence with the queen, cxxxiv *n*; letters from, to queen Mary, 232, 236, 343; letter to, from Mary, 261.
Poissy, conference of, 418.
Polanco, John, father-secretary, 150, 152, 154, 156; writes to Crichton, 492, 504, 505; to Manare, etc., 486, 490, 505.
letters from, to Abercromby, 506; Bellost, Crichton, and Hay, 489; Borgia and de Gouda, 479; Canisius, 483; Paul du Pont, 483; de Gouda, 158, 160; Edmund Hay, 480, 484, 485, 486, 492, 496, 504; the French provincial, 487; the rector at Louvain, 481; Nadal, 235, 239; the rector, etc., at Vienna, 480.
letters to, from Hay, 191, 197, 486, 490, 491, 492.
Pole, Reginald, cardinal of England, illness of, 10, 11; appoints Priuli his executor, 12.
Polweiler, Nicholas von, Ferdinand's envoy to France, 52, 53.
Post between Paris and Rome, xliii *n*, lxxii, lxxvii, 264 *n*.
Priests abjure the catholic faith, 124, 136.
Priuli, M., executor to the cardinal of England, 12.

Privy council grant money for the baptism of the prince, 324.
proclamations anent the maintenance of religion, 126 and *n*, 137; removing disabilities of protestants, 395 and *n*, 396.
Proditionis ab aliquot Scotiæ Perduellibus . . ., 258 *n*, 259 *n*.
Protestant leagues, xxxix-xli.
Provost's Place at Kirk o' Field, 355 *n*.
Pseaume, Nicholas, bishop of Verdun, 519.
Puteo, cardinal, 2, 3, 4.

QUADRA, ALVARO DE LA, bishop of Aquila, Spanish ambassador in London, 64 *n*, 67 *n*, 115 *n*, 164 *n*, 168; negotiates for a marriage between queen Mary and don Carlos, lxvi.

RAID OF BEATH, 212 and *n*.
Rambouillet, M. de, mission of, 469, 473; his return from Scotland, 451, 452.
Randolph, Thomas, letters from, to sir William Cecil, 140-143, 202, 233 *n*.
Raullet, M., queen Mary's secretary, 450.
Reed, Walter, abbot of Kinloss, 417.
Reid, Robert, bishop of Orkney, 9 *n*, 413, 415, 416, 528, 530.
Reomano, cardinal, 35, 39, 493, 495, 512, 515.
Richardson, Robert, queen Mary's treasurer, 205 and *n*, 208, 273 *n*.
Rivat, father John, to accompany de Gouda to Scotland, 103, 104; acts as interpreter at de Gouda's interview with the queen, 118, 132.
Rizzio, David, ciii; murder of, 234, 271 and *n*, 273 *n*, 277, 451, 452.
Robertet, secretary, 10, 11, 12.
Rochefort, M., agent of the cardinal of Lorraine, 200.
Roche-sur-Yon [Roccasurion], prince of, his hatred of the cardinal of Lorraine, 449.
Ross, bishopric of, 28 and *n*, 30, 40, 42, 55 and *n*, 56.
—— lord, 255.
Rothes, earl of, 9 *n*, 255, 256.
Roulet, M., agent of the cardinal of Lorraine, 200.
Rovere, Marco Vergerio de la, bishop of Sinigaglia, 22.
—— Ottaviano, bishop of Terracina, on Pellevé's orthodoxy and Paul IV's obstinacy, 21; summaries of his despatches, when nuncio at Madrid, 43, 44.
Rubbay, M. de, 427 and *n*, 430.
Ruthven, William, lord, 227, 253, 255, 256; submission of, to the queen regent, 418; credits Darnley with the murder of Rizzio, 271, 277; death of, 254; *Ruthven's Relation*, 258 *n*, 271 *n*.
Rutland, countess of, 289, 291.

SACKVILLE, SIR ROBERT, Darnley confined in the house of, 111 *n*.
St. Andrews, archbishop of. *See* Hamilton, John.
—— monastery, 123 *n*, 124 *n*.
St. Colme, M. de, 435, 440, 445, 447.
St. Ferme, abbé of, 23.
St. Peter's, Rome, building of, 236.
St. Quentin, defeat of the French at, xxiii.
Salmeron, father Alonso, vicar-general, 113, 130, 150, 152, 154, 156; summoned to the council of Trent, 108 *n*.
letters from, to de Gouda, 75, 77, 100; to Mercurian, 78, 80, 101, 102; Santa Croce, 508, 509.
letters to, from de Gouda, 103; from father Adriani, 105.
Salton, lord, 255, 256.
Salzedo, captain, revolt of, 224 *n*.
Sander, Nicholas, possible author of the memorial on Mary's claim to the English throne, 174-175.
San Saluto, abbé of. *See* Parpaglia, Vincenzo.
Santa Croce, Marcello Cervini, called cardinal Santa Croce, afterwards pope Marcellus II., his interest in England and Scotland, xix; letter from Ferreri to, 413; letter from Salmeron and Broet to, 508, 509.
—— —— Prospero, nuncio in France and cardinal, 468; his despatches to Rome, 229, 231; letters from, to Borromeo, 72, 83, 449; extract of letter from Borromeo to, 181; the cardinal of Como to, 200, 201, 215, 216 and *n*; letter from Tiepoli to, 262 *n*.
Savoy, duchess of, 437, 441.
—— duke of, 266, 269, 274, 276, 280, 282; his ambassador in England, 68, 71, 81 *n*; his claims against Geneva, 53, 264 *n*; Huguenot conspiracy against, 167; to be represented at the baptism of prince James, 269, 276, 454, 455; sends Moretta to queen Mary, 334, 440,

444; visited by Laureo at Turin, 384, 385; letter from, to queen Mary, 454, 455; letter to, from queen Mary, 431.
Scone abbey, 123 *n*; destruction of, xxix.
Scotland, necessity for ecclesiastical reform in, 4, 7, 13, 17, 18; heresy rampant, 47, 48; antipathy between Scotland and England, 149, 151; how Scotland might be brought back to catholicism, 149, 151, 152, 154; interruption of communications with Rome, xviii; communications with Rome restored, xlviii; miserable condition of, 159, 160, 170; disorders in, 228-231, 451-453; the laws unsatisfactory, 426, 430; Spanish intervention for pacification of, 456, 458; Alva's opinion on the union of Scotland and England, 460; classification of the nobility of Scotland, 253.
Scots guard in France nearly all Huguenots, 312, 314.
Seaton, Thomas, S.J., 500 and *n*, 502, 510.
Sempill, John lord, 227, 255; defends Lennox, 357, 358.
Serbellione, Gianantonio, made cardinal. *See* Foligno, bishop of.
Sermoneta, cardinal, 2, 4, 6, 9, 29, 31, 524, 525; letters from, to Borromeo, 168, 170; to Paul IV., 525, 528.
Seton, lord, 9 *n*, 140, 194 *n*, 227, 255; to bring the nuncio to Scotland, 367, 370.
—— William, the 'responsa' of, 510, 511.
Short Discourse on the Reformation of England, 241, 248.
Silva, Guzman de, Spanish ambassador in London, 323, 328, 329, 359 *n*, 378, 380, 475 *n*, 518, 519; writes to Alava, 476; letters from, to Philip II., 469-471, 520.
Sinclair, lord, 255.
—— Henry, bishop of Ross and president of the court of session, 28 *n*, 118, 121 *n*, 132, 416, 417; a member of the privy council, 96 *n*; refuses to hold any communication with de Gouda, lv, 120, 134.
—— John, dean of Restalrig, afterwards bishop of Brechin, 28 *n*, 512-516 and *n*; officiates at the marriage of queen Mary and Darnley, xcvii; death of, 262 *n*.
Sinigaglia, bishop of. *See* Rovere, Marco Vergerio de la.
Smith, sir Thomas, English ambassador in France, lxxvii; successor to Throckmorton, 66 *n*; writes that the cardinal of Lorraine has applied for the dispensation, 201; letters from, to Cecil, 194 *n*, 195 *n*.
Society of Jesus, correspondence of fathers-generals of, on Scottish affairs, 479; archives of, cxxxix; jesuit college in Rome, 77, 78; reputation of the colleges, 496.
Sodor, bishop of. *See* Stanley, Thomas.
Somerset, earl of, his death due to the duke of Northumberland, 467.
Somerville, lord, 255.
Spanish documents relating to Scotland, 463; documents connected with the Spanish embassy in England, 469; Spanish intervention for the pacification of Scotland, 456, 458; Spanish view of the situation in Scotland, xxxv.
Standen, Anthony, 387 *n*.
Stanley, Thomas, bishop of Sodor, 55, 56.
Stewart. *See* Stuart.
Stirling, visit of queen Mary to, 115 *n*; baptism of the prince at, 333-335, 340, 342, 346, 347; in possession of the French, 418.
Stropiano, count, 431 and *n*.
Stuart, lord James. *See* Murray, earl of.
—— sir James, of Doune, commendator of Inch-Colme, 85 *n*.
—— sir John, of Traquair, appointed captain of the queen's bodyguard, 271 and *n*, 278.
—— Margaret, wife of John Winram, superintendent of Fife, 124 *n*.
—— Robert, bishop of Caithness, 55 *n*.
—— —— commendator of Holyrood, submission of, to the queen regent, 418.
Sutherland, earl of, 254, 256.
Sweden, king of, suitor for the hand of queen Mary, 68, 71, 85, 87.
Sydney, sir Henry, lord president, 142.
Symonis, Edward, servant of Darnley, 356 *n*.

TAILOR, WILLIAM, Darnley's valet, killed at Kirk-o'-Field, 355 and *n*, 356 *n*.
Taxation, petitions for, of the Scottish

clergy, xix, 522, 530; tax on church property, xxv, 27, 30.
Tende, comte de, 296, 302.
Tendilla, conde di, 52 *n*, 53.
Terracina, bishops of. *See* Beltramini, Francesco; Rovere, Octaviano.
Texte, M., manuscripts of, relating to Mamerot, 517, 518.
Thionville, French invasion of, 242 and *n*, 249; capture of, xxiv.
Thomson, George, on Chisholm's interview with queen Mary, xviii; his account of Laureo's mission, 404, 406; author of *de Antiquitate Christianæ Religionis apud Scotos*, 404.
Thomworth, John, sent from queen Elizabeth to queen Mary, 471.
Thornton, James, 55 *n*; bearer of despatches from Rome, 195 *n*; and from queen Mary to the cardinal of Lorraine, 200; at Edinburgh, 233 *n*; letters from, to Mary of Guise, 27, 29, 39, 41.
Throckmorton, sir Nicholas, English ambassador in France, 65, 69, 85 *n*, 468, 473; his recall, 66 and *n*, 70; his mission to Scotland, 192 and *n*, 193 *n*, 198; on queen Mary's letters to Darnley, 531; letters from, to Cecil, xxxiii *n*, xxxiv *n*.
Tiepoli, M., Venetian ambassador in Rome, extract of letters from, to the doge, 234, 236; extract from letter of, to Santa Croce, 262 *n*.
Tournon, François de, archbishop of Lyons, 525 *n*, 528; succeeds cardinal du Bellay as dean of the sacred college, 41, 42.
Tours, bishop of. *See* Brezé, Simon de Maille.
Trent, newsletter from, on the Chatellar incident, 165, 166.
—— council of, lxi, 53, 54, 81-83, 281, 283, 288, 290; Scottish bishops summoned to, 55, 56, 74, 75, 144, 147, 185 *n*; queen Mary resolves to send representatives to the council, 90; difficulties in the way of the bishops being present, 118, 132; letter to, from queen Mary, with answer, 167-171; the proceedings chronicled by Massarelli, 169; on the recognition of Mary's claim to the English throne, 173; anathematises heretics, 174; the decrees printed, 180; the decrees sent to queen Mary, 186-189.
—— cardinal of. *See* Madrucci, Cristoforo.
Tritonio, Rogerio, Laureo's secretary, his account of the nuncio's mission, 407, 408; on the marriage with Bothwell, cxxix.
Trivulzio, cardinal, authorised to restore ecclesiastical discipline in Scotland, 5, 7, 8; mission of, to France, xxiv-xxvii; neglected by the French court, xxx; death of, xxvii; letters from, to cardinal Carafa, 9; letter to, from Paul IV., 4, 6.
Tyrie, father James, lxxi; a student at Louvain, 146, 148; in Rome, 484, 485; to be professor in Paris, 505: writings attributed to, 404.

UNIVERSITIES OF SCOTLAND, catholicism survives in, 95 *n*.

VADEMON, M., 66, 70.
Valence, bishop of. *See* Monluc, Jean de.
Varuich [? Warwick or Harwich], fortified, 65, 69.
Vassy, massacre of, 116 *n*.
Vatican archives, cxxxiv.
Vaucelles, truce of, xxii.
Villeparisis, sieur de. *See* Oysel, Henri Cleutin d'.
Visconti, Carlo, papal envoy at Madrid, 178-179 and *n*; his mission a failure, xlviii.
Viterbo, bishop of. *See* Gualtieri, Sebastian.

WARWICK, earl of, proposed by queen Elizabeth as husband for queen Mary, 193, 198.
Whithorn, prior of, at the baptism of prince James, 341, 342.
Wilson, Stephen, lxxii, 233 *n*, 234, 305, 308, 312, 314, 332-334, 399, 404, 475 *n*, 486, 494, 495; accompanies de Gouda to Edinburgh, 116, 131; informs queen Mary of de Gouda's arrival, 114 and *n*, 115, 130, 131; carries despatches from queen Mary to Pius IV., 185, 187, 188 *n*; queen Mary's envoy to Pius V., 320, 322, 323; his mission to Rome, cxvii, 324, 331, 332, 363, 365; queen Mary's instructions to, 326; prevented from starting on his mission by the queen's illness, 329; at Rome, 338, 339, 343; in Paris, 357, 359.

Winram, John, superintendent of Fife, marriage of, 124 *n*.
Winzet, Ninian, 159, 161; leaves Scotland, lvi; at Louvain, 152, 155; informs de Gouda of the death of the earl of Huntly, 154, 156; his *Fourscoirthre Questions*, 97 *n*; his *Tractates*, 98 *n*.
Wishart, John, of Pittarra, 273 *n*.
Wood, John, 273 *n*.

YAXLEY, 475 *n*; queen Mary's instructions to, 471; drowned, cii, 224 *n*, 233 *n*; possible author of the *Discourse of a Scottish . . . Ambassador*, 240.
Yester, lord, 255, 256.

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